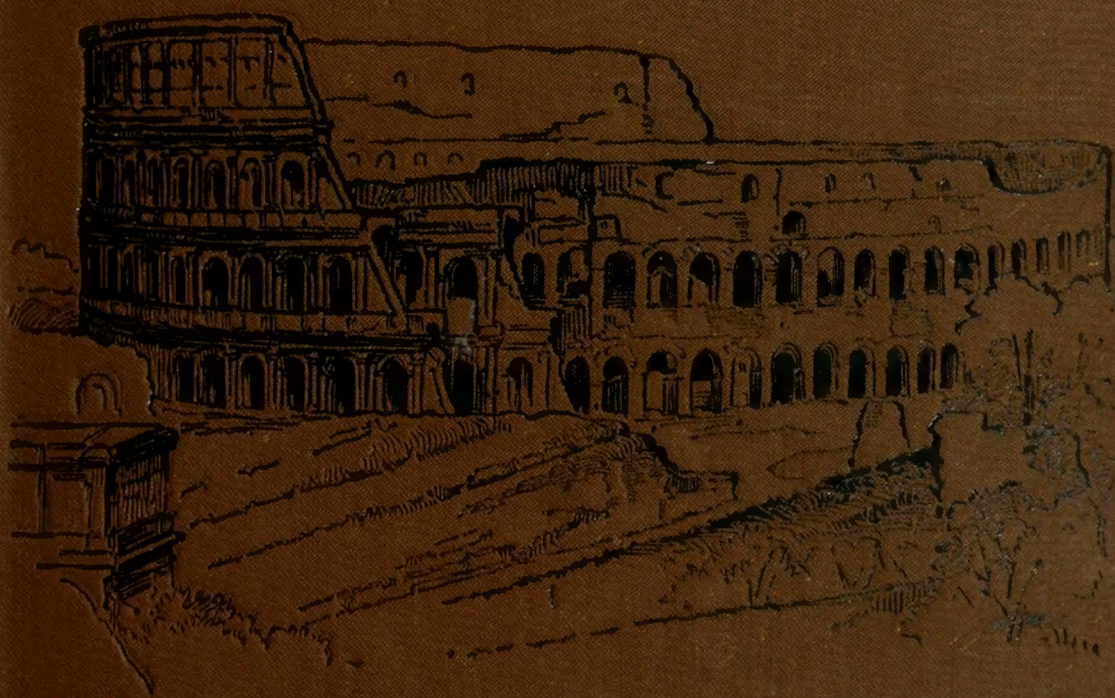


DURUY'S HISTORY
OF
ROME

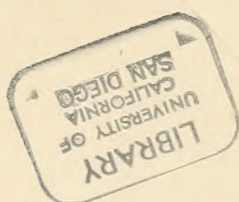


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HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.



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HISTORY OF ROME,

AND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE INVASION OF THE
BARBARIANS.

By VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC.

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AND NUMEROUS CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

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HISTORY OF ROME.

FOURTEENTH PERIOD.

THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE: CONSTANTINE TO THEODOSIUS
(306-395 A. D.), *CONTINUED.*

CHAPTER CIV.

ADMINISTRATION, ORGANIZATION, AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE
NEW EMPIRE.

I. — THE HIERARCHY.

UNDER Diocletian and Constantine, and especially under the latter, the Roman state passes into its last phase: the Latin spirit dies, and the Later Empire begins. In commenting upon the institutions of Augustus, we showed that an Oriental monarchy in the germ already existed in that republican royalty; what is usually called the Constantinian transformation is therefore the result of historic causes. Notwithstanding the vast difference existing between the two periods, the fourth century of the Empire is connected with the first by those mysterious ties which unite the present with the past, and sometimes with an extremely remote past. It is the forms which differ; the spirit remains the same: it is that of the *lex regia*.

We have delineated the principal change, — that, namely, in religious beliefs; we will now observe the new order established in the state, and the results that followed from it.

In all that concerned the court and the government, Constantine developed the administrative work of Diocletian; he by no

means completed it: nor is it possible to determine in the *Notitia dignitatum*,—a sort of imperial directory prepared about 400 A. D.,—what part is due to each of these Emperors, and what to their successors.¹ However, the laws of Constantine show that in this Emperor's reign the separation between civil and military duties becomes definitive;² that titles and privileges secured to functionaries, their wives, children, and grandchildren, are confirmed and extended;³ that, finally, the hierarchy of court offices and administrative functions is definitely established, each having its special authority and its clearly marked position in the series of magistracies which rose one above another all the way up to the central functionary, the head of the department. "Constantine," says Eusebius, "devised a large number of titles, in order to be able to honor a larger number of citizens."⁴ A similar expression is used by Suetonius when he represents Augustus as seeking to distribute all the citizens into well-marked classes.⁵ Here, again, Constantine was faithful to the imperial tradition, which had developed rather than opposed the radically aristocratic character of Roman society. Let us briefly examine "the divine hierarchy."

At its head was the Emperor, midway between earth and heaven, addressed as Your Eternity, Your Divinity. He was the law embodied, and hence could do anything, and do it with impunity, since there was absolutely no public opinion, nor institution capable of speaking for it had it existed. All that belonged to the Emperor and all that he did was sacred,—his palace, his occupations, his edicts,—and these decrees were called "the celestial oracles of the divine will." He was never approached but with

¹ This *Notitia* is a description of the imperial administration at the time when it was prepared. In his *Breviarium*, Augustus gives the model of these useful tables of statistics, the last of which is the one now under consideration, lacking, however, in its present condition, the schedule of the revenues of the Empire. In respect to the *Breviarium* of Augustus, see C. Jullian, in the *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, 1883.

² Contemporary with the *Notitia dignitatum* (*Or.* 26, sect. 2; *Occ.* 59), and doubtless in the time of Constantine, in some remote and disorderly provinces, such as Isauria, Arabia, and Mauretania, there was a union of the civil and military administrations.

³ It has already been remarked (Vol. VII. p. 383) that a kind of restricted hereditary succession was observed as early as the time of Marcus Aurelius among the great personages of the Empire.

⁴ *Life of Const.* iv. 1.

⁵ See Vol. IV. pp. 105 *et seq.*

the attitude of worship; on his head was a diadem set with gems, and on his coins the nimbus which the Church later gave to the saints.¹ The members of his family had the title *nobilissimi*, with the purple robe embroidered with gold; and every one recognized his sons as the legitimate heirs of his power. The old and idle formality of an election by the Senate still remained; Majorian, in 458, speaks of it;² but facts show clearly what it was worth.

The Emperor was surrounded by the *consistorium principis*, which assisted him in the exercise of his legislative and judicial power. This high council was composed of those whom we should call the ministers, the great officers of the crown, and the heads of the principal departments of the Empire.

The ministers were as follows:—

The quaestor of the sacred palace, who may be called the secretary of state, since he receives petitions, prepares the laws which the council discuss, and countersigns them, after the Emperor “with his divine hand” has written his name in crimson ink.³

The master of the offices (*magister officiarum*), a sort of minister of the imperial household, who has under his superintendence and jurisdiction the innumerable officers of the palace, the *militia palatina*,⁴ the *scolares* or guards, the *curiosi* or agents of police, whose duty it is to take note of current rumors and to arrest criminals or persons suspected of crime, the under-secretaries in administrative or judicial affairs, the workmen in arsenals, the corps of interpreters (*interpretes omnium gentium*), etc.

The grand chamberlain (*praepositus*), at the head of the imperial domestics, having under his orders the chief of the *cubicularii*, the count of the palace, the architects, the count of the wardrobe, the steward of the imperial residences, the *silentiarii*, the imperial

¹ Eckhel, viii. 84. He directed his mint-masters to give him on his coins the aspect of Alexander, with head thrown back and eyes raised. Eusebius considers this a sign of piety, Eckhel a mark of pride. I have little belief in Constantine's piety, and much in his pride: but is it not probable that he sought by this attitude to confirm the legend of the vision? Since the time of Marcus Aurelius the imperial family had been called *domus divina* (*Bull. des Ant. africaines*, fasc. i. inscr. No. 3, p. 25).

² *Nov. Major.* i. 1.

³ The forms of appointment to the great offices fill vols. vi. and vii. of the *Letters* of Cassiodorus.

⁴ The word *militia* is applied to the entire service of the state, whether civil or military.

physicians having the title of count, and lastly the horse and foot-guards, the *protectores* and *domestici*.

The four praetorian prefects, who are now concerned only with the civil and judicial affairs of the four prefectures. However, in memory of their former power, they take rank above all the other functionaries, and no appeal from their decisions is allowed. They have charge of the *cursus publicus*¹ and of the commissariat, they provide for the publication of the imperial decrees² throughout the Empire, and they apportion the taxes annually among the cities and provinces. The entire civil administration is carried on in the *praetorium*; "thus," says an old writer, "from the ocean come all the rivers, and thither they all return."³

Attached to each praetorium were one or two advocates of the treasury; and except in their presence no case concerning the treasury could be decided.⁴ Constantine even assigned to them the duty of prosecuting offenders, "to bring to an end the execrable race of *delators*."⁵

The two ministers of finance: namely, the count of the sacred largesses (*comes sacrarum largitionum*) — or, as this population of mendicants called him, "the minister of public enjoyment" — and the treasurer of the private estate (*comes rerum privatarum*), the former the public treasurer, the latter the private treasurer.

Lastly, the two ministers of war, or rather, the two generals-in-chief, — the master of the infantry and the master of the cavalry, who divide between them the military forces of the Empire.⁶ They have under their orders the counts and dukes commanding

¹ This is the modern post-office department. (Cf. Marquardt, *Handbuch*, i. 417.) It must be remembered that the persons who were authorized to employ the *cursus* in travelling were lodged and fed at the *mansiones*. See Vol. VII. p. 530, note 1.

² The rescripts, which must not be confused with the laws or decrees, were answers made to inquiries from officials or private individuals.

³ Lydus, *De Magistr.* ii. 172 (ed. of Bonn). The cases which came before the prefect were so numerous that a hundred and fifty advocates were attached to the praetorium of Illyria (*Codex*, ii. 7, 17).

⁴ Rescript of Marcus Aurelius (*Dig.* xlix. 14, 7).

⁵ *Codex Theod.* x. 10, laws 1, 2, and 3, annis 313, 319, 335. This, however, did not prevent him from encouraging, in 319 and 325, the practice of giving information. (See *Codex Theod.* xv. 16, 1, and cf. our Vol. VII. p. 558.) Each president had in his court an advocate of the treasury. (Cf. Godefroy, *Paratitlon to the Theodosian Code*, x. 15.)

⁶ *Codex Theod.* i. 7, and viii. 7, for the years 359 and 372. However, in every expedition the two arms were united under one or other of the two chiefs. In this way, later, were created *magistri utriusque militiae*, or simply *magistri militum*, to the number of four, as there were four praetorian prefects.

the troops of a province and the frontier garrisons. The Romans not being accustomed to separate jurisdiction from command, these two principal officers decided in all military trials, and even in those where a civilian brought suit against a soldier; while the praetorian prefect took cognizance of cases where a soldier was the plaintiff against a civilian. This was the application of the principle, *forum accusator sequatur*.

Rome has not even that which the smallest cities possess, — a curia and duumvirs;¹ she is governed by a prefect whom the



CHARIOT OF THE PREFECT OF ROME.²

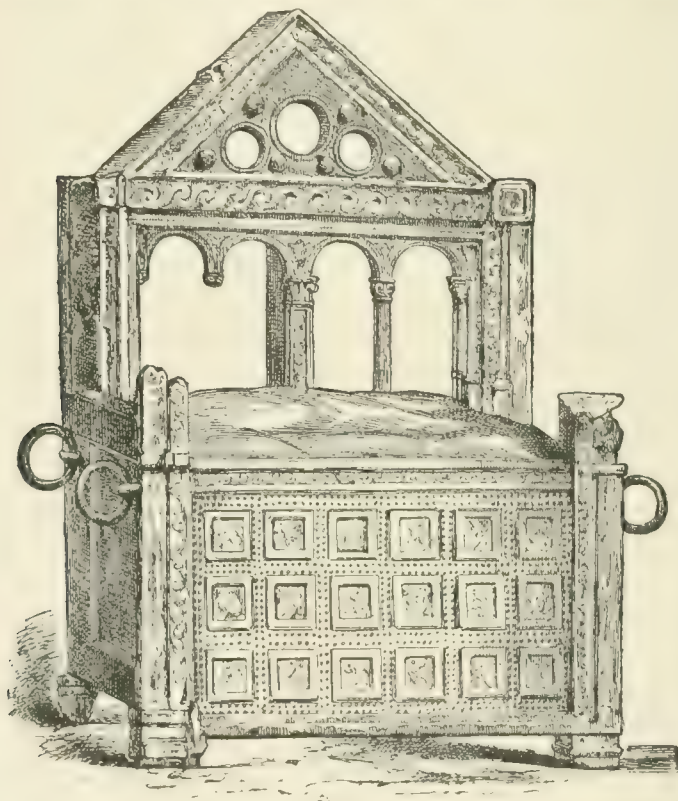
Emperor selects from among persons of consular rank. This prefect, supreme head of justice and administration in the city and suburban region to the distance of a hundred miles, decides in the first instance or upon appeal all cases, civil or criminal, even those where senators are concerned, as the presidents in their provinces have the supreme jurisdiction. The prefects of the *annona* and the *vigiles* are under his orders.

The old capital retains its Senate, over which the consuls preside; that of Constantinople has a pro-consul for its presiding

¹ Constantinople retained its duumvirs and its curia up to 359, at which time Constantius gave the city a prefect (Godefroy in the *Codex Theod.* vol i. p lx). It has been seen (Vol. VII. p. 444, note 3) that the municipal curia registered legacies and donations. Rome and Constantinople having no curia, this duty of registration was performed by *censuales*, or employees of the *magister census*.

² From the *Notitia dignitatum* (Böcking, i. 15).

officer. The Emperor selects these functionaries, and makes known his choice to the magistrates and the cities by sending out ivory tablets which bear the likeness of the consuls and their names; this it is necessary to do, since these names serve to date all legal acts, whether public or private.¹ These humble successors of the great consuls of the Republic still had their curule chairs, their



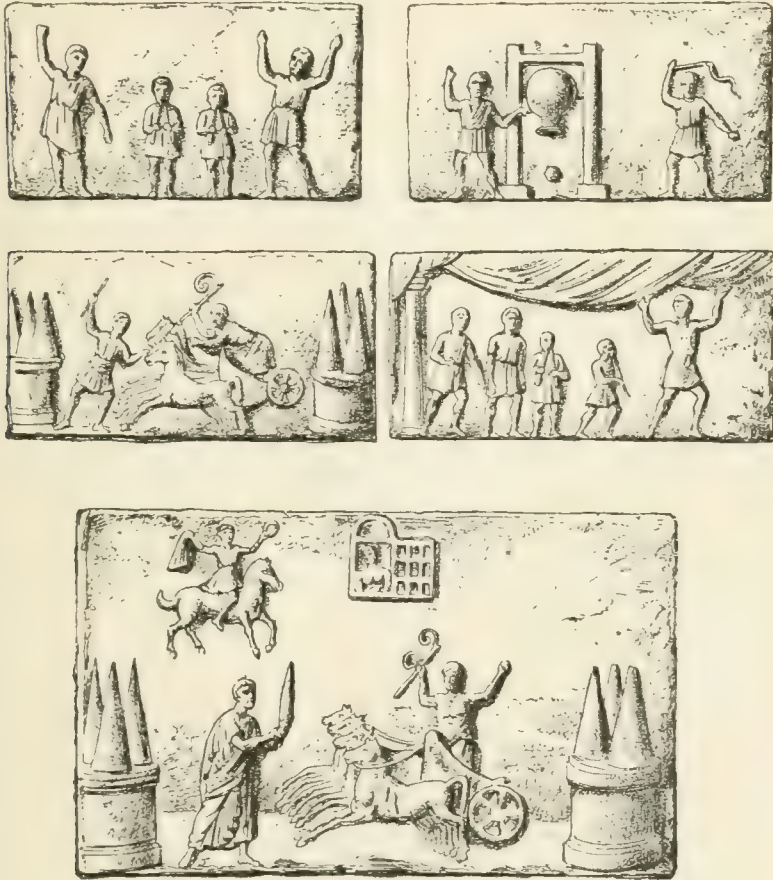
CURULE CHAIR, CALLED SAINT PETER'S CHAIR (CATHOLICA),
LIBRARY OF THE VATICAN.

purple robes embroidered with silk and gold, their gilded slippers, their lictors and rods surmounted by axes which were no longer used; and on the 1st of January they solemnly entered upon their harmless office by going to the Forum, where they enfranchised a slave, and then to the circus, where they gave the signal for the games to begin. This duty fulfilled, their political rôle was ended: *in consulatu honos sine labore suscipitur*.²

¹ *Si qua edicta vel constitutiones, sine die et consule fuerunt deprehensa, auctoritate careant* (Codex Theod. i. 1, anno 322).

² PAUL. vet. xi. 2.

The other great Republican magistracy, that which had begun the vast work of the Roman law, the praetorship, was also only a gilded idol. With the exception of a little unimportant civil jurisdiction, the praetors of Rome and of Constantinople had



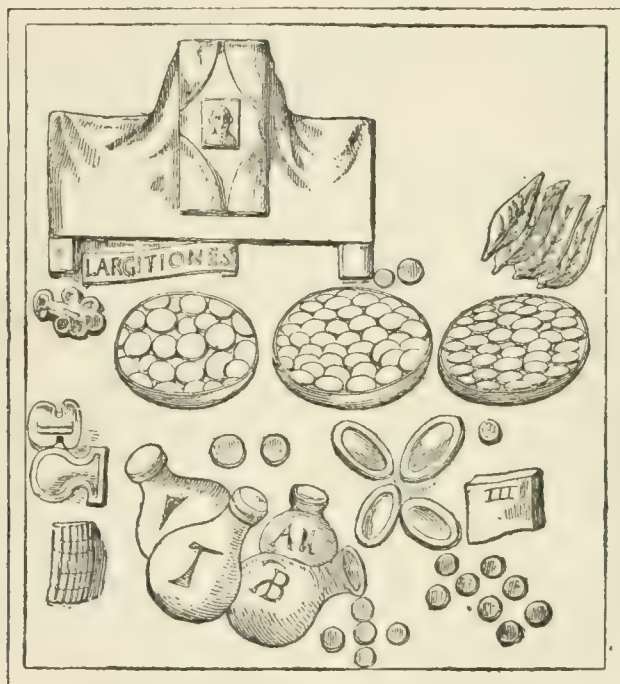
GAMES IN THE CIRCUS.¹

nothing wherewith to feed their pride but the memory of a lost authority. Their duties consisted in giving public games at their own expense. Symmachus later expended in this way two thousand pounds' weight of gold.² Many persons endeavored by con-

¹ Bas-relief found at Constantinople. The first section represents actors; the second, a machine by which seats are drawn by lot; the third, the starting of the competitors; the fourth, a scenic interlude; the fifth, the arrival at the goal (*Revue archéol.* iii. 147-148, and pl. xxviii. and xxix.).

² *Letters*, iv. 8. At Constantinople, Theodosius instituted in 384 eight praetors. The first two were obliged to spend, jointly, a thousand pounds' weight of silver; the others much less (*Codex Theod.* vi. 4, 25).

cealment to escape this costly honor; in such cases the treasury furnished in their stead the necessary funds. The religion of the State had changed, it is true; but manners remained the same.



INSIGNIA OF THE COUNT OF THE LARGESSES.²

the people must be amused, and a *clarissimus* had the duty of taking charge of the public entertainments. As for the treasury, it was sure to recover the money advanced; in case of need, the heirs of the praetor designate paid back the sum.¹

Since the time of Alexander Severus there had been neither aediles nor tribunes, the officials bearing the latter name at Rome and at Constantinople

having no connection whatever with the Senate.³ In memory of the former patriciate, Constantine created patricians, who kept this title during their lives, and took precedence of all persons except the consuls in office.⁴—a last homage to that old Republican institution. Patricians and senators had no official duties, except when specially assigned them.

The senates of Rome and of Constantinople were no longer

¹ *Codex Theod.* vi. 4, 5; Zosimus, ii. 38.

² *Notitia dignitatum*, Seek, p. 35, and Böcking, p. 41.

³ Mommsen, *Staatsr.*, p. 459. The last tribunes and aediles mentioned in inscriptions are anterior to Alexander Severus.

⁴ Zosimus, ii. 40. Two decrees of Valentinian I. (*Codex Theod.* vi. 7, 1, and 9, 1, anno 372) thus regulate precedence: the praetorian prefect, the masters of the cavalry and the infantry, are equals, and will follow the order of their promotion; the quaestor, the master of the offices, and the two treasurers, have the precedence over proconsuls; the latter, in their turn, over counts of the first rank and honorary masters of the cavalry; the masters of registry over the vicars; but, says Godefroy (ii. 78), *Non unus idemque semper ordo fuit.*

anything more than municipal councils of the two capitals of the Empire, although from time to time they appear to be allowed to express their opinion upon ordinances prepared in "the sacred council."¹

Each of the ministers, prefects, vicars, and presidents had his offices crowded with employees (*officiales*). The chief of these were appointed, according to the old custom, for one year;² but their lives were passed in the public service, and frequently in the same office. They received a salary in money, certain supplies, and when the public service required it, a permit to employ the horses of the *cursus publicus*, with the right of lodging and food in the *mansiones* established along the military road, a day's journey apart from each other.³ These *officiales* formed a numerous *militia*; those of the palace were thus designated, *qui in sacro palatio militant*. Like the soldier under the standards, when these persons had completed their time of service they received honorable discharge, accompanied by various immunities,—exemption from municipal burdens and extraordinary contributions of all kinds. The *officiales cohortalini*, or inferior employees, were kept by hereditary title in this sacred *militia*; the *coloni decuriones* and *corporati* were excluded from it. We have seen that in the Early Empire the officials of the governors remained the same, being slaves and freedmen bound to their duties.⁴

Constantine maintained the twelve dioceses and the ninety-six

¹ Symmachus, *Epist.* x. 28, and *Codex*, i. 14, 8.

² Cassiodorus, *Var.* vi. 4–8, 18, 20, 21; vii. 4. In the time of Arcadius, the employees in the ten offices of the count of the largesses were two hundred and twenty-four in actual service, and six hundred and ten supernumeraries (*Codex Theod.* vi. 30, 15, anno 399). An *agens in rebus* asks, as a reward for a successful accusation, to be retained two years in his place. This was contrary to rule (*vetita*), says Amm. Marcellinus (xv. 3).

³ *Codex Theod.* viii. 6, 1; *Codex Just.* xii. 52. These *mansiones*, administered by the *curiales*, were at once taverns for travellers, stables for the post-horses of the imperial service, and storehouses where the food and provender of the *annona* were gathered. There must have been at least forty horses in each (*Codex Theod.* viii. 5, *Parat.*, and Law III.). The *annona* consisted of barley, corn, lard, salt, meat, wine, oil, and provender, and each man employed by the state had a right to one or more rations. The *domestici* had each six rations. On roads where there was no *cursus publicus*, the praetorian prefect on his rounds could make requisition on private individuals for horses and beasts of burden, and was lodged and fed by the inhabitants. The governor had a right to provisions for three days in each city where he stopped. Lodging must be furnished to officials in the *mansiones*, or if there were none, in the houses of the inhabitants (*Codex Theod.* i. 7, 4). Contributions of provisions, very burdensome to the people, were replaced, in 439, by a fixed sum in money (*Codex Just.* i. 52).

⁴ See Chap. LXXXV. sect. iv.

provinces of Diocletian; but he divided the former among four prefectures, — those of the East, of Illyria, of Italy, and of Gaul; this was a new grade in the hierarchy.

Whatever name they bore,¹ the governors of provinces had the same duties with their predecessors: they were at once administrative officers, judges, and receivers of the tax, which they were obliged to make good out of their own property when the amount fell short.² A division of functions was a thing unknown to the Romans, except towards the close of the Empire, when the military order was strictly separated from the civil; and this ignorance they bequeathed to the Middle Ages. But that which had been an advantage in a small city where, the struggle for existence being the matter of prime importance, it had been needful to concentrate all powers in the hands of the magistrate, became an evil when, in a vast empire, the executive officer had the right as judge to dispose of the fortune and even the life of citizens, — a right all the more formidable since the change from the old methods had greatly increased the judicial authority of the presidents.³ The Emperors themselves were conscious of the danger arising from this confusion of powers; one of them says: "It may be terrible."⁴

The provinces, meanwhile, still had their assemblies, for a decree confirms to the subjects of the Empire their ancient and valuable privilege of sending to the Emperor the expression of their wishes.⁵

¹ See Vol. VII. p. 386.

² *Codex Theod.* xi. 7, 16. All the employees shared with their chief in this responsibility: *judices et officia . . . de proprio cogentur exsolvere . . . quod debetur.* (Cf. *ibid.* 29, Law 5.) When the *praeses* was punished by a fine for the infraction of a law, his *officium* suffered a like penalty. In 365 Valentinian I. decided that for a tax unduly established, the *rector* of a province should pay double, by way of fine, and his employees quadruple (*Codex Theod.* viii. 11, 2). This tended to obviate the disadvantages of a frequent change of heads of departments. The employees, who were rarely changed, were in this way interested to keep their chief well informed as to law and precedent. This solidarity between the *officium* and the *praeses* (which later we shall see established among all the workmen in an imperial manufactory, and, later still, between a general and his soldiers) is one of the curious methods employed by this government.

³ See, later, sect. ii. of this chapter.

⁴ . . . *Potest esse terribilis* (*Codex Theod.* iii. 6, 1, anno 380).

⁵ See Vol. VI. p. 31. . . . *Liberam tribuo potestatem ut condant cuncta decreta, aut commodum quod credent consulant sibi, quod sentiunt eloquantur decretis conditis missisque legatis* (*Codex Theod.* xii. 12, 1, anno 355). These requests were to be first submitted to the praetorian prefect, who then laid them before the Emperor, accompanied by his own views (*ibid.* 3). Constantine had thus decreed (*ibid.* 4): . . . *juxta legem Constantini.*

This ordinance of Constantine's son proves that the institution of Augustus still existed in the fourth century. Another, of the year 382, speaks, as of an ancient custom, of assemblies which at the will of the provincials could be freely made up of deputies from two or three provinces, even of those from a whole diocese; and this ordinance prohibits the governors, and even the praetorian prefect, from opposing this procedure.¹ Lastly, we know that Constantine, after the example of the Antonine emperors, sent eminent persons from his court into various provinces to exercise control over their administration. But when Trajan intrusted to Pliny an extraordinary mission to Bithynia, it was that he might reform abuses then existing; while Constantine only ordered his envoys to note the diligence or negligence of the governors in the public works which he had ordered.² We shall see that more thorough investigations were needful.

The tax was neither voted, nor was its expenditure directed; the Emperor alone determined the amount of money to be raised, and the use that should be made of it. The distinction between the *aerarium sacrum* and the *aerarium privatum* arose only from the difference of the sources whence these two treasuries were replenished; for expenditures the Emperor drew from either at will.

Throughout the Empire everything was a source of revenue: persons and property, agricultural and manufacturing labor, commerce, and even poverty were taxable.

Into the public treasury came, first, the product of the direct contributions, — the *capitatio terrena*, levied on all land-owners; the *capitatio humana*, levied on the rural population;³ the *lustralis collatio*, a sort of license, for which all were required to pay who lived by traffic or handicraft, even the pettiest or the most disgraceful, — a burden which became intolerable;⁴ the *follis*, or *gleba senatoria*;

¹ *Sive integra dioecesis in commune consuluerit, sive singulae inter se voluerint provinciae convenire* (*Codex Theod.* xii. 12, 9). The whole of this section xii., *De Legatis et decretis legationum*, should be read; it justifies what we have so often said on the subject of these assemblies. The meeting of the deputies of the seven Gallic provinces in the city of Arles in the reign of Honorius is famous in history.

² . . . *Ad diversas provincias diversos misimus* (*Codex Theod.* xv. 1, 2, under the caption *De Operibus publicis*. Cf. Chap. LXXIX. sect. iii.).

³ See Vol. VII. pp. 399, 400.

⁴ Zosimus, ii. 38. It was paid by beggars and by courtesans.

and the obligatory offerings made in certain cases by the decurions and the *clarissimi*, — the *aurum coronarium*, which was, says Libanius, from one to two thousand pieces of gold from each city, and the *aurum oblativum*, which, for the *decennialia* of Theodosius, cost sixteen hundred pounds' weight of gold to the Roman senators:¹ and second, the product of the indirect taxes, or the revenue from tolls (*portorium*), mines, quarries, and salt-works, carried on by companies under the surveillance of a procurator of the government; the tax upon sales; and the product of the imperial manufactories, where the workmen labored as a matter of hereditary succession.²

The private treasury received the revenues from the domains of the state and the Crown, the ancestral estates of the Emperor, property falling to the Crown or without owner, and that of criminals; also fines, which later multiplied to an enormous extent.³

The *annona* and the *cellaria* — that is to say, the corn and supplies necessary for the government and the army — made part of the land-tax; as did also the supplying of horses and military clothing. The praetorian prefects had the superintendence of this. They were also the army paymasters, for which expense their treasury (*arca praefecti praetorio*) was supplied from "the sacred treasury." Besides this they had no other share in the financial service of the Empire, except that of transmitting to the vicars of the dioceses the edicts fixing the amount to be raised by taxes.

We may remark that the tax was payable in gold:⁴ whence it resulted that the burden of the tax-payers was increased by the expense necessary to obtain the required metal; that in order to prevent the fraud of tax-gatherers' paying into the treasury *solidi* which they had clipped (*solidi adulterini*), they were compelled to convert the coin into ingots;⁵ that this obligation was a

¹ Symmachus, *Epist.* x. 26.

² *Monetarios in sua semper durare conditione oportet* (*Codex Theod.* x. 201, *ad ann.* 317).

³ We have frequently remarked that in the Roman legislation the confiscation of property was a consequence of capital sentences, which, in expelling a member from the community or in putting him to death, deprived the state of a citizen and a fortune. In respect to fines, we have seen above (p. 10, note 2) that this was an administrative penalty.

⁴ Vol. VII. p. 81, note 3, *ad fin.* The *lustralis collatio* was to be paid in gold and silver (Zosimus, ii. 38), and hence is sometimes called *chrysargyrum*. Certain fines fixed in silver must have been paid in that metal (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 5, 52); the same was true in respect to the didrachma of the Jews (Vol. V. p. 132, note 4).

⁵ *Codex Theod.* xiii. 6, 15 (*anno* 367).

further burden to the state, which must have been obliged to increase the allowance made to its financial agents as compensation for the loss caused them by the conversion of the ingots into coin; that, finally, regulations like these greatly increased the amount of coining and the number of mint-masters. Thus we see them, under Aurelian, capable of making a great riot and offering resistance to the praetorians.¹

The Romans were ignorant of a power which the moderns sometimes abuse; namely, credit. We read in ancient times of city loans, but never under the Empire of a state loan; and with the habits of ancient communities in respect to usury, there could hardly have been one. Against unexpected necessities, the government had recourse to superindictions,³ which, constantly



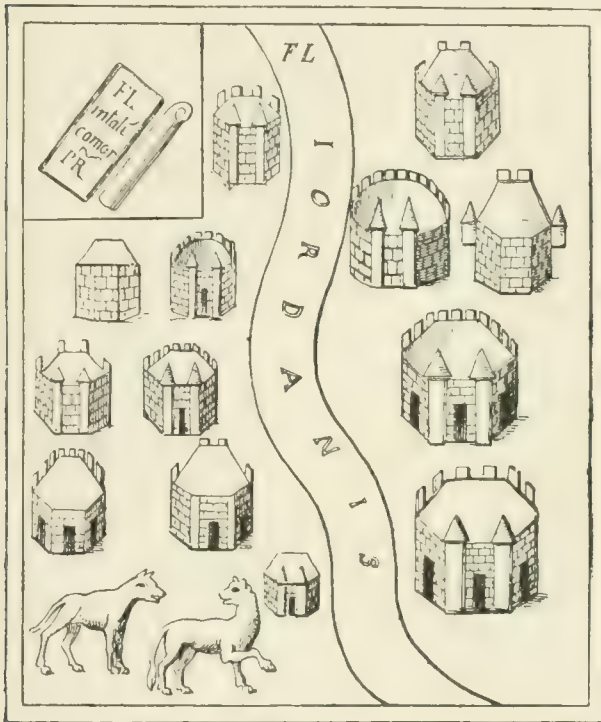
INSIGNIA OF THE PRAETORIAN PREFECT IN ILLYRIA.²

¹ Vol. VII. pp. 320, 321.

² *Notitia dignit.*, Boecking, i. 12. The portrait over the table is certainly that of the Emperor. He is represented again, with the Empress, on the piece of furniture at the side of the table. In the Empire of the East the praetorian prefects, the proconsuls, the count of the East, the augustal prefect, the vicars, and the *consulares* of Palestine alone had the right, which the military functionaries did not possess, of placing upon their insignia the likeness of the Emperor. It was the same in the Empire of the West (*ibid.* p. 172).

³ "Superindictions" were the additional centimes of the French tax. As to loans, they would have been ruinous to the state, on account of the high rates of interest. In the ancient world usury was an endemic evil. Brutus lent at the rate of 48 per cent, and Pompey ruined the king of Cappadocia by his usurious demands. Between private individuals 12 per cent was a low rate. At Pompeii, in the most flourishing period of the Empire, the banker Jucundus lent at 24 per cent, and the legal rate in Egypt was 30 per cent (Revillout, *Rev. égypt.*, 1881, pp. 134-138, and 1883, p. 64). At Athens the law fixed no limit except in the case of guardians employing a minor's money (12 per cent), or in the case of a dowry kept by those who

increased, caused great distress, by exhausting the taxable material. Certain taxes also became very heavy, as under Constantius the land-tax paid by all the *possessores*, since Julian reduced the



INSIGNIA OF THE DUKE OF PALESTINE (DUX PALESTINAE).³

caput for Gaul from twenty-five aurei to seven.¹ Two sources of revenue seem to have been particularly productive, — the *gleba senatoria*, paid by the great provincial families when vanity led them to seek the title of *clarissimi*, or when the government, from interested motives, imposed it upon them;² and the *lustralis collatio*, which, by the testimony of all contemporaries, weighed heavily upon the lower classes. The statements of Libanius and Zosimus may be regarded with suspicion; but those of Evagrius, Cedrenus, and Zonaras cannot be impugned. Under pretext that the decurions were employed in traffic, Constantius later imposed this tax on all the municipal senators. Exemption from the *lustralis collatio* was granted only to those of the clergy who had charge of burials, and to such ecclesiastics and veterans as carried on a small traffic to support life. Finally, all these resources being insufficient, the Emperors drew at will from the treasuries of the cities: they shared with

had no right to retain it (18 per cent). In the Hellenic countries the praetor often required as much as 30 or 36 per cent (see Saumasius, *De Modo usurarum*): so that in three years the capital was doubled. Synesius borrows sixty aurei, receipts for seventy, and after a time returns eighty (*Letter*, 60).

¹ *Codex Theod.* XI. i. 1.

² Zosimus, ii. 38.

³ Böcking, p. 78. Representation of thirteen cities in this military government.

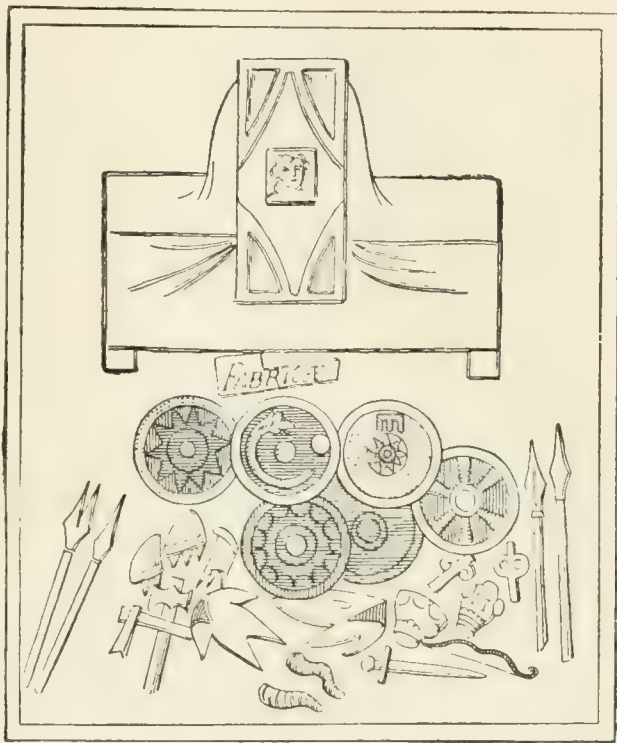
them the product of the tax levied on provisions, and took two thirds of the remaining product of the municipal contributions.¹

When the savage desires a fruit, says Montesquieu, he cuts down the tree that he may obtain it. Despotism does the same.

Then, as now, the heaviest creditor of the treasury was the soldier; and as dangers increased, it became necessary to increase the army, and also the pensions paid to the Barbarians. How large the effective force was under Constantine, we cannot say with certainty. He had

three distinct armies, — the *militia palatina*, the army of the line, and the frontier regiments.

I. The “palatine militia” consisted of the horse and foot guards³ (*domestici* and *protectores*), who, recruited from veteran centurions and young nobles,⁴ had higher pay, numerous advan-



INSIGNIA OF THE MAGISTER OFFICIORUM IN THE EAST.²

¹ *Codex Just.* iv. 61, 13.

² *Notitia dignit.*, Seek, p. 31. See the colored plate representing the insignia of the *magister officiorum* of the West.

³ Service in the cavalry was more esteemed than in the infantry. (See Godefroy, *Codex Theod.* ii. 277.) This preference went back to the time when the knights alone formed the cavalry of the legions.

⁴ In 354 a *protector domesticus* was the son of a former *magister equitum* (Amm. Marcell. xiv. 10.) This corps was a kind of later form of the *cohortes praetoriae* of the consuls of the Republic, which had been also composed of young nobles who formed an honorable and trusted guard to the consul. Jovian, at the time he was proclaimed Emperor, was *domesticorum ordinis primus* (*ibid.* xxv. 5); Ammianus also was a *domesticus*. These guardsmen were sometimes despatched on very important missions. Valentinian I. sent into Africa, to examine into complaints made in that province, a *protector*, the son of a count, and one of the *scutarii*, soldiers who were allowed to bear the Emperor's arms (*ibid.* xxvi. 5).

tages, ten commanders who were called *clarissimi*, and two superior officers, "the counts of the domestics;" and the *scolarii*,¹ under



SIGNIFIER OF A GALLIC LEGION.³

the orders of the *magister officiorum*, who were the guard of the palace, where innumerable attendants were installed. The habitual exaggeration of the time caused their commanders to have the designation of "senators;" and from the titles of *ducenarii* and *centenarii*, borne by their officers, we see that they had extremely good pay: all who were placed near the Emperor were certain to derive advantage from him.² The soldiers of these two corps were more particularly called the *palatini*; but this name was also borne by the legions, by the auxiliary infantry, and by numerous squadrons. These corps united made up the reserve of the army, and accompanied the Emperor in all important expeditions.

II. The army of the line (*comitatenses*) — that is, the infantry, cavalry, and Barbarian auxiliaries — were dispersed through the territorial divisions of the Empire, under counts or dukes, who also commanded the flotillas which had the duty, in their respective districts, of keeping order on the rivers and sea-coasts.

III. The troops which we should call the frontier-regiments were the *ripenses* and the *limitanei*, called also *pseudo-comitatenses*, because they never changed their place of garrison. They occupied, under the *duces*, the intrenched camps, castles, and fortresses built

¹ Procopius (*Historia Arcana*, 24) represents the *scolares* as numbering thirty-five hundred men, and says that the guard was less numerous. There seem to have been *scolares* *scutarii* and *gentilium* in the time of Gordian III. and of Philip (Cedrenus, i. 451, and *Chron. Paschale*, pp. 501, 502, edition of Bonn).

² A rescript of 413 speaks of *præpositi et tribuni scholarum qui et divinis epulis adhibentur et adorandi principis facultatem antiquitus meruerunt* (*Codex Theod.* vi. 13).

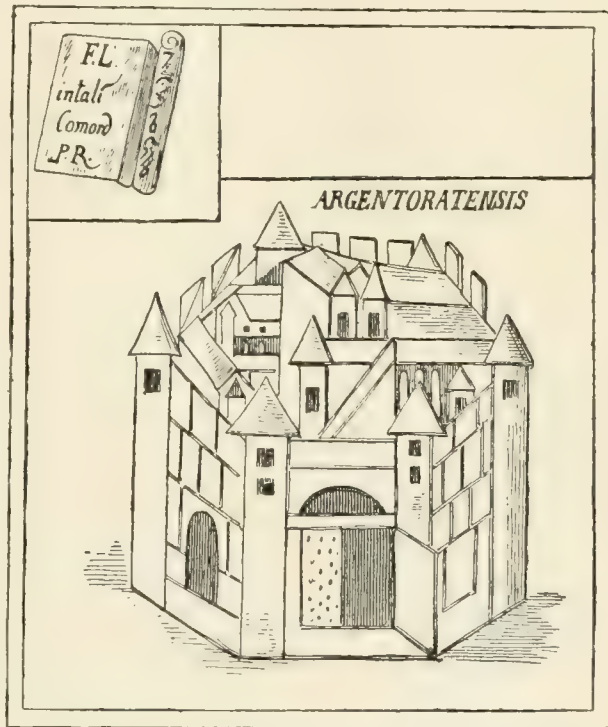
³ The nationality of the Barbarian legionary is indicated by the cock (*gallus*) placed at his side (G. Schlumberger, *Oeuvres de A. de Longpérier*, iii. 355). Bas-relief from Strasburg.

along the rivers (*ripa*), or behind the intrenchments (*limes*), which were the boundaries of the Empire.¹

In the civil order the *coloni* were but partly free; in the military order the *leti* and *gentiles* were, like the *coloni*, established permanently in the frontier provinces, upon small estates which had been given them under condition of military service.

Lastly, whole corps of Barbarians (*foederati*) were in the Emperor's pay; and he bought, moreover, by pensions paid to the chiefs of the nation, the right to levy troops among them.

We pass rapidly over this administrative organization, which interests archæology rather than history; but it is necessary to show the consequences of the policy inaugurated by Diocletian, developed by Constantine, and carried to an extreme by their successors, for the reason that out of this policy arose the whole social system of the fourth century,—the last with which this work deals.



INSIGNIA OF THE COUNT OF STRASBURG (COMES ARGENTORATENSIS).²

¹ The minimum height of the soldier was 5 feet 7 inches, Roman measure (*Codex Theod.* vii. 13, 3, anno 367), which, according to M. Aurès, is equal to 5 feet 5 inches. The minimum of height in the French infantry is 5 feet. The Roman standard gives a further proof that the greater part of the Roman army was composed of Barbarians, since soldiers drawn from the southern portions of the Empire would not have reached this minimum,—which, moreover, was not required of the *pseudo-comitatenses* (*ibid.* vii. 22, 8). In respect to all these corps, see Godefroy, ii. 286–287.

² *Notitia dignit.* Boecking (i. 284) explains the initials *F. L. intali Comon P. R.* in the following manner: *Felicitati, Laetitiae, Imperatorii Numinis, Tutelae Augustorum Larum Civitates Omnes Majestati Obediant Regiae Domini Populi Romani.*

II. THE COURT AND THE NOBILITY.

THE government, all the machinery of which is given in the *Notitia* and in the sixth book of the *Theodosian Code*, was itself governed by a higher power, the court, which had the Emperor for its divinity. Monarchies like these require the ruler to be always in full vigor of mind and body; and, without having arrived at a great age, Constantine had lost both. In the later years of his life his legislative activity slackened;¹ he rarely quitted Constantinople; he no longer loved war, but, if we may believe Zosimus, he was extremely fond of pleasure;² and Julian in the *Cæsars* represents him as reposing to all eternity on the bosom of Indolence. Zosimus is an enemy, Julian an adversary, and their testimony must be received with doubt; at the same time it probably contains a portion of truth. One of the great officers of his court had the title of *tribunus voluptatum*. Shall we suppose that Constantine created this office whose existence the *Theodosian Code* reveals to us?³ The first of the Emperors of the East perhaps ended like so many Oriental monarchs who in their declining years slumber upon the throne or shut themselves up in their harems. This is the moment when in absolute monarchies the reign of the courtiers begins; by the testimony of an old writer, this conqueror of so many kings was incapable, during the last ten years of his reign, of mastering himself: like a young spendthrift (*pupillus*), he had need of a tutor.⁴

Constantine had increased the pomp of costumes and the solemnities of etiquette,⁵ and, as in the time of Elagabalus, the apartments

¹ From 312 to 326 we have, in the *Theodosian Code*, two hundred and sixty-one ordinances of his; from 326 to 337, there are but eighty-nine.

² Zosimus, ii. 32: . . . μέγας δὲ ἀπόλαυσις καὶ τρυφή τὸν βίον ἐκδοῦς.

³ *Codex Theod.* xv. 7, 13, anno 414. Reference is here made to *voluptates populi*; but this *tribunus voluptatum* was probably also the director of the court entertainments.

⁴ The author of the *Epitome*: . . . *Decem novissimis annis pupillus ob profusiones immodicas nominatus*. Zosimus (ii. 38) adds: "He exhausted the treasury by gifts to useless or unworthy men, believing that such profusion did him honor."

⁵ Synesius, *Concerning Royalty*, 16. See, in the commentary of Panciroli on the *Notitia dignitatum*, the foolish display with which the prætorian præfects were to be sur-

of the palace were sanded with gold dust. When Julian, arriving from Gaul, required a barber, a person sumptuously attired presented himself, whose employment gave him a great salary, twenty rations for his table, and as many more of provender for his horses.¹ A whole world, interposing between the Emperor and the Empire, hid from the sovereign the truth which he no longer sought out by prompt personal investigation in cases of difficulty; and this servile and luxurious court soon had all the vices which are developed in a situation so favorable to passions and intrigues. Since the whole power of the Empire was in the palace, those who approached nearest to the master by the humble character of their duties, — slaves, eunuchs, servants of every grade, — having his ear, had also his hand to write with, and his will to command.² Their favor obtained what should have been given to merit, and scandalous fortunes were amassed at the expense of the treasury and of private individuals. The avidity of the courtiers made them search for victims; calumny furnished these, and wealthy families were ruined by false accusations. Amm. Marcellinus, who signalizes the progress of this evil under Constantius II. and gives the proofs of it,³ accuses Constantine of having been its originator, — “the first to excite the appetites of his followers.”⁴

The Constantine of Eusebius addresses paternal remonstrances to his courtiers: “Will you put no bounds to your cupidity?” he says to them; and marking out on the sand with the point of his spear the six feet of ground, our last dwelling, he adds: “If you possessed all the gold in the world, you would soon have nothing beyond this space of ground, if that should be allowed you.” The *Theodosian Code* shows us the historic Constantine in a rescript

rounded. Honorius forbade all the *honorati*, under penalty of a fine of ten pounds' weight of gold, to appear before the *vicarius* otherwise than in official costume (*Codex Theod.* i. 15, 16).

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 4.

² *Ibid.* xviii. 4, where he shows the *comitatensis fabrica . . . candem incudem, ut dicitur, die nocturne tunderat*.

³ xiv. 5; xv. 2; xxi. 16; xxv. 4.

⁴ . . . *Ut documenta liquida prodiderunt, proximorum fauces aperuit primus omnium (ibid.* xvi. 8. Cf. Zosimus, ii. 38; Eutropius, x. 7). Eusebius himself (*Life of Const.* iv. 54) recognizes this evil. “I saw,” he says, “an insatiable avidity plundering other men's property, and hypocritical piety in the Church. The Emperor trusted in some whose lives were full of artifice and imposture, and this confidence led him into great errors.” Julian (*Pan.* i. 37) praises Constantius for having on his accession repaired many acts of injustice.

which attests the excess of the corruption, and on the part of the Emperor not quite so much Christian resignation. "Let the rapacious hands of our officers be stayed," he exclaims; "let them be stayed, or I will smite with the sword!" and he enumerates the many ways employed to extort money from those who have business with the government, or seek to obtain justice in the courts. "If these men dare not complain," the Emperor says, "let others make known what wrongs have been committed, that we may punish such robberies with merited penalties."¹ The rescript contains good intentions, and threats in equal number; but we may doubt whether it produced any change in public morals, since, a century later, Valentinian III. repeats the same complaints, and draws even a darker picture.²

Venality was an ancient Roman evil; but never before, unless in the last century of the Republic, had it opened so many doors and influenced so many minds. Constantine's innumerable agents were not like the eminent persons sent by the sovereigns of the Early Empire into the provinces, at that time few in number, where they filled a very conspicuous position and were not called upon to determine many trivial questions. These men of consular rank, these imperial legates, whose houses held the statues of venerated ancestors, were scrupulous themselves for the honor of their names, or else were watched and held in check by the Emperor with a care in proportion to the peril into which they might bring him. The functionaries of the new government, on the contrary, are only the men of low degree who swarm in every Oriental court, — who, gliding everywhere in the darkness, with few scruples and many intrigues, unnoticed advance from post to post, until they reach the very highest; where arriving, they sell justice to compensate themselves for having so long bought favor. During a period of two centuries the inhabitants of the Empire had had for judges in ordinary suits the magistrates their fellow-citizens, whom they were accustomed themselves to choose. If the matter came within the cognizance of the imperial officer, it was not his

¹ *Codex Theod.* i. 16, 7, *anno* 331. The small as well as the great at this time were dishonest. The *mansiones* and the *stationes* of the *cursus publicus* were the scene of endless frauds. Cf. *ibid.* viii. 5, 21.

² *Nov. Val.* iii. tit. i. 3, sect. 2, *anno* 450.

duty to decide in the case, but to indicate the law applicable; and judges, who much resembled the juries of modern times, made the decision. Now there was one judge, more easily to be corrupted,¹ proud of the power conferred upon him by his official title, and with reason, since behind him stood the Emperor, whose direct agent he was. Accordingly he assumed an extremely arrogant tone towards the persons under his jurisdiction, and was approached with offerings as if he had been a god. Venality is the scourge of perishing nationalities, and Rome was in a state of decline.

Courts have sometimes been schools of elegance in manners, refinement in mind, and politeness in speech. Literature and art have received from them valuable encouragement. But at the epoch of which we are speaking, poetry and art—those social forces by which the soul is elevated—no longer exist. With an Asiatic government and a religion soon to become intolerant, great subjects of thought are prohibited. There is no discussion of political affairs, for the Emperor gives absolute commands; no history, for the truth is concealed or condemned to a complaisance which is odious to honest men;² no eloquence, for nowhere can it be employed except in disgraceful adulation of the sovereign.³ The great Roman science, jurisprudence, has even lost its beautiful terse language; the rescripts are verbal and declamatory, and the words stifle the thought. Towards the close of the century appear three men, Symmachus, Claudian, and Rutilius, through whom Latin literature throws a dying gleam; the rest are of no value. Only the Church is to have mighty orators, — but in the interests of

¹ See, later, an ordinance of Valentinian I. forbidding judges to decide cases in their own houses with closed doors.

² An exception must be made in the case of the truthful Amm. Marcellinus; but how remote is he from the Roman authors! The works of Eutropius and Aurelius Victor are chronicles rather than histories. Eutropius bestows only a few lines upon Julian, although he accompanied that Emperor in his Persian campaign (x. 16).

³ Three Greek rhetoricians, Themistius, surnamed *εὐφραδής*, Libanius, and Himerius, all pagans, had a great reputation in this century. Posterity, more critical, places them in the list of fine talkers, who die at once, because their harmonious and musical but empty sentences give nothing to philosophy and very little to history. The most interesting of the three, Libanius, understood at last the inutility of that rhetoric which turns the whole mental effort upon words; his last treatise is upon the worth of silence. For us the most important of the Greek authors of this time is the Emperor Julian. Later I shall speak of the Greek Fathers.

heaven, not earth;¹ and so, in this Empire now exposed to countless perils, the little mental activity still existing in civil society will occupy itself only with court intrigues, the subtleties of philosophers aspiring to be theologians, or the petty literature of some belated and feeble admirers of the early Muses.

The court extended itself throughout the Empire with a sort of radiance of imperial majesty, separating from the mass of the people those to whom it communicated, by honors or offices, something of its own splendor.

The great functionaries were called "the most perfect," or "excellent;"² later, we find *illustres*, *respectabiles*, and in the two capitals the senators are called *clarissimi*. But the senators of the fourth century differ much from their predecessors. Through causes which we have already explained, the evil from which Italy had suffered was now extended to the provinces: the *latifundia* had everywhere absorbed petty ownerships. "The poor man," says Salvianus, "cannot live beside the rich; he there loses his property, and often his liberty." The same complaint is made by Saint Ambrose and Saint Gregory Nazianzen.³ It was difficult to arrest this economic development; Constantine made no attempt to do so, but he sought to derive advantage from it. To create and multiply a new class of tax-payers, he associated to the *amplissimus ordo* many great provincial land-owners and subjected them to a tax proportioned to their fortune, the *folles senatorius*.⁴ In earlier times there

¹ In the Latin provinces, Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine; in the countries using the Greek language, Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregorys, John Chrysostom; in Syria, Ephrem; in the Cyrenaïca, Synesius.

² *Perfectissimi vel egregii* (Lactantius, *De Morte pers.* 21),—ancient designations preserved by Constantine, like that of *clarissimi*. The other two seem to date officially only from the reign of Valentinian I.

³ Ambrose, *Hexameron*, v. 10, and Gregory Nazianzen, *Disc.* xvi. 18. The lamentable condition of certain Italian provinces,—the Basilicate, for example,—which is still given up to *latifundia*, shows how much destitution the extension of this agricultural system throughout the Empire must have produced.

⁴ The senators paid besides, like the other *possessores*, the *tributum soli*; furthermore, they had to offer to the Emperor every year new year's gifts, and in special cases the *aurum oblatitium*. In 373 the senators offered to Valentinian and to Valens, on their tenth year, sixteen hundred pounds' weight of gold (Symmachus, *Ep.* x. 26). When the Emperor gave the praetorship to a senator, the latter was obliged to pay for public games a sum amounting to 25,000 *folles*, and fifty pounds of silver (*Codex Theod.* vi. 4, 5). Zosimus (ii. 38) is wrong in complaining of the *folles senatorius*. It was proportionate to the fortune, for to establish it Constantine had required each senator's fortune to be stated, ἀπεγράψατο δὲ τὰς τῶν λαμπροτάτων οὐσίας: accordingly certain senators, having but

were no senators except in Rome;¹ now men could be senators anywhere. Those who had obtained by hereditary succession, imperial favor,² holding of a magistracy, or service in the palatine militia, the right to be called *clarissimi*, composed the senatorial order, which soon came to include all the rich men in the provinces, and the chief officials on their retirement from office.³ This imperial nobility possessed certain important privileges, distinguishing it from the rest of the nation; and the senatorial dignity was hereditary, in law for three generations, in fact for as many as preserve the necessary fortune, — custom, as well as the policy of the period, retaining the son in the father's career.⁴ "Between the senator and the curial," says the law, "there is no similarity."⁵

The official residence of the senators was Rome and Constantinople (*sedes dignitatis*);⁶ but many of them were never there. As early as Trajan and Marcus Aurelius there had been complaints of absenteeism;⁷ the case was much worse when the remotest provinces had their *clarissimi*. The son of Constantine, during his residence in the old capital in the year 357, vainly reminded the senators in Greece and Macedon and Illyria that there were

little property, paid a tax of only five, or even no more than two, gold *solidi*, — *etiamsi possessionem forte non habeant* (*Codex Theod.* vi. 2, 8). Lastly, an ordinance of 428 says: *Pro suis viribus glebales funktionones agnoscant* (*Codex Theod.* vi. 2, 21). The private domain of the Emperor, *res privata*, paid the *follis*, because the Emperor was also the chief of the senators (*Ibid.* 19, and ix. 2, 1).

¹ In the time of Paulus a senator required special authorization from the Emperor to live in a province (*Dig. L. i. 22, sect. 6*).

² *Si quis senatorium consecutus nostra largitione fastigium, vel generis felicitate sortitus. . .* (*Codex Theod.* vi. 2 and 8, *annis* 383 and 397).

³ The *honorati*. Alexander Severus had already pensioned or subsidized these persons in order to enable them to maintain their rank: *honoratos pauperes . . . commodis auxil* (Lampridius, *In Ser*). The diptych on the next page, perhaps of earlier date than that of Flavius Felix (Vol. VII. p. 392), represents on one of its leaves a man who has been by turns called Claudian, Ausonius, and Boethius. Wrapped in his philosopher's cloak, he holds a *volumen*, and other *volumina* are unrolled at his feet; the second leaf represents a female musician, — which strengthens the opinion of those who call the other figure that of a poet (Gori, *Thesaurus diptychorum*, ii. 243, and *Trésor de Monza*, pl. iv.).

⁴ On the privileges and obligations of senators, see Godefroy, vol. ii., *Paratitlon*, in book vi. chap. 2. Symmachus (*Epist.* iv. 25) writes to a young noble: *Secundum natalis tuos honorum culmen indeptus es*; and Sidonius Apollinarius (*Epist.* i. 3) promises himself the same honors that have been enjoyed by his father: *Adipiscendæ dignitati hæreditari incumbam, cui pater, avus, proavus præfecturis magistrisque micaverunt*.

⁵ *Codex Theod.* vi. 3, 2-3.

⁶ *Ibid.* vi. 4, 1.

⁷ Atticus Herodes, a senator of consular rank, quitted Rome, but after having resided there for a long time.

also agreeable residences near Rome, and that by establishing themselves there they would escape the long journeys now necessary before receiving the honors due to their rank; it was for the purpose of avoiding these expensive honors that they resided out of Italy.

The nobles of the Republic and the first Emperors had in their train friends (*comites*) whom they classed in lists. These companions now took their place in the hierarchy. The appellation *comes* was, like decorations at the courts of modern Europe, a permanent honor to the individual, and not to the position; so that great functionaries, counts of the first degree, and simple decurions, or retired shipmasters,¹ counts of the third degree, could all appear in the *comitatus*, or imperial train, without offence to those of the higher rank. It was not the less a gratification of vanity, for each man had his title, and the neglect to use it in addressing him was punishable by a fine. A decree of 384, after having minutely determined the order of rank, makes such disrespect a case of sacrilege (*plane sacrilegii reus*);² and it was with all gravity that the Emperor, writing to his magistrates, addressed them as "Your Sincerity" or "Your Gravity;" and to him they made reply: "We shall obey the divine precepts of your Eternity." The pomp of formulas increased as men became more and more debased.

These titles and many offices of state gave privileges. Some of them were honorary,—a rank, a certain dress, the right of entrance at court or at the praetorium of the governors, the right of being judged only by the urban prefect or the Emperor, and the like. Others were extremely useful,—as exemption from cer-

¹ The *navicularii* who brought corn to Ostia composed, with the *mensores* of the port, corporations which, in 417, by the order of Honorius, made choice of masters whose duty it was to prevent frauds and thefts (*fraudes et furta*). These masters remained in office five years, and when they had faithfully performed their duties received the title of counts of the third order; but if they had acted dishonestly, their property was confiscated and they were condemned to labor at grinding corn, *ad pistrini munia revocatur* (*Codex Theod.* xiv. 4, 9).

² *Codex Just.* xii. 8. A decree of the year 412, when the order of titles had considerably changed, shows at what inequality this society had arrived. For a like offence an *illustris* paid fifty pounds of gold; a *spectabilis*, forty; a senator, thirty; a *clarissimus*, twenty; a *sacerdotalis*, thirty; a *principalis*, twenty; a *decurio*, five; a *negociator*, five; a *plebeius*, five (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 5, 52). In another decree, of the year 414 (*ibid.* 51), the fine is for a proconsul, a vicar, or a count of the first rank, two hundred pounds of silver; for a senator or a *sacerdotalis*, one hundred; for one of the *decemprimi*, fifty; for a simple *curialis*, ten.



CLAUDIAN (?), UPON A DIPTYCH OF MONZA.

tain taxes, customs dues, municipal burdens, torture, etc.; and these advantages inspired pride in their possessors, and envy in those who were less favored. Immunities which had been very rare under the Republic and in the Early Empire¹ were multiplied in the third century in proportion as public functions increased, and the interference of the government in municipal affairs.² Constantine largely developed this system, which enabled him to make his nobles conspicuous, and to pay, with privileges which cost him nothing, for services which he was not willing to reward with money. From 314 to 328 five laws establish and extend the privileges of the *palatini*.³

Christianity, which, it has been said, brought equality into the world, made no attempt to combat the aristocratic tendencies of the society upon which it had just laid hold. The Christian Emperors are gods upon earth much more than ever the pagan Emperors were, and they organized a state nobility such as Rome had never before known.

As we count the successive grades which rise, one above another, from the people up to the sovereign, and notice the barriers which fence in so many of the citizens to the places and positions in which they were born, we shall be tempted to believe that the Empire at last is supplied with those monarchical institutions which ought from the first to have protected the ruler, by placing between him and any outbreak of people or soldiery a whole world of men, each interested in the maintenance of the imperial

¹ Livy, xiv. 26; Suetonius, *Oct.* 40, *Claud.* 25. In the time of Ulpian, the immunity ceased with the life of him who had enjoyed it (. . . *cum persona extinguatur*); but for regions (*loci*) and for cities, it was permanent (. . . *ad posteros transmittitur*. — *Dig.* l. 15, 4, sect. 3). Trajan had granted to the philosopher Potamon exemption from the *portorium*; Tyras had early obtained this exemption; and Brundisium received it from Sylla.

² See in the *Digest* (l. 5 and 6) and in the *Theodosian Code* (vi. 35), *De Privilegiis eorum qui in sacro palatio militarunt*. Law 1, which is of the year 314, says: . . . *Immunes eos a cunctis muneribus permanere cum universis mobilibus et mancipiis urbanis, idque beneficium ad filios eorum atque nepotes . . . pervenire*. Law 2 exempts from the *productio equorum* (anno 319); another, of the same year, says: *Nec ad curiam, vel honores, vel onera, vel munera municipalia devocentur* (*ibid.* 3).

³ The law of 314 explains what is meant by *palatini*: *Tam his qui obsequiis nostris inculcata officia praeberunt, quam illis qui in scriniis nostris id est memoriae, epistolarum libellorumque versati sunt*.

NOTE. — The engraving facing the next page represents the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople, personified. (Ricardi diptych, formerly at Florence, now in the Imperial Museum at Vienna. Gori, *Thes. vet. dipt.* vol. ii. pl. ix.)

authority. But these ramparts, which in modern Europe have for centuries made royalty secure, are solid only when they have sprung up of themselves. Powerful aristocracies are formed only by religion and by war. The *noblesse* of Constantine arose neither from one nor the other. Born of yesterday at the Emperor's caprice, having land but not having arms,—which they at once dread and despise,¹—this was not a veritable *noblesse*, since under all its titles, which were mere labels of classification modified by the Emperor at his will, there was no special authority in those who bore them. Their property, their lives even, were at the absolute discretion of the Emperor; and this exact order, which hid the confusion of a system as yet only partially projected rather than perfectly devised, will not prevent slaves and eunuchs from being all-powerful in the palace, or praetorian prefects being driven thence, to be put to death with torture. The gilded menials of Constantinople had therefore nothing in common with the great aristocracy which had made the fortune of Rome. They fled from camps, where they might have gained a virile confidence in the presence of dangers bravely met; and when invasion came, they had nothing to oppose to it but bodies enervated by indolence, and souls rendered pusillanimous by servility.

The fundamental political principle of classic antiquity had been election, and men had preserved the image of this after they had abandoned its reality. During the whole duration of the Early Empire the *duumvirs* had been always appointed by the popular assembly; even as to the Emperors there had been a semblance of election.² In the Later Empire, on the contrary, hereditary succession, established or encouraged by the law, was the dominant principle. We have already seen it accepted for the imperial dignity and for the senatorial rank; we shall soon find it imposed upon *curiales* and *coloni*, upon employees of the administration (*cohortales*) and

¹ *Militiae labor a nobilissimo quoque, pro sordido et illiberali rejiciebatur* (Mamertinus, *Gratiarum actio*, 20). *Honestiores quique civilia sectantur officia* (Vegetius, i. 7). Carrying arms was forbidden, except when expressly allowed by the Emperor (*Code de Theod.* xv. 15, l. anno 364).

² As late as 458 the Emperor Majorian, chosen by the Suevian Ricimer, wrote to the Senate: . . . *Imperatorem me factum, patres conscripti, vestrae electionis arbitrio*,—an old formula which deceived no one, but which for centuries it had been considered proper to employ (*Nor. Maj.* i.). Constantius appeared also to ask the consent of the army in making Julian Caesar,—another formality (*Amm. Marcellinus*, xv. 8).



ROME AND CONSTANTINOPLE PERSONIFIED.

upon workmen in the imperial manufactories, upon corporations needed by the state and by cities, and even upon the great majority of soldiers.¹ But by this principle of hereditary succession and the hierarchy combined, life was, so to speak, suspended in this great body, and it was struck with paralysis at the moment when there was a general advance of the Barbarians to attack it. When the invaders arrived, the nation remained indifferent to the efforts of its government because it saw above its head and weighing upon it with all the weight of its privileges and its insolence, a mass of functionaries and titled persons who drew largely from the public treasury, while many of them paid but little into it. We can scarcely exaggerate the number of these privileged persons. Titles were sought with all the eagerness that has been shown in the countries of modern Europe in seeking patents of nobility. As early as the time of which we speak they were bought, and the number of tax-payers had diminished, while that of parasites increased.² A time came when in a single grade there were five classes of holders.³ Hence the language of Lactantius, which is alarming, even with its evident exaggeration: "Those who live upon the taxes are more numerous than those who pay them."

¹ The *cohortales*, for example, cannot, without the Emperor's permission, abandon their employment or aspire to another condition (*Codex Theod.* viii. 4, laws 4, 18, 21-3, 25, 28, 30; *ibid.* viii. 7, laws 2, 3, 9), unless they have had twenty-five years of service (*ibid.* vi. 35, law 14; viii. 4, law 30), under penalty of being sent back to their position. Justinian subjects to the trentenary prescription the prosecution which might be set on foot against *cohortales* who had abandoned their employment (*Codex Just.* xii. 58, laws 12 and 13); their children could not withdraw themselves from the paternal condition (*Codex Theod.* viii. 4, *lex ultima*; and tit. 7, law 19), even those who were born after the expiration of the paternal term of service (*ibid.* vi. 35, law 14). "This prohibition of change of condition is one of the most characteristic traits of the imperial legislation. It is applied to so large a number of positions or professions that we may regard it as a general rule for the mass of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire" (Serrigny, *Droit public et administratif romain, du quatrième au sixième siècle*, i. 170). At the same time we should observe that while a man was attached as a matter of hereditary succession to the same branch of service, he was not held to the same position in it: thus he might rise from one grade to another, and in certain corporations he even obtained his liberty after a fixed number of years.

² Amm. Marcellinus, xxv. 4. Frauds became so numerous that many laws were made to send back to the lists of municipal tax-payers pretended nobles and veterans (*Codex Theod.* xii. 1, laws 24, 33, 36, 38).

³ For instance, in the case of the *illustres*,—*Illustres in actu*, or on duty; *Ill. vacantes praesentes*, or unattached; *Ill. vac. absentes*; *Ill. honor praes.*; *Ill. honor abs.* (cf. Godefroy, *Code Theod.* vi. 18). For the *clarissimi* there were three grades, the *cl. illustres*, the *cl. spectabiles*, and the simple *clarissimi*.

III.—THE PEOPLE: CURIALES AND POSSESSORES.

AFTER the nobles and the court let us observe the people, here, as elsewhere, divided into two classes, the rich and the poor. But wealth imposes upon the former burdens often intolerable, and poverty places the latter in a condition of semi-servitude.

In the days of their independence the citizens in the Graeco-Italian states provided for everything,—the keeping up of roads and public buildings, the maintenance of public order, the financial management, the administration of justice, the rites and ceremonies of religion, public festivals, etc.; and they did all this without complaint, because liberty compensated them for the sacrifices they made. But Rome had imposed her authority upon these little republics, and the Empire finally suppressed their municipal franchises. Only the burdens remained. These were rendered obligatory; and they became heavier for the notables of the city in proportion as the number of those excused from them grew constantly larger. Among persons excused were the state nobility, the veterans of the army, farmers and collectors of taxes, colonists on imperial lands, artisans whose work was useful to the court, and even ship-owners who transported corn to the points where distributions were made. We have seen that immunity conferred honor, because it was a privilege,—and profit, because it relieved from an expense which fell instead upon the mass of the inhabitants. It was therefore to the detriment of a class of the citizens that the government gratified the vanity of the nobles, and secured services for which it should have paid. A man was born a *curialis*; he did not become so except, in the case of the poor man, by a stroke of good fortune which brought comfort into a humble house, or in the case of a noble, as the penalty for an offence. Guilty persons, or those regarded as guilty, were condemned to the curia as to a penalty and instead of a punishment (*ob culpam, loco supplicii*).¹ Men were

¹ *Codex Theod.* xii. 1, laws 66 and 108. These two laws, of the years 375 and 384, forbid condemning to the curia *ob culpam*, showing that the practice had existed at an early period.

impressed, so to speak, for municipal honors. Thus, during the last persecution, Christians possessed of property were *addicti curiae*, so that their wealth might be at the discretion of the municipal senate. A law of Constantine provides that if a man appointed to the duumvirate flees the city, his property shall go to him who takes the office instead.¹

Shut up in the curia as in a jail, the *curialis* was the prisoner of his *municipium*, the slave of his fortune.² He remained subject to the ancient *munera*³ of the times of liberty, and the government imposed upon him actual state duties, such as the levying of part of the tribute. The *curiales* at their own risk and peril⁴ must allot and levy this; and they were even charged with the recruiting, since military service was one of the taxes on property.⁵ Also there were many legislative provisions, admitting to the curia the son of the decurion as soon as he was eighteen years of age, forbidding the *curialis*, under penalty of banishment, to alienate any

¹ Euseb., *Life of Constantine*, ii. 30, and *Codex Inst.* x. 31, 18, anno 326. Another law, of 319, condemns to the curia any veteran's son who is unfit for military service (*Codex Theod.* vii. 22, 1).

² . . . *Originalibus vinculis* (*ibid.* xii. 1, 82), and elsewhere: *curiales . . . serviunt*. The word which designates one of the forms of ancient slavery, *nexus*, is also employed to show the chain which binds the son of the *curialis* to the curia, *quem avitus curiae nexus adstringit* (*Codex Theod.* xii. 1, 64, anno 365). There was no special rule in respect to this slavery: . . . *per originem obnoxii curiis*, 13; . . . *qui statim ut nati sunt, curiales esse coeperunt*, 122. The *curialis* appointed by the governor or the decurions (*ibid.* xii. 1, 61, anno 365) could not be released from the curia till he had fulfilled all municipal obligations (57, 58, 65, 182).

³ The *curiales* and their chiefs, the annual magistrates, administered the city's property and managed its finances; they built or kept in repair public edifices, streets, roads, bridges, and aqueducts; they inspected the harbors and markets, and were obliged, in many places, to superintend the administration of the public relief given to children, the sick, and the aged; they bought the corn for distributions, and the wood for heating the baths; they gave games and spectacles; they visited the governor or the Emperor on matters concerning the welfare or interest of the city. The most serious feature of the situation was that all the acts of their administration involved responsibility, which was made very grave by heavy fines or large indemnities which they were often required to pay into the city's treasury. See, in respect to the obligations of the *curiales*, for the period of which we now speak, Godefroy's *Paratitlon ad Cod. Theod.* xii. 1, p. 355. A decree of the year 315 reserves to the Emperor alone the right to grant the *vacationem munerum* (*Codex Theod.* xii. 1, 1).

⁴ The responsibility of the *curiales* in respect to the public treasury was not collective; each individual answered for that portion which it was his duty to collect: *nequis omnino [unusquisque decurio] pro alio decurione vel territorio conveniatur* (*ibid.* xi. 7, 2, anno 319). In respect to the financial responsibility of the *curiales*, see the *Theodosian Code*, xii. 6, *De Susceptoribus*. Law 1 belongs to the year 319.

⁵ *Possessoribus indicti tiroes* (Vegetius, ii. 5). The expense of equipment fell upon the land-owners. This was the system of Charlemagne and the Valois kings of France, and, until recently, of Russia.

part of his estate or to travel without authorization of the governor,¹ and denying him admission to the militia, the Church, or offices of state. If he died without children, the curia became his heir; if he left daughters only, the curia took a fourth of his property. From Constantine alone there remain twenty-two constitutions relating to the *curiales*, and the chapter *De decurionibus* in the *Theodosian Code* contains a hundred and ninety-two. A dangerous solicitude is this, for it is not the well-being of the cities which the government has in mind; it is only to secure the payment of taxes, the recruiting of soldiers, and the execution of public works,—a triple duty, which, with the administration of justice, falls almost entirely within the province of the state,—which, however, the Emperors shifted upon the municipalities. When we see the *curialis* flee from the city, or buy a title to hide himself in the classes that enjoy municipal immunity,² or descend willingly to the position of agricultural laborer, it is easy to understand why the old historians show us cities without inhabitants, and why Constantine has curiae without *curiales*. Hence so many efforts to arrest desertions, which the Emperor himself had occasioned by a false conception of the division of social obligations between the state and the citizens.³

These slaves of public business had their compensations,—first, municipal honors, a show of authority, the pleasure of feeling themselves raised above the crowd, and if they ruined themselves in the service of the city, the right to be supported at the public expense; moreover, exemption from torture, in a time when there was frequent recourse to it; lastly, exemption from certain dues, and whatever advantages—not very creditable certainly, but sometimes very productive—they could derive from

¹ *Codex Theod.* xii. 1, 9, anno 324.

² An ordinance of 383 condemns to be burned to death the *civitation tabularii* who falsely inscribe a name on the list of those enjoying immunity (*Codex*, x. 15, 1). Constantius reproaches the *curiales* with buying *honores imaginarios* (*Codex Theod.* xii. 1, 25 and 27).

³ Zosimus, ii. 38; *Codex Theod.* xii. 1, 6, and 13: . . . *curias desolari (annis 319 et 326)*. Constantine repeats it: *curias vacuifectas* (*ibid.* 25 and 27; cf. *Nov. Majoriani*, vii. *initio*). One of the epigraphic ordinances of Constantine, in the collection of Voigt, orders: . . . *Quibus studium est urbes . . . inter mortuas reparare*. (Cf. *Bull. de Corr. afric.* 1882, p. 84.) A decree of 340 (*Codex Theod.* xii. 1, 29) speaks of *magistratus [civitation] desertores*. Accordingly, a new title of honor was devised for a man who, exempt by birth or condition from municipal burdens, consented to assume them; he was declared *pater civitatis* (*Codex Just.* x. 43, 3, anno 463).

the exercise of their functions. To place in the same hands the apportionment and levying of taxes in money and in kind, was a wretched system of administration. Some tax-payers were rated too high, others too low. This man deceived as to quantity, that man as to quality; and the deception was practised with impunity, thanks to the connivance of the assessor-collector, whose indulgence was paid for, or whose severity money could lessen. By a natural retaliation, those whom the Treasury persecuted, became in turn persecutors. Amm. Marcellinus shows this as early as the reign of Constantius, and later, Salvianus says: "There were as many tyrants as there were *curiales*."¹

But the government cared little for this. It appeared so convenient merely to name the amount of the land-tax, and then to stretch one's hand out to receive it, that the same procedure was adopted in respect to the tax on trades (*lustralis collatio*). These tax-payers collectively, by their delegates, apportioned and levied the tax required of them as a body, *absque ulla aerarii nostri deminutione*.² This method of collecting produced the same evils as did that in which the *curiales* were the agents: upon the assessors it laid a ruinous responsibility, and upon the tax-payers annoyances and hardships. Thus this tax became the most hated of all that were paid.³

The care of the aqueducts had been one of the chief duties of the Republican censors and of the early Emperors. Constantine made the land-owners, whose territory the aqueducts traversed, responsible for keeping them in repair and for the distribution of the water. As compensation, he exempted these persons from the extraordinary taxes (which increased their burden upon others), and in case of neglect he punished by confiscation.⁴

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, XIX. ii.: *Nomina titulorum . . . per suscipientes exaggerata . . . adusque proscriptiones miserorumque suspendia pervenerunt*: and Salvianus, *De Gubern. Dei*, v.

4. To put a stop to these malversations, the Emperor Anastasius instituted, near the close of the fifth century, official collectors (Evagrius, *Hist. eccl.* iii. 42).

² *Codex Theod.* xiii. 1, 17. This law is of the year 399, but makes reference to an old custom, . . . *cum soleat*, it is said.

³ The Emperor Anastasius calls it, in 501, *rectigal miserabile prorsus, Deoque invisum, et barbaris ipsis indignum* (Evagrius, *Hist. eccl.* iii. 39, 41).

⁴ *Codex Theod.* xv. 2, 3, anno 330.

IV. — THE PLEBS, THE CORPORATIONS, AND THE COLLEGIATI.

WHEN we consider the privileged classes as such, we find that the Empire had two grades of nobility,—that of the state, namely, the high officers and titled persons; and that of the cities, consisting of the *curiales*, and also of land-owners and merchants not included in the curia, who in certain circumstances were admitted to deliberate with the decurions.¹ Collectively, these privileged persons made up the class of *honestiores*,² or what would have been called in France forty years ago *le pays légal*, outside of which were those who may be regarded as the ancestors of the mediæval serfs,—in the country, the *colonus* or agricultural laborer; in the cities, the artisan, the freedman, and the petty tradesman, *qui utensilia negotiatur*.³ This plebs of the city and country formed a countless mass of human beings who were the pariahs of the Roman world. As early as the reign of Augustus, he who was called *honestior* could not be summoned into court by the *humilior*. From the time of the Antonines, the penal law and the civil law clearly separated the citizens into two classes. The *plebeius homo* is excluded from the curia; and in the matter of punishment, for a like crime the rich man is banished, the poor man dies under torture; the former cannot be beaten with rods, the latter may be beaten to death.⁴ From this time, whoever had municipal honors, any official position in the city, or a certain fortune in the state, was no

¹ Inscriptions often say : . . . *ordo possessorisque* (Orelli, No. 3,734), or *uterque ordo* (C. I. L. vol. ii. No. 3,745). The appointment of the municipal physicians was intrusted *ordini et possessoribus* (Ulpian in the *Digest*, l. 12, 1). A law of the Emperor Leo (*Code*, xi. 31, 3) required, to render valid the alienation of communal property, the addition to the curia of the *honorati et possesores*, as in France it was formerly the custom to join with the municipal councillors the heaviest tax-payers in voting extraordinary taxes. The *possesores* could not quit their city without exposing themselves to twofold taxation, since they remained subject to the *munera* of their native city, while also bearing those of their adopted place of residence.

² See Appendix to this volume.

³ *Ab aedilibus caeduntur* (*Dig.* l. 2, 12).

⁴ *Dig.* l. 2, 7, sect. 8. The exception ceased in cases of treason : . . . *Cum de eo crimine quaeritur nulla dignitas a tormentis excipitur* (Paulus, *Sent.* v. 29).

longer of the people: "Let the judge," says Constantine, "especially consider the testimony of the *honestior*."¹

But how distinguish one from the other?

In the class of *humiliores* were all persons who had been inscribed upon the city registers as branded with infamy on account of their employment; also, all the poor, that is to say, citizens whose property did not amount to fifty aurei, — equivalent to about \$173, but doubtless a much larger sum then than now. In France, where it is so easy to rise above actual poverty, the average value of a working-man's household goods scarcely exceeds this sum, and those who do not possess even this, form a third of the whole male population. Hence we must conclude that the proportion of poor was much greater in the Roman Empire, since the great majority of the inhabitants were not, in spite of Caracalla's decree, citizens *pleno jure*. The *honestior*, on the contrary, had the privileges which were enjoyed by the *civis Romanus* under the Republic.

In this mass of outcasts were, however, the producers, — those who by their labor supplied all the needs of society. The condition in which we find this class, at the beginning of the fourth century, had been prepared by previous ages; but Constantine determined it.

The idea of levying a portion of the tax in kind was so Roman, and had so long been in practice both under the Republic and the Empire, that it had been extended to everything. The treasury had undertaken to feed and clothe, with the supplies furnished by the provinces, the court, the officers of government, the army, and even those persons occupied with public instruction. Accordingly, perhaps half of the tax was paid in kind, with all the disadvantages attached to this method, which brought about numerous abuses and an enormous waste of the public resources. But in the matter of clothing and weapons, and those gifts of the Emperors to their servants of which we have elsewhere given the long and curious list,² luxury made demands which the tax-payers could not meet. Accordingly, imperial manufactories had been established for stuffs, dyeing, goldsmith's work, and the like,

¹ . . . *Ut honestioribus potius fides testibus habeatur* (*Codex Theod.* xi. 39, 3).

² Vol. VII. p. 190, note 2.

making use of the raw material furnished by the provinces; for weapons only, there were not less than thirty-five of these workshops. Artisans whose labor had been judged necessary for the cities or the government, formed also obligatory corporations.¹ Rome had two hundred and fifty-four bakeries. At the age of twenty, the son was required to enter upon his father's trade, unless he relinquished his right to inherit.² The charcoal-burners, lime-burners, teamsters employed in the transport of wood for heating the baths, and many others, were enrolled. A law compelled freedmen possessing thirty pounds of silver to enter the corporation of the unloaders.³ Once registered, the laborer was, like the curials, bound for life.⁴

In return, these *fabricenses* and artisans were exempted from *munera*, — an illusive exemption, which they held from their poverty much more surely than from the law, for it ceased for those whose property, by any chance, became sufficient to enable them to provide for these charges.⁵ In 337 thirty-eight liberal or scientific professions obtained from Constantine a complete immunity. This time a real advantage was conceded, for in these careers there was prospect of acquiring a competency, and all persons possessing a competency at once fell under the municipal yoke. But the favor was granted only "to permit these *artifices* to

¹ *Codex*. x. 47, 7: *Vestiariorum, linteonum, purpurariorum et particariorum qui devotioni nostrae deserviunt* (law of Constantine, undated).

² *Codex Theod.* xiii. 5, 2, anno 315, and xiv. 3, 5, anno 364.

³ *Ibid.* xiv. 11, 9, anno 368.

⁴ Symmachus, urban prefect, writes to Valentinian II.: "You are aware that the support of this immense city depends on the corporations;" and he enumerates those who bring in sheep, swine, and cattle; who transport corn, oil, and the wood required to heat the public baths; "who make ready, with industrious hands, the objects destined for imperial use; or who suppress fires when they break out. It would be tedious to name all, — to specify the keepers of public houses, the bakers, and the numerous classes who, under various designations, labor for the country, *patriæ servientes*" (*Epist.* x. 27). And he adds: *Liquet privilegium ceteris magno impendio constare Romanis. Jugi obscurio immunitatis nomen emerunt* (*ibid.*). Immunity from municipal burdens was the main fact in the privileges granted to these corporations; but there were many other advantages added to it, — for example, exemption from extraordinary taxes, and from certain taxes in kind. These advantages varied for each corporation, and we know but a few of them. Thus the *navicularii* received one solidus for every 1000 modii transported, and they were allowed four per cent of waste (*Codex Theod.* xiii. 5, 7, anno 534); each cargo of 10,000 modii excused them from the land-tax for 50 *jugera*, and they were exempted from customs-dues on their merchandise (*ibid.* 14). The corporations which levied the tax in kind received as indemnity an *epimetron*, or additional measure, which was as much as $\frac{1}{40}$ of wheat and barley, and $\frac{1}{16}$ of wine and bacon.

⁵ *Dig.* xxvii. 1, 17, sect. 2, and l. 6, 5, sect. 12.

become more skilful in their professions, and the better to train their children to the same.”¹ The legislator of the fourth century seeks, therefore, to establish, even in the professions which have remained free, the principle of hereditary succession, which he strives to put in practice everywhere. “The mint-masters,” writes Constantine in 317, “must remain always in their workshops.”² The *fabricenses* of the imperial factories, the *navicularii* who transport corn, oil, and supplies due to the state,³ the *metallarii*,⁴ officials, members of corporations serviceable to the state or the cities, are placed in the same condition, which is really one of servitude (*serviunt*).⁵ In the imperial factories the workmen are branded on the arm or hand with a mark by which they may be recognized in case they escape,⁶ and they are collectively responsible for one another; the reparation for one man’s error or accident falls upon the whole corporation, as in an *officium* if the chief has been punished by a fine, the employees collectively pay another equal in amount, or even larger.

No mention has been made of the engineers, who at a very early date were attached to the legions, whom we find still thus

¹ . . . *Et ipsi peritiores fieri et filios suos crudire* (*Codex*, x. 64, 1).

² *Codex Theod.* X. 20, i. Cf. *ibid.* xiv. 7, 1, and xii. 19, 2. There were ten imperial mints.

³ *Dig.* iv. 6, sect. 5. Whoever had a vessel in the Tiber was obliged to put it, in case of need, at the service of the state (*Codex Theod.* xiv. 21, anno 364). To recruit the corporations of *navicularii*, crews were impressed, and sometimes owners (*ibid.* xiii. 5, 1, anno 369).

⁴ *Sint perpetuo navicularii* (*Codex Theod.* xiii. 5, 14, and 19, annis 371 et 390); *Metallarii qui migrarunt . . . ad propriæ originis stirpem larconque reocentur* (*ibid.* x. 19, 15, anno 424). In his law *De Sicariis* (*Codex Theod.* xiv. 4, 1, anno 334, and in the law of 317 in the *Codex*, xi. 7, 1) Constantine shows extreme severity towards those who sought to escape from their corporation. No honor can withdraw them from it; it even involves their lives (*salutis etiam periculum subituro*), if they attempt to escape.

⁵ *Codex Theod.* xii. 19, 2, anno 400, and *Codex Just.* 7, 7, anno 380. Besides the advantages given them by the state in the form of indemnities or exemptions from taxes, some of these corporations were strongly guarded from competition. Thus all merchandise arriving at Ostia was to be unloaded by the government (*saccarii*). If the importer wished to have his goods landed by his own men, he was obliged to pay the treasury twenty per cent *ad ratorem* (*ibid.* xiv. 22, 1, anno 364). These *saccarii Ostienses* remind us of the powerful corporation of porters at Marseilles. See in Vol. VI. p. 107, note 2, the organization of the company of the mines of Aljustrel.

⁶ *Ibid.* x. 9, 5; 22, 4; xi. 9, 3; and *Codex Just.* xi. 7, 2, and xi. 12, 10. In certain cases the death-penalty was attached to this offence. *Singulis manibus eorum fieri namque per totis nostræ impresso signari decernimus . . . ut militum quantum modo sociati* (Rescript of Zeno). Those who concealed such fugitives were condemned to the same workshop (*Codex Just.* xi. 9, 3, anno 398). Shall we conjecture that the tattooing which the modern workman often has made upon his arm is a reminiscence of this custom?

attached in the reign of Hadrian, and whose number doubtless increased with the number and variety of machines which engineering science had multiplied; but there is no doubt that they shared in the soldiers' lot, and were from father to son attached like the soldiers to the army.

The corporations devoted to the public service included only a part of the artisans of the whole Empire. Those who had never belonged to them practised their trades freely, and, according to the Roman custom, united themselves in the different cities into guilds, whose formation the Emperors encouraged, and in some cases required.¹ Some of these *collegia* were rich and important, as had been, and doubtless still were, the boatmen of the Seine and of the Rhone, and many other corporations of trades or mercantile pursuits,—the last remnants of an expiring prosperity. But lesser ones, formed by small tradesmen and artisans, vegetated miserably in city hovels. Of the degree of esteem granted to these we may judge when we find, in a tariff of fines, that a mere decurion, or a man belonging by birth to the curia (*obnoxius curiae*), is worth five *collegiati*.² Upon them rested the *sordida munera*.³ It is an old law, says the Emperor Majorian, that the *collegiati* be required to perform in turn, under the direction of the curials, all the servile work of the city (*ministeria urbium*);⁴ and this became the legal penalty of being incorporated into a college (*collegiis applicetur*). Accordingly, the incorporated artisan sought to escape from his prison, as did the curial from his. On the subject of persons *qui conditionem propriam reliquierunt*, the *Theodosian Code* says: "The cities, deprived of the labor needful to them, have lost much of their prosperity, since many of the *collegiati*, abandoning their work, have escaped into the country, and live in remote and secret places; let them be seized wherever they can be found, and brought back to their former work."⁵

¹ *Codex Just.* xiv. 8, 1, anno 315.

² *Ibid.* xii. 1, 146, anno 395.

³ The law of the *Justinian Code* (xi. 16, 15, anno 382) enumerates these base tasks.

⁴ *Nov. Majorian.* vii. sect. 3: . . . *Quae praeccedentium legum praecepit auctoritas.* Cf. sect. 4.

⁵ *Codex Theod.* xii. 19, 1, anno 400; *ibid.* xiv. 7, 1, anno 397.

V. THE COLONI AND THE SLAVES.

FROM the city plebs we pass to the rural plebs, that which is subject to the *capitatio terrena*, which in the Middle Ages became so merciless a taxation. The *coloni* of the treasury had originally been excused from municipal burdens that they also might not be in any way distracted from the culture of the imperial domain.¹ They had the family relations: they might possess property to be inherited by their sons, and they were admitted to bring suit in the courts; but their condition became worse as the class grew more numerous, and Cato's frightful language as to the slave (*instrumentum vocale*) was used in respect to them. In the time of Ulpian they were reckoned with the ox, the plough, and agricultural implements, — attached to the soil, the *instrumentum fundi*.² The *colonus* was sold with the land which he cultivated. "If he makes his escape," says Constantine, "let him be pursued like the fugitive slave;"³ and such was, notwithstanding his title of free man, the degradation of his position that the healthy mendicant, by way of punishment, was condemned to be a *colonus*.⁴

The greater part of economic labor, as performed by the artisan and the *colonus*, became, therefore, very nearly servile.⁵ The feudal system used no harsher language towards the artisan than that employed by the sons of Constantine in a rescript: "Let them not dare to aspire to any honor, even if they might deserve

¹ *Coloni quoque Caesaris a numeribus liberantur ut idoneiores praediis fiscalibus habeantur* (Dig. l. 6, 5, sect. 11). On the formation of this class, see Vol. VI. pp. 14-18.

² Dig. xxxiii. 7, 8. *In instrumenta fundi . . . veluti . . . villici, boves domiti, pecora, stercorandi causa parata, vasque utilia culturae, quae sunt aratra, falces, etc.*

³ *Codex Theod.* v. 91, anno 332. Constantine forbade the dividing of families of *coloni* when the land was sold to different owners (*Codex Just.* iii. 38, ii. anno 334). This was the application to the agricultural laborer of the favor which had been granted to the slave (see Vol. VI. p. 4), or rather it was the renewal of a provision of the laws by which the *coloni* had probably been long benefited. The *coloni* could possess as their own a *peculium* gained from the products of their farms, and, consequently, land bought with their own money.

⁴ *Codex Just.* xi. 25, anno 382.

⁵ We have just seen (p. 34) that the professions which we call liberal, those of the physician, architect, teacher, painter, sculptor, etc., remained free (*Codex Theod.* xiii. 4, 1-4, and *Codex Just.* x. 64, 1).

it, the men who are covered with the filth of labor (*omni officiorum fæce*), and let them remain forever in their own condition"¹ Thus was prepared what alarmed witnesses of contemporary agitations have called, while wishing it existed still, "the solid gearing of social conditions in the Middle Ages."

The great evil of the ancient civilization had been slavery. The Church mitigated it in a fatherly spirit, for the reason that



THE CULTURE OF THE VINE.²

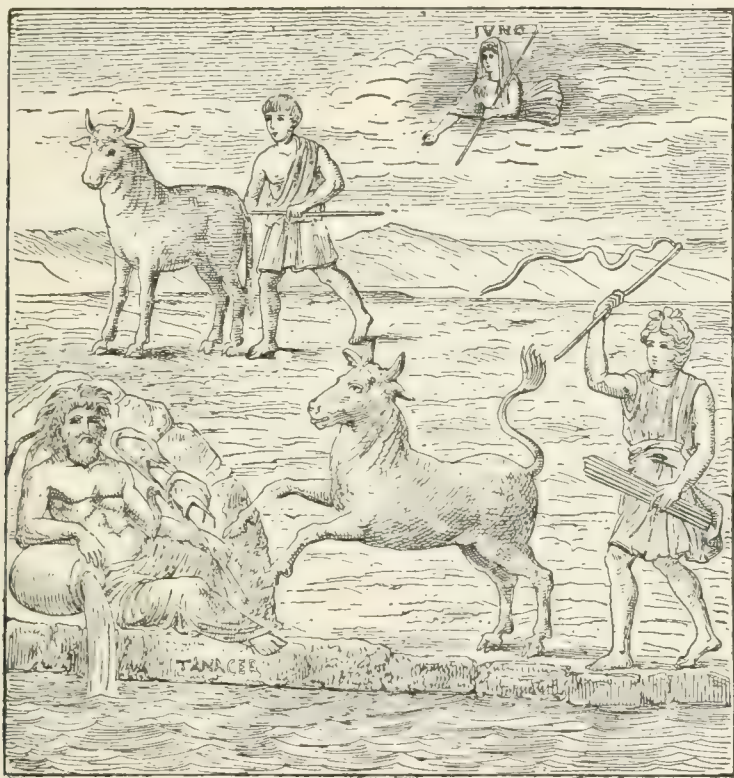
mercy is the whole sum of the Gospel; but inasmuch as the Church does not propose to change either political organizations or social conditions, the evil itself was permitted to remain. Saint Paul assures the believers that they are all one in Christ Jesus;³ but he makes them no promise of earthly equality. Accordingly, the bishops themselves held slaves, even for their personal service. Those belonging to Georgios, archbishop of Alexandria, copied so many manuscripts for him that they made for him the valuable library

¹ *Codex Just.* xii. 1, 6: . . . *Si quis meruerit repellatur*. Theodosius, speaking of a slave, calls him *servili faece descendens* (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 5, 21). The same expression had been used by Cicero. The *humiliores* were always objects of contempt to the Roman aristocracy.

² Fresco dating from about the year 300. Painting from a *cubiculum* in the catacomb of Praetextatus (Parker, *Catal.* No. 1882).

³ *Galatians* iii. 28.

of which Julian speaks with envy.¹ In his will Saint Gregory bequeaths "to the Russian virgin" two maid-servants, who, after her, shall belong to the church of Nazianzen. When, in the fifth century, the body of clergy became the greatest land-owners in the Empire, they had, as such, multitudes of slaves, whom they treated mildly; but while they favored enfranchisements by pri-



A SHEPHERD AND A WOMAN DRIVING BULLOCKS.²

vate individuals, they did not enfranchise extensively themselves, for they needed all these laborers to cultivate their vast domains.³

Softened in character, but still preserved by the Church, slavery was maintained by Constantine, who in certain cases increased the rigor of the penal laws applicable to slaves as such;⁴ and this

¹ Letter 9.

² From the *Vergil* of the Vatican.

³ See on this point the learned essay by M. Fournier: *Les Affranchissements du cinquième au huitième siècle*, in the *Revue historique*, January, 1883.

⁴ See on this subject, Vol. VII. p. 550, note 2.

severity of the first Christian Emperor was not likely to inspire more pity in the hearts of those masters who had not learned compassion from the teaching of the gospel.¹

A society in which existed so many forms of servitude, and in which so many men were striving to escape from the condition into which they had been born, was, indeed, sick unto death. The ancient slavery had produced terrible distress; but at least above it there was a class of free and proud men, capable of great things, and doing such. Above the forms of servitude which we have here depicted, what was there? Nothing. Liberty is sometimes a stormy life; but under despotism is formed only the stagnant marsh whence escape deadly miasmata.

VI. — THE ARMY.

BUT did Constantine at least save the oldest and best of his country's institutions, that to which Diocletian had lately restored its discipline and strength,—the military organization? In the Early Empire the legion, with its cavalry, auxiliaries, and engines of war, was an actual army-corps, complete in itself; and all these corps, the praetorians alone excepted, were alike. In the time of Septimius Severus there were thirty-three of these ranged along the frontier; at the end of the fourth century there were one hundred and seventy-five legions,² posted for the most part in the interior. During eighteen years of civil war the Emperors had gathered around themselves, for protection against rivals, the best troops of the Empire, and had dismantled the lines of defence without caring for the Barbarians, who, moreover, were kept almost motionless outside the Roman intrenchments by the memory of the heavy blows with which they had been chastised during the period of the tetrarchy. Of that which had been a need of the moment, Constantine made a principle of government. He did, it is true, intrust the protection of the frontier to corps per-

¹ Cf. Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, iii. 394.

² Marquardt, *Handb.* ii. 588, from the *Notitia dignitatum*. — *Legionum nomen in exercitu permanet hodie, sed . . . robur infractum est* (Vegetius, ii. 3).

manently stationed there; but he divided up the legionary army among the provincial cities where it seemed to him most thoroughly to protect his personal safety. This was the overthrow of that system whose value had been proved under Augustus, Hadrian, and Diocletian; it was also the destruction of whatever remained of the military spirit. "The small garrisons destroy discipline." were the words of Trajan; and we repeat them after him. Read what an officer of Constantine thinks of these dissolute soldiers whose cup is heavier than their sword, who are insolent and rapacious towards their fellow-citizens, and cowardly towards the enemy because they have become so effeminate.¹

We have seen that the rule of the division of powers put in practice in the civil administration had been applied to the army, and that Constantine had four or five different classes of soldiers. The *domestici* and *scolares* were two splendid corps who guarded the imperial residences. When these soldiers appeared, on occasions of ceremony, standing in rank under the porticos or in the courtyards of the palace, their height, their gilded shields, their glittering armor, excited admiration.² All modern courts have also had these privileged corps, which seem to enhance the majesty of the throne and secure the safety of the sovereign. In reality, the *protectores*



ROMAN HORSEMAN (FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN).

¹ *Ferox erat in suos miles et rapax, ignavus vero in hostes et fractus* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 4; Zosimus, ii. 34).

² Corippus (*De Laudib. Justini minoris*, iii. versus 157 et seq.) describes one of these ceremonies.

were only show-troops, as useless to the state as had been the praetorians, their predecessors, but less formidable than they, because less numerous.

The *comitatenses* were of more value; but the principle being once admitted of dispersing the army through the cities of the interior, it was necessary to multiply the corps, in order to establish many small garrisons, reducing in each corps the number of soldiers, so that the treasury and the people should not be exhausted. Under Diocletian the legion still consisted of six thousand men,—this at least is the number of the Jovians and the Herculians according to Vegetius. Shortly after Constantine, it was impossible to put in the field a force of that number without calling out five legions; twelve were united for some trivial expedition into the Caucasus, and seven shut themselves up in the small fortified town of Amida, attacked by the Persians, and were not able to defend it.¹ Five hundred years earlier, the legions had sufficed to vanquish Antiochus and subjugate Asia Minor; but at that time the legion was that strong and supple body which has been an object of admiration to the great soldiers of every age.

Nowhere, then, could there be found in the Empire of Constantine great masses of soldiers capable of encouraging ambitious designs; and this dispersion facilitated the action of the *magistri militum*, and even the indirect surveillance of the civil magistrates and of the *curiosi*, who were able very quickly to discover and denounce any project of sedition. To this we must add that, the infantry and the cavalry having each its own special chief, an army capable of efficient action could not be formed without the Emperor's will or without an agreement between these two chief officers; furthermore, that between these two there always existed jealousy rather than any dangerous cordiality; and finally, that

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xviii. 9; xix. 2; xxvii. 12 and 16; Zosimus, v. 45. Honorius, shut up in Ravenna, was joined there by five legions, forming a total of four thousand men, and seven corps, collected by Stilicho for a very important expedition, gave him only five thousand soldiers in all. Upon which Tillemont remarks that the legions had at that time sometimes twelve hundred men, sometimes even fewer, — seven hundred. (Cf. *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.* xxv. 481, and Kuhn, *Verfass. des röm. Reichs*, i. sect. 140.) Procopius (*Hist. secr.* 24) gives the most melancholy picture of the army. We have already seen that the nobles refused service, and the notables of the cities were no less reluctant to enter the army. Aur. Victor (*Cæs.* 41) says of Constantine that he changed the military organization completely.

the commissariat, entirely separated from the command, was intrusted to a civil magistrate, the praetorian prefect, who was also the paymaster of the troops,¹—and we shall see that, while the generals indeed had soldiers, they had not the means either to pay or feed them. The campaigns of Julian in Gaul show the dangers of these jealous precautions, as well as their inefficiency. In this system all possible provision had been made for the security of the Emperor, and very little for that of the state; an ancient writer attributes the ruin of the Empire to the military regulations of Constantine.² Zosimus might have added that palace-conspiracies were now to take the place of military seditions, while even the latter were not wholly to cease.

Unlike the legionaries, the *ripenses* were permanently established in the districts where they served. With them and among them were old soldiers who, having attained the veteran standing, received a little piece of land on the frontier; this was to be an hereditary possession, accompanied by the obligation for the son to take his father's place in the ranks, or else the land would revert to the state.³ The same condition of military service was made to the Barbarians receiving Laetic⁴ lands from the Empire.—

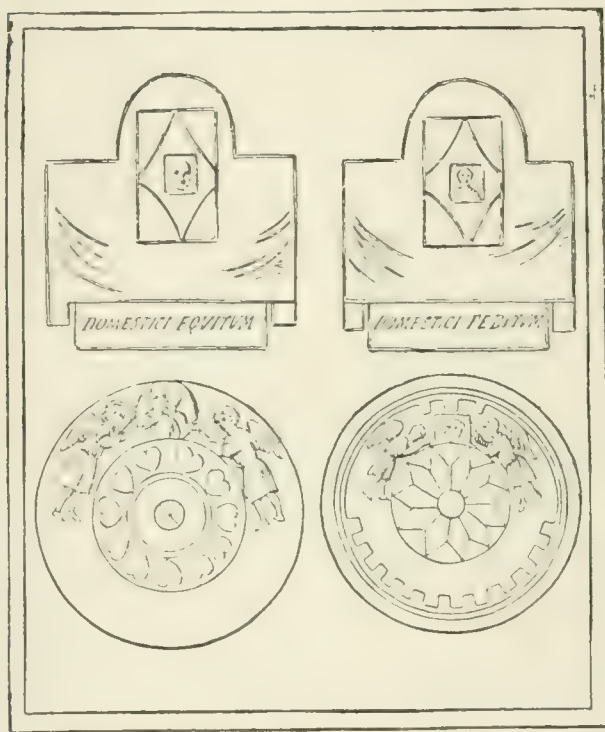
¹ Zosimus, ii. 33.

² Zosimus, ii. 34. Lydus (*De Magistr.* iii. 31, 40) deplores the unguarded condition of the Danubian frontier after the dispersal of the troops through Asia.

³ Alexander Severus, Aurelian, and Probus had given the soldiers fields and farms, with the slaves and domestic animals necessary for agriculture, — a possession which became hereditary on condition that the sons, at the age of eighteen, should enter the service. Constantine made in 320 a general regulation of this matter. He decided that there should be granted to veterans new land, free from tax in perpetuity (*vacantes terras, perpetuo immunes*), 25,000 *folles* to buy what was needful for agriculture, one yoke of oxen, and a hundred bushels (*modii*) of grain and seeds (*fruges promiscuae*); the tax on sales (*lastralis collatio*) not to be levied upon them for products of which the price was less than 100 *folles* (*Codex Theod.* viii. 2, 3). A law of 366 gave them absolute immunity in buying and selling (*ibid.* 9). Under Constantine, and probably before his time, the soldier who had the right of citizenship enjoyed exemption from taxes for himself, his father and mother, and his wife (. . . *suam caput, patris et matris et uxoris . . . creascent . . . ita tamen ut . . . vere proprias facultates creascent*). He had this exemption for himself only if he served as an auxiliary. (See *Codex Theod.* tit. vii. 20, 4, and Godefroy, commentary on this title.) Accordingly, the sons of veterans who sought to escape from their father's profession were carefully sought for, that they might be compelled to return to the service, or that they might be subjected to municipal burdens (*muneribus atque obsequiis municipalibus*. — *Codex Theod.* vii. 22, 1 and 2, *annus* 319 *et* 326; and xii. 1, 15, *anno* 327; 18, *anno* 329).

⁴ See Vol. VII. 371, note 1. These lands were not always of the best. Certain soldiers — in revolt, it is true — complained, as early as the time of Tiberius, that to the veterans were given only swamps and rocky lands (*per nomen agrorum, aliquos paludum vel inculta montium*. — *Bull. épigr. de la gaule*, 1883, p. 1).

an official colonization which probably succeeded no better than that attempted by France in Algeria. A great modern state, Austria, having established a similar organization, abandoned it. It is not thus that this matter was handled under the Republic



INSIGNIA OF THE COUNT OF THE DOMESTICS.¹

and in the first years of the Empire. Then, after a victory, it was usual to give to Roman colonists the half of a city and of its territory; and these colonies, rapidly becoming prosperous, latinized all the West, and the northern part of Africa.

While these *ripenesses* were no very considerable force, the Barbarians received into the legions of the interior, into the corps posted on the frontiers, and even into the Palatine guard,

were a danger. Still more imprudent was it to take whole tribes into the pay of the Empire. Constantine thus received forty thousand Goths, who served as a national corps (*foederati*). He believed it to be for the interest of Rome to show Salians and Alemanni and Brueteri in public office, and their rude fellow-countrymen under the standards, as if the Barbaric world had no other desire than to live within the great civilized Empire, or, as the Emperors expressed it, "In the bosom of Roman felicity." "Let the Barbarians supply soldiers," the courtiers said, "and then we can have gold from the provinces, instead of recruits."² The tax was a lucrative one, for exemption from military duty cost

¹ *Notitia dignitatum*, Seek, p. 39.

² *Amm. Marcellinus*, xix. 11.

twenty-five, thirty, or thirty-six gold solidi.¹ But this gold, levied upon Roman cowardice, went to the Barbarians; and we shall see these dangerous auxiliaries warning their fellow-countrymen, left behind in German forests, of the designs of the Romans against them, and deserters from their ranks guiding bands of German or Persian plunderers to the pillage of the provinces.² In distributing the Goths through his cohorts, Claudius II. had said: "It is a reinforcement that should be felt, and not seen;" and Probus did the same, receiving into his army but one foreigner to every ten Romans. But this prudent limit was no longer observed. From day to day the number of Barbarians of every race increased in the Roman army; they filled the auxiliary cohorts, especially the cavalry, and in the streets of Constantinople their chiefs might be seen preceded by the lictors and invested with the consular toga.³ Gratian went even farther than this: he took pleasure in wearing the costume of those whom the Emperors of an earlier day had represented on their triumphal columns as captives or suppliants; and

¹ *Codex Theod.* vii. 13, laws 7, 13, annis 375 et 397. Socrates (*Hist. eccl.* iv. 34) says that Valens raised the sum payable for exemption to eighty solidi.

² A deserter from the Roman army guided the expedition of Sapor in Mesopotamia (359), after having revealed to him the condition of the troops and fortresses in that province; it is said that the representations made by another induced the Alemanni to undertake the great invasion of 357. In 354, secret information transmitted to the Alemanni prevented Constantius from surprising them on crossing the Rhine; three Alemanni, who had the title of count and held important offices at court, were suspected of this treason (*Amm. Marcellinus*, xiv. 10). In the reign of Valentinian I. a secret correspondence was discovered between certain Alemanni serving in the Roman army and the king of this nation, whom the Emperor considered his most formidable enemy (*ibid.* xxix. 4, *ad fin.*). We know how Gratian was prevented from bringing aid to Valens after the disastrous battle of Hadrianople. In respect to the great number of Barbarians serving in the Roman army, see the *Notitia dignitatum* and Richter, *Das Weströmische Reich*, pp. 219 et seq. Like all German authors, Richter naturally finds this invasion very advantageous "for the rejuvenating of the world" (*für die Verjüngung der Welt*). This is the old and false theory that the young, rich blood of the Barbarians renewed the impoverished blood of Gaul, — whence the Germans disappeared so quickly that they left but a very small number of words in the French language.

³ *Amm. Marcellinus*, xx. 10: *Barbaros omnium primus ad usque fasces auxerat ut trabes consulares*. However, no Barbarian names appear in the consular *Fasti*; but almost all the officers mentioned by *Amm. Marcellinus* in the reign of Constantius have these names, and we have also seen that the Barbarians assumed Roman designations; for example, two kings of the Alemanni were called Ursicinus and Serapion (*ibid.* xvi. 12). Eusebius (*Life of Constantine*, iv. 7) says that Constantine took pleasure in having them about him, that he loaded them with gifts and raised them to public honor. These Barbarians, except in the case of individual grants, had not the *jus connubii* with the citizens (*Codex Theod.* iii. 14, anno 370); but they soon became so numerous in the Empire that Honorius was obliged to remove this disability (*Prudentius, Contra Symmachum*, ii. 612).

two Germans, Magnentius and Sylvanus, after his time assumed the purple in Gaul. If we except the count Theodosius and a few other Roman generals, the great soldiers of the Empire in the fourth century are Merobaud, consul in 377, Meilobaud, count of the domestics, Bauto, Frigerid, Arbogast, Richomer, Stilicho, Alaric, — whose names indicate their origin, — not to mention those who, like the Sarmatian Victor, the Laetic Magnentius and the Frank Sylvanus, concealed their Barbaric origin under Roman names. Their presence in the great offices demonstrates the loss of the military qualities in the mass of the Graeco-Latin populations, as in the second century the advent of the provincial Emperors had marked the decline of the Italiot races.

Thus Constantine divides the army, but at the same time he lowers its tone. He seeks to shelter himself from the shocks whereby thrones are overturned, and in so doing he enfeebles the state; but he does not prevent revolutions. What, compared with the legionaries of the Republic and of the Early Empire, are these soldiers recruited among the Barbarians or from the lowest classes of Roman society, whom Constantine brands upon the arm like so many criminal slaves,¹ and whose profits and honors increase as their military value diminishes? To the *ripenses* was allotted only two thirds the pay of the *palatini*; twenty-four years of service was required from them, instead of twenty;² and into these corps were received those recruits whom insufficient size or strength excluded from the *comitatenses*.³ To this refuse of the army was intrusted the guard of the frontiers.

A contemporary of Justinian writes that the army of this Emperor, which should number 645,000 men, consisted of only 150,000.⁴ — which does not mean that these were all that were in pay. A fraudulent absence from the standards was extremely common among the troops of the Later Empire; and this military crime,

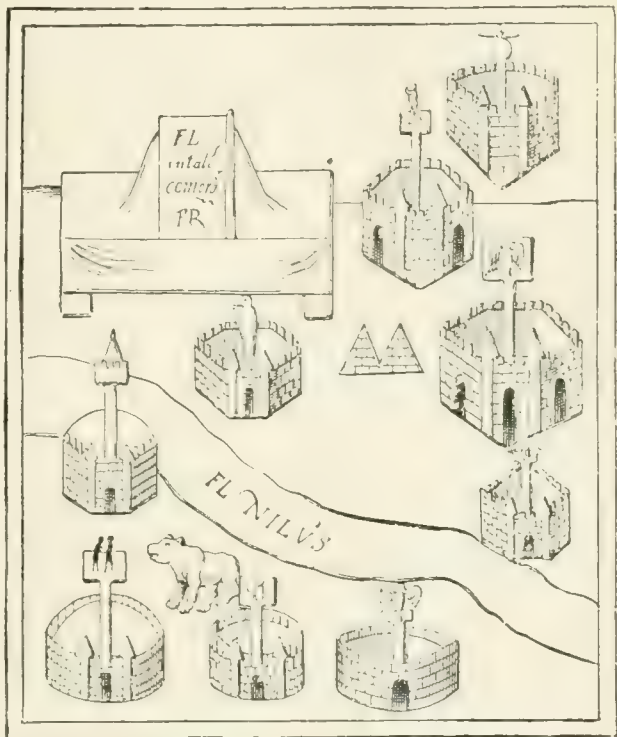
¹ *Puncturis in cute punctis* (Vegetius, i. 8; ii. 5). This had not yet become the custom in the reign of Diocletian. See, Vol. VII. p. 412, the story of Saint Maximilian, where on the entrance of the recruit into the service the putting a leathern string bearing his number about the neck is all that is done. A juriconsult, contemporary of Constantine, speaks of the tax on soldiers as like the tax on cattle (*Dig.* l. 4, 18, sect. 3). See Vol. VII. pp. 188 *et seq.*

² *Codex Theod.* viii. 1, 10, and vii. 20, 4. The same difference had formerly existed between the praetorian cohorts and the legions.

³ *Codex Theod.* vii. 22, 8, anno 372.

⁴ Agathias, v. 13, p. 305 (ed. of Bonn).

whose frequency is revealed by a law of the year 406, evidently began much earlier, for Libanius, a contemporary of Constantine, mentions it with indignation.¹ The army had for many years fallen very low in public estimation: the Emperors, from jealousy, had banished the higher classes from it; a long-continued prosperity had turned away the lower classes. The Roman army, formerly so renowned, was now so despised that a master of the cavalry did not appear worthy of any consideration from a provincial governor; that not one duke obtained under Constantius the title of *clarissimus*, of which the Emperors were so lav-

INSIGNIA OF THE COUNT OF THE EGYPTIAN FRONTIER.²

ish:³ and that the *officium* of the soldiers employed in every district to pursue robbers (*stationarii*) was counted among the *sordida munera*. This contempt had produced its usual effects; feeling that he was despised, the soldier avenged himself by deserving to be so.⁴ "We pay our troops," says Synesius later, "and we are obliged to defend them."⁵ The army of Aurelian, of Probus, and of Diocletian was still a formidable one; but from the time of Constantine, this mighty instrument of the prosperity of Rome was

¹ In his treatise *Περὶ τῶν προστασιῶν*. See Godefroy's commentary on the law of 406 (*Corpor. Theol.* vii. 4, 28 and 29) and upon the *stillatura*, a portion of the military pay left at the disposal of the government by the difference between the number of soldiers on the lists and the number present under the standards. Later we shall see with what small armies Julian defended Gaul and undertook to conquer the whole Empire.

² *Notitia dignitatum*, Seek's edition, p. 58, and Böcking's, p. 67.

³ Amm. Marcellinus, xxi. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.* xxi. 16.

⁵ *Letter* 72.

but a worthless sword, ready to break at the first encounter.



CARPENTER'S TOOLS.²

phractas et cassides. Sic detectis pectoribus et capitibus . . . multitudine sagittariorum saepe deleti sunt . . . ita fit ut non de pugna, sed de fuga cogitant qui in acie nudi exponuntur ad vulnera (*De Re milit.* i. 20). In the next paragraph he adds: "We no longer even know how to fortify a camp, *hujus rei scientia prorsus intercidit.*" As early as the reign of Gordian III. it had been necessary for Timesitheus to compel the army to resume the old Roman custom of fortifying a camp every night.

² Bas-relief from the tomb of P. Boitenos or Bertenos-Hermes, bedstead-maker (*clinope-gos*). On this bas-relief, of Parian marble, are represented compasses, a square, a plane, and a fourth implement, resembling that now used by carpenters in tracing irregular curves. A triangle surmounts the whole. (Museum of the Louvre.) See our Vol. VI. pp. 94 *et seq.*

³ See Vol. VII. p. 168. The *Notitia* enumerates an immense number of legions, cohorts, squadrons of cavalry, in garrison, in the cities and provinces. It has been inferred that the Empire had a vast army, with millions of men in actual service. Upon paper the enumeration is very formidable, but history reduces these forces to very small proportions. With twenty-five thousand soldiers only, Constantine crossed the Alps to overthrow Maxentius; with even fewer, twenty thousand, he made his first campaign against Licinius. The Count Theodosius had but thirty-five hundred to re-take Africa from Firmus, which, in the time of Stilicho, five thousand re-conquer from Gildo. Julian has thirteen thousand when he drives back the great

When once the Barbarians should come, there would be need of no long-continued efforts to bring about the great destruction.¹

The rigorous classification which the Roman world had undergone was not offensive to it; the Roman had always been gratified by having his place definitely fixed, even were it at the foot of the social scale. The artisan was never ashamed of his trade,—he had his tools engraved upon his tomb; the corporations had their banners, which they carried on occasion of public festivities;³

¹ See the sad picture drawn by Vegetius a half-century later. "The old discipline is lost. Our cavalry have borrowed the weapons of the Goths, the Alani, and the Huns, and our infantry are almost disarmed (*pedites nudatos*). They obtained from Gratian permission to give up *cata-*

provinces and cities had their emblems,¹ the soldier his decorations, the functionary his insignia, varying with the office, and



THE SPHINX, ONE OF THE EMBLEMS OF EGYPT.²

bestowed with it; the judge did not appear at the tribunal without his. A purple belt with gold buckle distinguished the official

Alemannic invasion; twenty thousand when he prepares to dispute the Empire with Constantine; in the expedition into Persia, for which he was a year in preparing, and withdrew nearly all the troops from the other frontiers, he took with him into Babylonia, to strike his great blow at the hereditary enemy, but sixty thousand men, of whom twenty thousand were employed upon his thousand vessels; and he says that when the war between Sapor and Constantine broke out, the Empire of the East was destitute of all military resources. Lastly, in almost all the wars of the fourth century we nowhere see, with the exception of the battle of Mursa, any great forces hurled against the foreign enemy or against the rebels.

¹ On many coins we see characteristic emblems of Africa, Egypt, the Cyrenaica, and other provinces. On other coins there are *vetera civitatis insignia*. Cf. Or.-Henzen, No. 6,850, inscription of the time of Constantine. For military decorations, see *ibid.* No. 6,850, and in the *Index*, p. 144. The *ornamenta consularia, praetoria*, are well known.

² This valuable cameo, in Oriental sardonyx, called the *Tazza Farnese*, is eight centimetres in diameter. The personages represented are believed to be as follows: seated on the sphinx,

in active service. ἔμπρακτος, from the mere titular.¹ The person adorning himself with insignia to which he had no right was punished, according to his station, with death or banishment: and this legislation was ancient, for it is mentioned by Ulpian. Paulus, and Modestinus.² The more evidently the Empire tottered to its downfall, the closer did the Emperors draw the bonds which they thought might retard the catastrophe; but these were only the wrappings drawn tightly around a mummy. Valentinian, Gratian, and Theodosius each promulgated many laws "for the maintenance of orders of rank."⁴

GOLD COIN.³

This classification of persons retarded the action of society. The relations which men naturally have with each other, in which a free activity is displayed and intellect developed, being replaced by artificial and constrained relations, each lived confined in his corner, so that the mental horizon was low and narrow. This régime had now been long in existence, and consequently pagan society had long been powerless to produce men of distinguished ability; and although now the other, namely Christian society, which was just beginning to make itself conspicuous, was capable of forming such, the state still gained no advantage, for these men who aimed at Heaven, were indifferent to the affairs of earth.

Isis, holding an ear of corn; near the fig-tree, the Nile, with cornucopia; at the right two nymphs, protectresses of Egypt; in the centre, a prince, with the attributes of Horus-Apollo; above, the Winds, whose breath, slackening the current of the river, favor the inundation, while Horus-Apollo, with his hydraulic pump, prevents it from being too much dispersed. The crocodile, hippopotamus, and ibis were also symbols of Egypt. (See Vol. VII. p. 91, a coin of Caracalla.) We have some reason to believe that this cameo, which was found in the ruins of Hadrian's Villa, may be of the Antonine period. The two figures of the upper part recall by their pose the apotheosis of Faustina (Vol. V. p. 488). This cameo and the horseman of the Column of Trajan show, being compared with the designs given of the third and fourth centuries, how great and sudden was the decline in art. (From the Museum of Naples.)

¹ Lydus, *De magistr.* ii. 13.

² *Dig.* iii. 1, 1, sect. 5; xlviii. 10, 27, sect. 2; Paul., *Sent.* v. 25, sect. 11.

³ Egypt holding a sistrum (reverse of a gold coin of Hadrian).

⁴ . . . *Ut dignitatum ordo servetur.* Cf. Godefroy, *Paratitlon to Codex Theod.* vi. 5, 1; vol. ii. p. 69.

VII. — SUMMARY.

THE reign of Constantine, lasting thirty-two years, was the longest the Empire had known since Augustus. Time, therefore, was liberally granted to this Emperor. How he employed it, we have seen: and we may now inquire what place it is fitting to assign him in the series of Emperors of Rome. A great place, assuredly. At the same time there was much "miry clay" mingled with the iron of his statue. His military fame is derived only from victories gained in the civil wars; his penal laws are atrocious;¹ and while he had upon his lips Christian words, he had never Christian sentiments in his heart.² His reign is full of murders, his palace reddened with blood; he put to death his wife, his son, his father-in-law, and many of his near kindred, including young children.

The organization of his army was bad, the policy of his later years imprudent, his financial system worthless, — although this, it is true, he inherited from his predecessors.

On the pages of the *Notitia dignitatum*, where the insignia of the praetorian prefects are represented, we see women personifying the provinces, and holding in their hands vases filled with coins. It is a faithful representation of this Empire, in which the art of governing was reduced to the art of making gold.³ And this gold,

¹ He abolished punishment by crucifixion, ameliorated prison discipline, and made a law favorable to poor children; but he increased the number of offences punishable by death at the stake, condemning to it the Jew who should throw stones at a Christian Jew, the dishonest tax-gatherer, the scribe wrongfully inserting a name in the list of exempts, the aruspex who entered a private house, the slave who married a free woman, the accomplices in an abduction, the counterfeiter, those who had secret understanding with Barbarians, the creditor who seized for debt the oxen and agricultural implements of the debtor, and others. He decreed that melted lead should be poured into the mouth of the servant-woman who had aided in the abduction of a young girl: and workmen called *baphii* and *gnaecii*, who spoil the material on which they work, may be put to death . . . *gladio feriantur* (*Codex Just.* xi. 7, 2), etc. Lastly, for the poor of this world he was far from having Christian consideration, preserving the distinction in penalties between the *honestiores* and *humiliores* (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 2, 5, *anno* 323). His sons resembled him in severity; one of their laws decrees the death-penalty against a paternal uncle marrying his niece (*Codex Theod.* iii. 12, 1).

² Niebuhr (*History of Rome*, ii. 360, Schmitz's edition) says of Constantine: "He was certainly not a Christian." This is going too far; but we are justified in saying that Christianity made no change in him.

³ Justinian (*Nov.* viii. chap. viii.) reminds the governors that their first duty is to collect

instead of being employed in works of public utility, maintained a sumptuous court, whose unbridled luxury recalls that of the reigns of Domitian and Nero.

In the religious order, Constantine considered the bishops as a



MACEDONIA AND DACIA PERSONIFIED, BEARING VASES FILLED WITH COINS.¹

new kind of functionaries. The Byzantine Empire inherited this idea, and Oriental Christianity, with its Church enslaved to the civil power, was destined to remain almost a stranger to the general work of civilization. Accordingly, we sympathize with Athanasius, who still demands only religious liberty, against Constantine, who refuses it, after having for a time been partially aware of its necessity.

In the civil order, while the Emperor continued the work of the Roman jurisconsults in introducing more justice in the family relations,² and while, under the influence of the Church, he carried forward the charitable measures of the Antonines in respect to poor children, he so completely established the odious principle of privileges and hereditary succession in the public service that he passed for its author in the eyes of succeeding generations.³

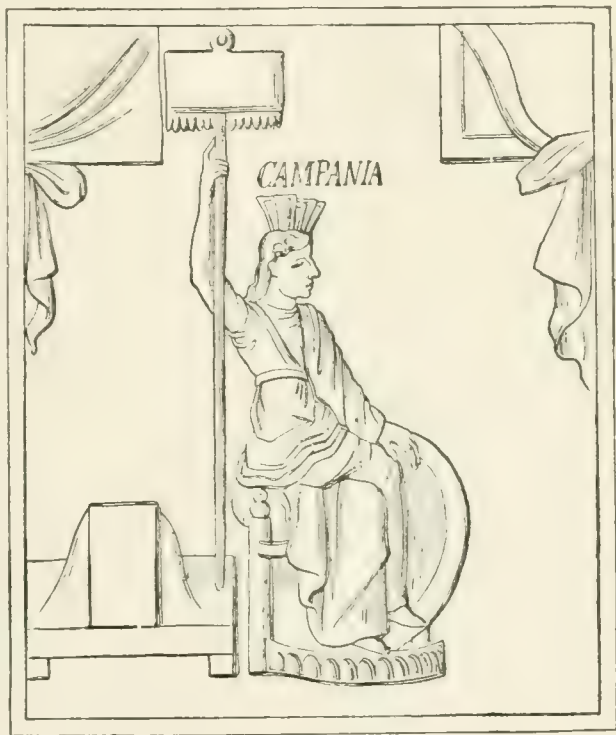
the taxes; he repeats this (*Noë. xvii. chap. i.*): . . . *Festinare primum fiscalia tributa exigi vigilantur.*

¹ *Notitia dignitatum*, O. Seeck, p. 9, and Böcking, p. 13.

² According to the law of the Twelve Tables, the father was all, and the relatives on the father's side alone inherited. This rigor was early softened; and Constantine granted to the son, even in his father's lifetime, the ownership of the maternal property, and to the mother a third of the property of her deceased children.

³ A law of 428, referring to the fact that the titles of the father were transmissible

It has been shown that the monarchy of the fourth century existed in germ in the imperial institution of Augustus.¹ To arrest its development or to put the Empire upon another road, it would have been necessary to give Roman society a mighty shock, and this Constantine did not do. It is unreasonable to expect a sovereign to be a great man; the son of Constantius Chlorus was only a sagacious man. He had wit enough to die upon the throne, — a very unusual end for a Roman Emperor in those days: this was enough for him, but it was not enough for the state. He did not see that in chaining the laborer to his plough, the artisan to his work-bench, the soldier to the standards, and in obliging the son to follow his father's career in public office or in the curia, he struck with paralysis those forces which are destroyed when deprived of their natural action.

CONSULAR CAMPANIA PERSONIFIED.²

To bad administrative measures disastrous economic practices were added. The fourth century saw the greatest effort that was ever made to realize the dream of the organization of labor by the state. What was the result of this memorable experiment? The impoverishment of the whole community. In Campania, that

to the son and grandson, adds. *Secundum divi Constantini constitutiones* (Codex Theodosius vi. 2, 21).

¹ Vol. IV. chap. lxxi. pp. 362-400. We have sought to follow in the reigns of successive Emperors, especially from Hadrian to Diocletian, the slow evolution which transformed the empire of Augustus into an Oriental monarchy.

² *Notitia dignitatum*, Bocking, p. 123.

country favored of Heaven, whose soil had never been trodden by a hostile foot, there will soon be more than a half million *jugera* uncultivated; the eighth part of this fruitful province will be a desert, where neither a man nor a hovel will be visible. The rich plains of Apulia were already desolated by the pasturage of flocks which crowded out all agriculture, and along the Tuscan coast Rutilius will behold only solitude and ruins. It was the *mal'aria* that caused the destruction of the Etruscan cities, once so flourishing. But who caused the *mal'aria*? They who had not been wise enough to keep up the defensive works of the old inhabitants, draining the soil and carrying off the stagnant waters. When such was the condition, just outside the gates of Rome, of the old Saturnian land, formerly so fruitful in men and harvests, *magna parens frugum . . . magna virum*, what may we expect to find in the rest of the Empire?¹

Successive generations necessarily inherit from their predecessors, the sons reaping what their fathers have sown; and the historic circumstances of a people have much more to do in social transformations than has the will of the sovereign. We must not therefore ascribe to Constantine the whole series of changes whence emerged the Later Empire; but more than all his predecessors

¹ The abandoned lands were so extensive that Theodosius recognized ownership after two years where they had been placed under culture (*Codex Just.* xi. 58, 8), and Honorius was obliged to relieve from all taxes 300,000 acres (528,042 *jugera*), *quae Campania provinciae, juxta inspectorum relationem . . . in desertis et squalidis locis habere dignoscitur* (*Codex Theod.* xi. 28, 2, anno 395). The entire title 28 should be read. It contains remission of arrearages and reduction of taxes in the provinces of Italy, Africa, and the East. Cf. H. Richter, *Das Weström. Reich unter Gratian*. Under Constantine even, Lactantius laments (*Instit. divin.* vi. 20) the frequent abandonment of children, caused by the extreme poverty of the parents, and advised the poor *ut se ab uroris congressione contineant*. It was the Malthusian doctrine fifteen centuries before Malthus. The evil was so great that to save the exposed child or slave, Constantine granted to those who should take up such children or slaves, the full right of father or master, subject to no invalidation (*Codex Theod.* v. 7, 1, anno 331). But he gave permission to fathers to sell their newborn offspring, with a reserved right to redeem them later (*ibid.* v. 8, 1, anno 329). In the reign of Constantine, Amm. Marcellinus speaks of the "incurable wounds" made by taxation of the provinces: . . . *Insanabilia vulnura saepe ad ultimam egestatem provincias contraxisse . . . quae res . . . penitus, evertit Illyricum* (xvii. 5, and xix. 11). In the time of Gratian, Symmachus (*Ep.* x. 42) shows a twofold result arising from the same cause, — the value of gold coin prodigiously increasing, and the prices of commodities at the same time diminishing (*auri enormitate crescente . . . et quum in venalium majore summa solidus censetur, pretia minora penduntur*), — which is to say that the circulation of gold had diminished, traffic was declining, and the supply of commodities being greater than the demand for them, prices had gone down.

together, he impelled Roman society to take that inferior form of political organism. Now, to every kind of government correspond in the subjects peculiar virtues or vices. With a social organization in which each citizen has his designated place and bears a label which in most cases he cannot change, it would seem that dangerous agitations were no longer to be feared, and that the most admirable order must prevail. But these men, who have no will of their own because they are no longer free, have no energy for good, and no protection against temptations to evil. Each man uses stratagem against the power that binds him, and seeks to regain by craft what he loses by submission. The *Theodosian Code* shows that in this new Empire there was neither thing nor person that could not be bought. Reduction of the census, relief from taxes, change of position, all was marketable. For him who pays, the collector has false weights, the judge has mitigated sentences, the executive officer and the recruiting officer have dishonest favors. The heads of offices live by their subordinates, the generals by their soldiers. The new comer in an office or a cohort must make his gift; a recruit in the corps of *domestici* is taxed fifty gold *solidi*.¹ It is the very reign of baksheesh: up to the governors of the provinces there is no man who does not pay it to the officers of the sacred bed-chamber; and even the Emperor himself demands it from those to whom he grants a favor.² At a later date Justinian, who professed to assign magistracies gratuitously, required of a man receiving office that he should send fifty pounds of gold to the "very pious Empress."³ Originating in the Byzantine court, this contagious pest destroyed in the social body all that sense of honor which preserves public integrity, and spreading from man to man throughout the whole Eastern world, for fifteen centuries has undermined and ruined it.⁴ The Emperors

¹ *Codex Theod.* vi. 24, 3, anno 394.

² . . . *Auri argenteque collationibus . . . obnoxii* (*Codex Theod.* xi. 20, 1). This is a law of Constantius. These gifts were an ancient custom. In the first years of the Empire the soldiers paid the centurions for exemption from certain tasks, *vacationes* (Tac., *Ann.* i. 17); leave of absence was also bought to such an extent that a fourth of each maniple was absent from camp (*Id.*, *Hist.* i. 46). The Emperor Otho undertook the payment of the *vacationes*, no doubt after examination of reasons; but there is no certainty that this ancient exaction did not re-appear after his time.

³ *Nov.* xxx. chap. iv. sect. 1.

⁴ When the French entered Egypt in 1800, a third part of all that was levied in taxation

themselves attest by their laws the reality of the evils which their government caused. To one of them Synesius says: "Everything is bought."¹

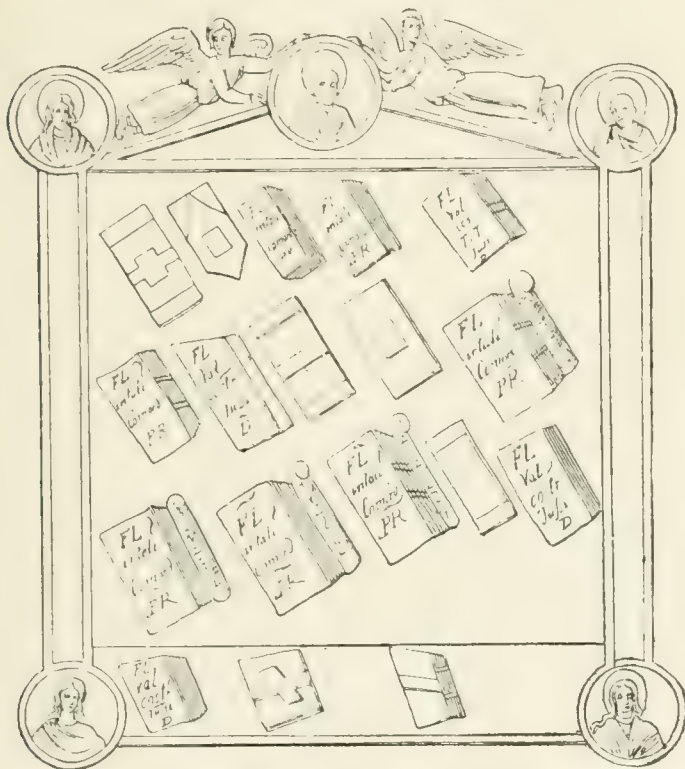
It will be said that Constantine founded the city of Constantinople, thus retarding for ten centuries the triumph of Oriental barbarism; that he caused Christianity to sit down with him upon the imperial throne; that without intending to do it, he prepared the way in Rome, deserted by her Emperors, for the pontifical monarchy of her bishops; and that he thus stands midway between two ages in the world's history, — closing one, opening the other. These are great things, and we have already rendered merited honor to the Emperor who, amidst animosities and ambitions wrought to the highest pitch by the advent of a new cult, was able to maintain domestic peace undisturbed by political or religious riots. But his personal work, though in some respects brilliant, is never solid. The peace which he established was not lasting; if Constantinople did, indeed, exist for twelve centuries, it was but a miserable existence, with the exception of a few brief periods; and though at sight of the Church triumphant, endowed with wealth and privileges, we might believe that virtue, justice, and all the minor morals were about to prevail, that the Emperors would be truly devout persons, that the state would be strengthened, the Barbarians driven back, and the Heavenly Jerusalem established upon earth. — all this is, unhappily, far from the truth. Nothing was really changed. The level of public morality was no higher.² The old capital had had sixty-six holidays in the

remained in the hands of the tax-gatherers (Giraud, member of the Inst. of Egypt, *Mémoire sur l'agriculture*, etc., 1822).

¹ *Concerning Royalty*, sect. 30. The superintendents of the *cursus* levied upon travellers and provincials by different means, whose result, however, was always the same (*Codex Theod.* viii. 5, 10, and 2, *annis* 358 et 364). The port officers fleeced the ship-masters (Cassiodorus, *apud* Böcking, *Not. Occid., Præf. Urb.* . . .). The army agents pilfered from the soldiers' pay (Godefroy in the *Codex Theod.* vii. 14, 28, 29); the *navicularii*, from the corn they brought (*ibid.* xiv. 4, 9); and those who received taxes paid in kind, from the supplies brought in. The counts and the presidents required the curials to pay to them in money, at ten times the real value, an equivalent for the supplies which were their due (*ibid.* vii. 4, 32, *anno* 412); the receivers (*susceptores*) pilfered with both hands: declaring their own receipts fictitious, they compelled the tax-payer to pay a second time (*ibid.* xii. 6, 27, *anno* 400; *Not. Valent.* iii. tit. i. 3, sect. 3, *anno* 430), and they paid into the treasury counterfeit coin (*solidi adulterini*) (*ibid.*, law 13, *anno* 367). The recruiting officers made an agreement with the *possessores* to accept as soldiers *coloni* no longer useful to their masters . . . *quales domini habere fastidiunt* (Vegetius, i. 7).

² Wietersheim (*Völkerwanderung*, i. 358) is more severe.

year, the new was to have a hundred and seventy-five;¹ the combats of gladiators continued for many years longer; Theodo-



DIVINE PROVIDENCE, AND FOUR FIGURES REPRESENTING VIRTUE, POWER, MILITARY SCIENCE, AND FELICITY.²

sus sends to Rome Sarmatian captives "to serve for the amusement of the people;"³ and the festivals of the *Maïuma* continued, with all their scandalous representations.⁴ Even in respect to the

¹ Theodosius reduced this number to a hundred and twenty-five (*Codex Theod.* ii. 8, 2).

² Divine Providence, and four figures representing Virtue, Power, Military Science, and Felicity (Böcking, i. 115). This design and another resembling it, but entitled The Divine Election, and with its four figures representing the Four Seasons, conclude the *Notitia* of the Eastern Empire. At this time, when insignia and symbols were so much in fashion, these two paintings were doubtless placed in some conspicuous position in the imperial offices.

³ Symmachus, *Letters*, x. 61. See our Vol. VII. p. 453.

⁴ Saint John Chrysostom, vii. 113, 114 (ed. of the Bernardins). His *Homilies*, especially the forty-ninth, give a sad picture of the vices of Constantinople. The *Maïuma*, or May games, were prohibited, after some hesitation, in 399 (*Codex Theod.* xv. 6, 1-2), but these festivals quickly re-appeared. What Procopius relates of Theodora is well known. In the time of Amm. Marcellinus (xiv. 6), during a period of scarcity at Rome, all foreigners were required to leave the city, even those belonging to the liberal professions; but all actors were retained, and three thousand dancing-girls with them. Gregory of Nyssa, who was employed in 381 by

clergy, a too rapid recruiting and hasty ordinations produced disorder which shocked the Fathers of the Church.¹ Literature and art never regained their lost splendor; and we shall see murders in the palace, sanguinary rivalries in the state, in the provinces civil war, and for the people extreme distress and poverty.

The pagan Empire had lasted three centuries and a half; the Christian was to endure scarcely one century. They who proposed to save the world will not be able to preserve the Empire from the most frightful catastrophes; so that while Christianity in these days did much for the individual, it yet did nothing for the state, and the words of Christ were fulfilled: "My kingdom is not of this world."²

Theodosius to reform the Churches of Arabia and Palestine, leaves a sad account of the licentious life of pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem; Saint Jerome confirms this testimony in his letter to Marcella, and Synesius in his correspondence.

¹ The Council of Nice, in its second canon, censures and forbids too hasty ordinations. The most learned French moralist of the thirteenth century, Guil. Perrault, says (*Summa de ritibus*, Book IV. chap. vii. art. 3): "The day when Constantine established the empire of the Church, a voice cried: *Hodie infusum est venenum Ecclesie Dei*," Cf. Hauréau, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inser.* vol. xxviii., 2d part, p. 254. The author of course speaks only of the political authority of the Church.

² Not until the Mediæval period, in the presence of the barbarism brought in by the German invasion, did the Church have an influence upon society.

CHAPTER CV.

CONSTANTIUS (MAY 23, 337, TO NOV. 3, 361).

I. MURDER OF THE FLAVII; WAR WITH PERSIA; DEATH OF CONSTANTINE II. AND CONSTANS; MAGNENTIUS (337-353).

WE have given a large space to the history of the two Emperors who organized the Later Empire, and to the revolution which changed the religious convictions of the Roman society. After thus narrating these great social facts, we shall have no further occasion to dwell upon administrative details, which belong to the province of archæology, nor upon theological discussions, which make part of ecclesiastical history, except so far as either have direct influence upon events. We shall therefore go on rapidly towards the fatal limit whither all things have for so long evidently tended, — the time when the unity of the Roman world vanished forever, and the final Barbaric invasion began.

Constantine had left behind him three sons, two brothers, a brother-in-law, and several nephews, — the last survivors of this family of Roman Atridae. The sons were all young: the eldest, Constantine II., was twenty-one; Constantius II. was twenty; Constans was seventeen. The first lived so short a time that we know little concerning him; the third was but a boy. Only the second interests us here, because it was he who bore the principal part in the tragedy which followed the funeral.

Constantius was small in stature and in mind; in character, timid and crafty, at once feeble and violent, with extreme vanity, jealous of all forms of merit, and committing murder with perfect indifference when the crime might serve his interests or set at rest his fears; and he suffered from constant fear, because he believed himself surrounded by plots. To conceal his youth

from the people, he put on an air of extreme gravity; on public occasions he sat absolutely motionless,—complete immobility seeming to him the necessary characteristic of sovereign majesty, as it is of the gilded idols of the Hindoos.¹ During the illness of



CONSTANTINE II.³

his father, Constantius was in Mesopotamia with the army which had been sent against the Persians. Notwithstanding his diligence in returning, the journey was so long that men's minds in the great palace had time to become extremely unsettled before the arrival of Constantius; courtiers and soldiers around the dead Emperor asked one another with anxiety what masters they should now have to obey.² After the funeral, which took place early in June, 337, Constantius main-

tained great reserve; and three months passed before he assumed the title of Augustus. Although written proofs are lacking, we have reason to believe that these three months were spent in establishing a perfect understanding among the Caesars; in secret intrigues among the soldiery to bring about a military tumult

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 10: . . . *Tanquam figmentum hominis*. See, in this place also, the curious account of his entrance into Rome, and in chap. xvi. 16, the personal appearance of Constantius: . . . *Adusque pubem ab ipsis colli confinis longior, brevissimis cruribus et incurvis*.

² Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, iv. 79; Socrates, i. 39. Julian says (*Pam.* vol. i. sect. 16) that Constantius arrived before his father's death; but this seems to be a mistake, for the illness was short, and the journey a long one.

³ The eldest son of Constantine, on horseback, bare-headed, clothed with the paludamentum, and armed with a javelin, about to strike at two prostrate enemies (cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 256). Sardonyx of three layers, 65 millim. by 52.

upon which could be thrown the odium of the catastrophe;¹ and, lastly, in enticing the victims to Constantinople, where Constantius retained them by a solemn oath, which, Saint Athanasius says, guaranteed to them complete security. The old juristic axiom *is fecit cui prodest* designates the authors of the crime.

The three brothers had certainly observed with displeasure the advantages given to the collateral line of the Flavii. There can be no doubt that they all, and especially the two elder, early interchanged their views as to the means to be taken for recovering the whole of their father's possessions, and for laying the execution of the plan, when completed, upon that one of them who could most readily carry it into effect. This cannot be doubted when we see that, the blow having been struck, no one expressed displeasure, and the three soon after met in peace and cordiality at Sirmium, fraternally to divide the spoils.²

Early in September the soldiery rushed into the city and into the palace, crying out that they would have no emperors but the sons of Constantine, and began the massacre. Almost all the male descendants of the peaceful Constantius Chlorus, the issue of his marriage with Theodora, were destroyed. Two half-brothers and six nephews of Constantine, among them Delmatius and Hannibalianus, perished: at the same time were murdered the patrician Optatus, husband of Anastasia, Constantine's sister, the praetorian prefect Ablavius, and a great number of their friends. The assassins spared two boys, Gallus and Julian, sons of Julius Constantius, who with his eldest son was among the victims, although he was the uncle and also the father-in-law of him who directed the massacre.³ Gallus was scarcely twelve years

¹ Eutropius (x. 9) accepts the legend that Constantius was a mere spectator of an outbreak among the troops which he had in no way instigated: . . . *sinente magis quam jubente*. Socrates (ii. 25) and Julian say the same. But in a eulogium upon Eusebia, Julian could not do otherwise; elsewhere (*Letter to the Athenians*, sect. 3) he formally accuses Constantius. Saint Athanasius, in his treatise addressed to the monks, Saint Jerome in his *Chronicle*, Theodoret (iii. 2), and Zosimus (ii. 40), do the same.

² Codinus, the superintendent of the palace, says, in his *Constantinopolitan Antiquities*, that the three brothers were at Constantinople when the massacre was committed.

³ In his *Letter to the Athenians* (sect. 3) Julian says that at this time were murdered six of his cousins (ἐξ μὲν ἀνεψιούς), and also his father, his eldest brother, and an uncle of Constantius. A nephew of Constantine, who doubtless was prudent enough not to come to Constantinople, escaped also. We shall soon hear of him again. Gregory Nazianzen says (*Invect.* vol. i. sect. 91) that Julian was saved by Marcus, bishop of Arethusa; but had Con-

of age, and seemed not likely to live; Julian was but six: the age of the latter, the delicate health of the former, or else some circumstance of which we know nothing, saved them. They could at any time be put out of the way if they became troublesome; and as the three Caesars had no children, it was good policy to reserve the last scions of the Constantinian stock for some unforeseen necessity which might arise. Eusebius, so often unfortunate in his eulogies, says that Constantine, after his death, still reigned; he thus exposes his hero to the suspicion of having, in his last

GOLD COIN.²

instructions, recommended this terrible work of blood, and in the mind of another ecclesiastical historian this suspicion is changed into certainty.¹ But if Constantine believed that his brothers wished to poison him, he was not the man to leave the duty of punishing them to others. We must also notice that these assassinations were financially profitable, the murderers confiscating their victims' property.³

The interlude which so tragically inaugurated the bloody scenes of which the capital of the Greek Emperors and of the Sultans was to be the theatre, had lasted nearly four months; it was not until the 9th of September that the Caesars took the title of Augusti.⁴ Immediately were erected in their honor, statues with the inscription, "To the brothers who love each other." This was perhaps for the moment true, but it did not so remain for any long time.

BRONZE.⁵

The year following, in the middle of summer, they met at Sirmium, in Pannonia, to make a final division of the spoils.⁶ Constantius added to his share Pontus, Thrace, and Constantinople:

stantius wished for his death, no bishop could have prevented the murder. Julian, who was born on the 6th of November, 331, was only half-brother to Gallus. "My mother," he says in the *Mesopogon*, sect. 14, "whose first and only child I was, died a few months after my birth."

¹ Philostorgius, ii. 17.

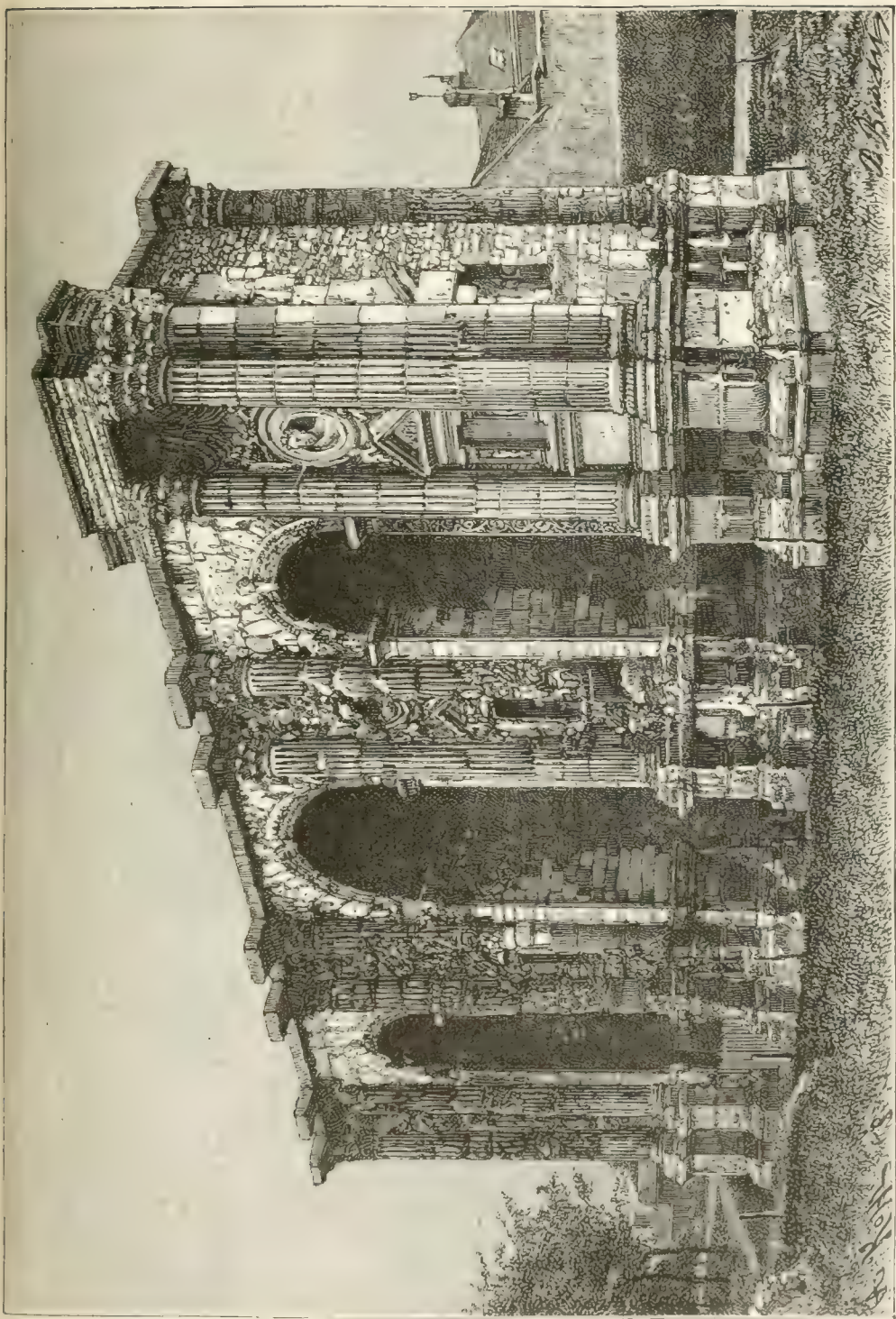
² The Caesar Delmatus (FL. DELMATIVS NOB. CAES.) on a gold coin.

³ Julian, *Letter to the Athenians*, sect. 5.

⁴ It was at least upon that day, according to the *Chronicle* of Idacius, that the Roman Senate made a declaration recognizing the three Augusti.

⁵ The King Hannibalianus (FL. HANNIBALLIANO REGI), from a small bronze.

⁶ The *Chronicle* of Alexandria speaks of a first partition made in 337, which is said to have given Constantinople and Thrace to the oldest of the three brothers. The question is obscure and unimportant, since if there was a division made in 337, it was unmade in 338.



PORTE DE MARS AT REIMS.

Constans, Illyricum; Constantine II., the northwest of Africa. The latter, a man of impatient ambition, dreamed of his father's successes, who, beginning at Gaul, had subjugated the whole Roman world. Arianism prevailed in Asia, and the new master of the East was extremely favorable to it. His brother persuaded him to signalize their accession by the recall of the banished bishops. These exiles all belonged within the territory of Constantius, and were so many firebrands of discord sent thither. Athanasius, who had been exiled to Trèves, was intrusted with a letter from Constantine II. to the Alexandrians. When we see this Emperor addressing personally his brother's subjects, and the most turbulent city in the latter's domain, we cannot help believing that some perfidious intention was hidden in this message of the Orthodox faith. The inflexible bishop's return to his episcopal city was in fact destined to re-awaken the religious passions which would throw all the Eastern provinces into disorder; but these disturbances would secure to the Emperor of the Gallic provinces allies in the states of Constantius, as they had earlier given such to Constantine in the provinces belonging to Licinius.¹

Ecclesiastical writers, who make it a duty to exhibit their gratitude towards the Constantinian family, have explained by religious motives many of the acts both of father and sons. It will probably be much nearer the truth should we substitute for the religious, the political motive,—as policy was at that time understood. To the statesmen of these rival courts it was axiomatic that since Arianism prevailed in the East, and Orthodoxy in the West, the master of the Western provinces should make himself everywhere, and especially outside of his own territory, the protector of all persons hostile to Arianism. We are justified in taking this view of events, first by its probability, and by the not very orthodox selection of high officers, pagans avowed or suspected, such as Anatolius and Magnentius, who were appointed by Constans, himself the fiery defender of Athanasius,—the one, prefect of Illyria,² the other, commander of the imperial guards; and further—

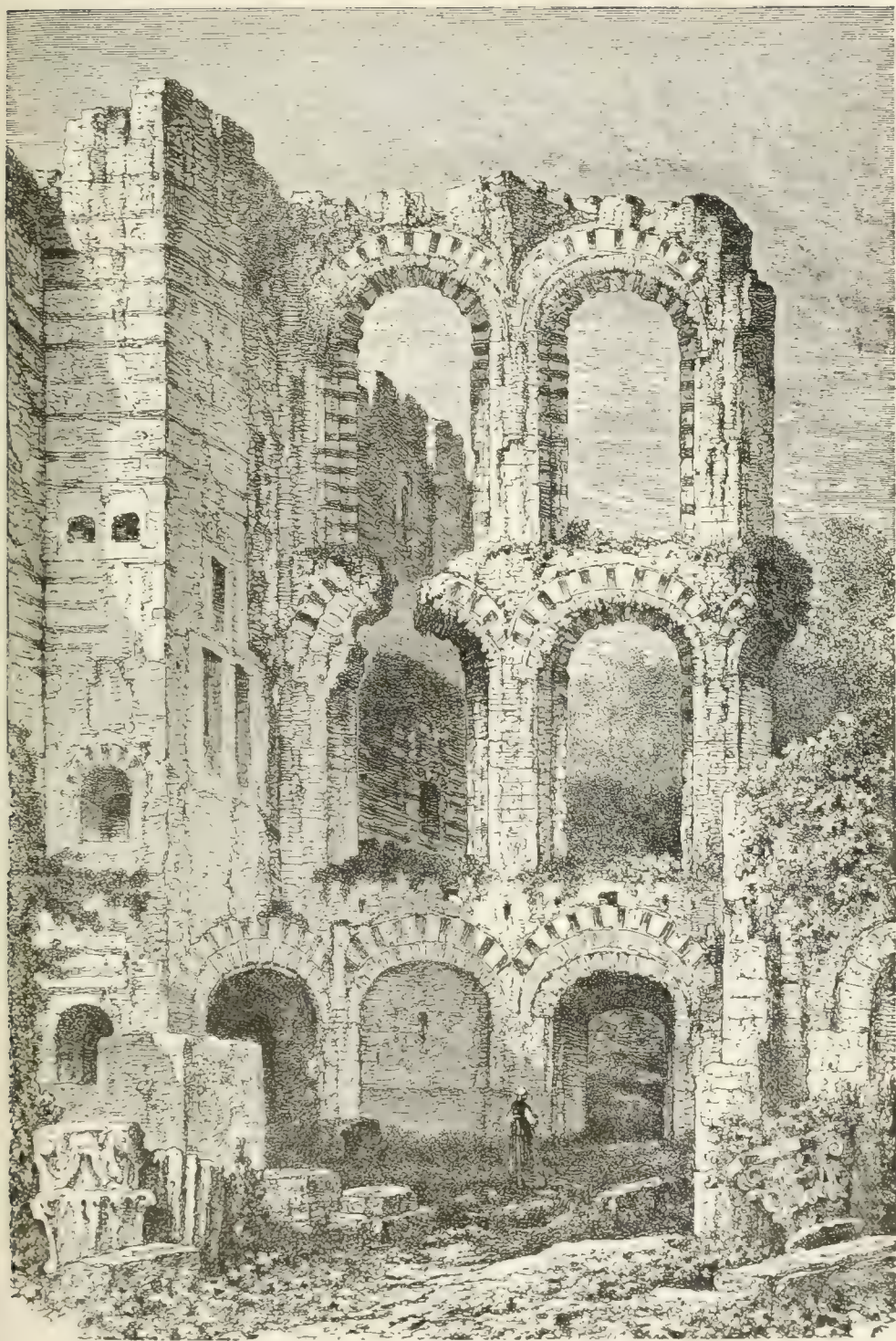
¹ On the policy of Constantine towards Licinius, see Vol. VII. p. 465. Of this Constantine II. could not be unaware. We shall see his brother Constans acting in the same way towards Constantius.

² Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, s. v. *Prohaer.*, p. 192 (ed. of Didot).

more, by the far from exemplary lives of these Emperors who with so much facility committed acts of injustice or crime. This Constantine II., for example, who writes so pious a letter to Saint Athanasius, picks a quarrel with his young brother on the subject of the limits of their African possessions; and taking advantage of the fact that Constans is far away in Dacia, falls upon Upper Italy: it is there that the fortune of Constantine the Great had begun, and thence also his son hopes that his own may arise. By a hasty march he subjugates the valley of the Po, and arrives with his army in disorder near Aquileia, where an able general awaits him. More a soldier than a general, he impetuously attacks the enemy, who, falling back, draw him into an ambush. There he is killed, and his body, thrown into the Arsia, is carried by the waves down to the lagoons of the Adriatic. His death, following upon the massacre of 337, was a second simplification of the problem of the imperial government. Constantius permitted the conqueror to appropriate the provinces which had belonged to the dead Emperor, and claimed no part of them for himself (March or early April, 340).

This unusual disinterestedness was rendered inevitable by the embarrassments which the Armenians and Persians were at this time causing to Constantius. Christianity had not subdued the whole of Armenia; many nobles, indignant at this foreign invasion, made an attempt, upon the death of the old king Tiridates, to preserve the religion of their fathers; they drove out the young king Chosroës and the Christian priests. The religious revolution was naturally a political revolution also: the Armenians threw off their alliance with the Empire and yielded up their strongholds to the Persians. This defection, which brought with it that of the Albanians,¹ increased the danger upon the eastern frontier, which, even during the life of Constantine, Sapor had threatened. Constantius had no expectation of conquest; but to allow the Empire to be encroached upon would have been dangerous: he was therefore obliged to defend it; and this defence was for him a very serious task, since he could not, as his predecessor had done, call to his aid the brave legions of Illyricum. Left with the Eastern troops only, turbulent cohorts and undisciplined

¹ A king of the Albanians accompanied Sapor in the great invasion of 359.



RUINS OF THE THERMAE AT TRÈVES.

auxiliaries, this military commander, "who had neither the heart of a sovereign nor the head of a general,"¹ was not at all capable, with an army of Goths and "Arab robbers," of striking decisive blows. On the other hand, Sapor had been very successful in reviving the warlike ardor of his people; but he could not give them such a military organization as would secure the conquest of Roman Asia. His contingents, levied for each campaign by local chiefs, had not the experience which standing armies possess; they lacked, moreover, the apparatus necessary for military engineering.² "They consider infantry useless," says Julian; and their cavalry, excellent for raids, their cataphracti, whose onset on level ground was formidable,³ had no value in sieges; and, as a result of the precautionary measures of Diocletian on this frontier, only successful sieges could secure to the Persians durable conquests. In these circumstances it was difficult for the two Empires to come into actual collision. Every spring Sapor crossed the Tigris, and Constantius the Euphrates. During a period of more than twelve years (338-350) many slight engagements took place, nine of which have been called battles; but only one action, that of Singara, was of real importance.⁴ The two banks of the Tigris were by turns ravaged, the unwalled cities sacked, and the fortresses besieged, but not taken. Nisibis, the key to Roman Mesopotamia, thrice resisted sieges, which Constantius suffered to last each two or three months without coming to interfere with them,⁵—an unprofitable war, which caused great

¹ Julian says (*Pan.* i. 18) that the provinces of Constantius were destitute of military resources, and that his brothers refused to aid him.

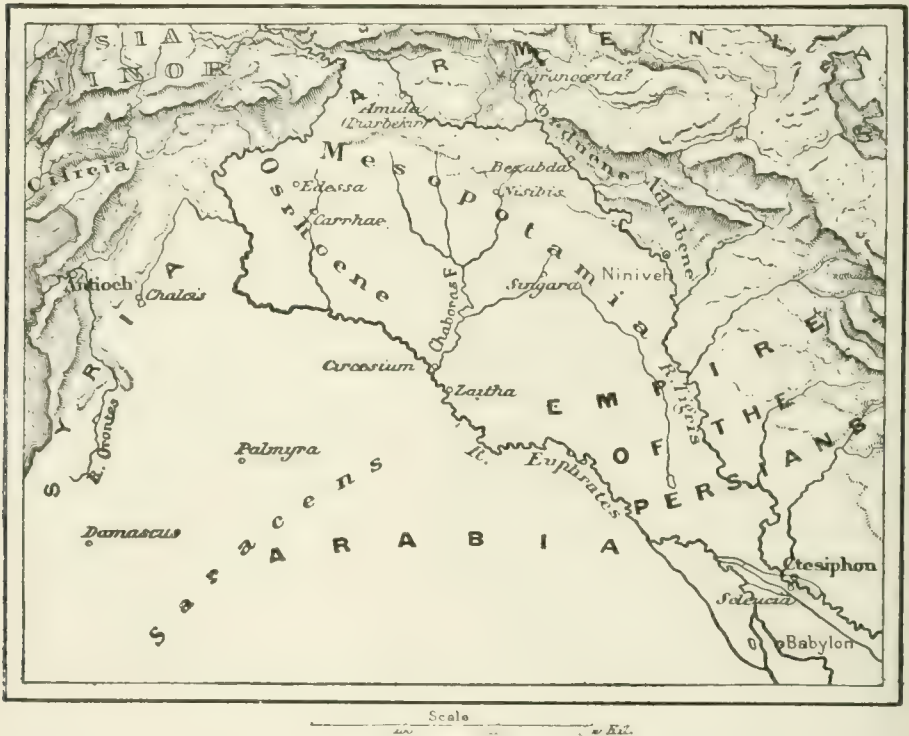
² Amm. Marcellinus speaks of their infantry as Julian does: they are merely servants (*calones*); but he values their cavalry highly, which had profited, he says, in the matter of discipline and tactics, by the lessons which the Romans had given them (xviii. 6, *ad fin.*). At Singara they protected themselves by a moat; at Nisibis they effected a breach in the wall of the city (*Julian, Pan.* i. 25); and we shall see that they employed before Amida, in 359, the engines which they had captured in several cities of Mesopotamia.

³ *Julian, Pan.* i. 32. From Julian's description of the armor of the cataphracti, they seem to be the counterpart of Mediaeval knights: "A coat of mail covers their shoulders, back, and breast: the head and face are protected by a metal mask, making them look like glittering statues; the legs, even to the ends of the feet, have their armor, which is attached to the cuirass by a sort of metallic cloth, completely covering the body, even the hands, without depriving them of their flexibility."

⁴ Amm. Marcellinus, xviii. 5: . . . *Nostrorum copiis ingenti strage confossis.* Julian (*Pan.* i. 24) dates this battle six years before the revolt of Magnentius, that is to say, in the year 346.

⁵ *Julian, Pan.* i. 24, 25, and ii. 9.

destruction of life and property. After one more defeat of the Persians under the walls of Nisibis (350), the two adversaries, fatigued with this useless struggle, agreed, "without treaty or oath,"¹ in a tacit truce, which Sapor needed to repulse an invasion of the Northern nomads, and Constantius to be at liberty to transfer his army to the Western Empire, where important events had just taken place.



MAP FOR THE WAR BETWEEN PERSIA AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER CONSTANTIUS.

The Persians had gained more by this war than had the Empire.² They had several times defeated its troops, ravaged its provinces, and threatened its fortresses, and Chosroës, whom Constantius had re-established on the throne of Armenia, had been compelled to return to his alliance with them and pay them tribute. The Emperor could boast only of Sapor's hasty retreat after the battle of Singara, and of the capture of that monarch's only son. But in this latter case Constantius had also to remember an

¹ Julian, *Pan.* ii. 11.

² "Constantius had never the advantage in it," says Socrates (ii. 25).

odious crime. Diocletian had treated with consideration the children of Narses when they became his prisoners, and on their restoration to their father they became for the two Empires pledges of a peace that lasted forty years. Constantius caused the heir of the crown of Ctesiphon to be scourged and put to death,—an impolitic act of cruelty, which must have left an implacable rancor in the heart of Sapor, and was doubtless one of the causes of the sanguinary persecution let loose, or rendered more fierce, against his Christian subjects.¹



SAPOR II.
(GOLD COIN.)

In the West new tragedies were preparing. Since his brother's death, Constans had remained master of two thirds of the Roman world. What use did he make of so great power? We read of a success over the Franks; but he could not have gained much honor from this equivocal victory, bought rather than won, and it is very little for thirteen years of rule.² Athanasius represents him as a saint; Zosimus, as a tyrant; Aurelius Victor and Zonaras, as a profligate of the most degraded tastes. Some blame his ministers, — which is to blame himself, since he selected or retained them; others consider him violent, rapacious, and arrogant with his soldiers. One author relates how he appointed a rhetorician general of the army,³—which was not likely to please the professional soldier; another, that his favorites were handsome slave-boys bought from the Germans (*pueros venustiores*). He seems to have been a great hunter,—a quality which history does not admire in a sovereign. In reality, we do not know him. To accept or dispute the accusations and the praises which self-interest in either case lavishes upon him, we need to have information which we do not possess; namely, how he reigned. At the same time, to see how Magnentius flung him down, while not a sword was drawn on his side, we must admit that his grasp upon the helm of state could not have been very resolute. Everything must have been relaxed under a feeble administra-

¹ Tillemont dates this persecution in 343; if this be so, it could not have been an act of revenge for the murder of Sapor's son at Singara.

² Idacius and Saint Jerome place in 342 his treaty with the Franks, who at that time occupied Toxandria (Brabant), between the Meuse and the Scheldt.

³ Eunapius, *Prohaer.*, ad fin.

tion; and ambitious designs, at first restrained by the great name which the sovereign bore, reawakened around the incapable ruler, and plots began to be formed.¹

Magnentius, of Laetic origin, had risen by his own ability and by much audacity to the position of commander of the Jovians and Hereulians.² He had partisans in the army; the count of the largesses, Marcellinus, furnished him, from the imperial treasury, the means of increasing their number: civil and military officers were, it appears, agreed in bringing about a revolution. On a day when Constans was hunting in a forest near Autun, Marcellinus gave an entertainment to the principal persons of the court.⁴ Wine mounted into men's heads,



GOLD COIN.³

tongues were loosed, and invectives circulated. When Magnentius saw that the guests had reached a degree of insolence which imperilled their lives unless they passed from speech to action, he left the apartment for a moment, then returned with the purple robe and diadem. They saluted him Augustus and swore fidelity to him; the guards hailed with acclamations this soldier who to many of them was a fellow-countryman, and in a single hour he became master of the palace, the treasury, and the Empire. Constans, being informed, fled with all haste. Some time was wasted in finding his track: the Frankish cavalry sent in pursuit went as far as Helena, at the foot of the Pyrenees, before they overtook him. The Franks are the actors in this tragic drama: one essays to defend the dethroned Emperor; another kills him; a third grasps the imperial authority; and later a fourth, Sylvanus.

¹ Eutropius, x. 9: *intolerabilis*; Aur. Victor, *Cæs.* 41: *excerabilis*; Zosimus, ii. 42.

² According to Zosimus and Aur. Victor, the family of Magnentius had been transported from Germany into Gaul near the end of the third century; hence Julian calls him (*Pan.* i. 29) "the miserable descendant of a German race reduced to servitude." He was probably neither pagan nor Christian, and we are not justified in saying that the religious question had anything to do with his elevation. His coins are Christian. There has been found in Paris, in a spot corresponding with No. 68, rue de Rivoli, a tomb with the pagan formula *dis manibus* and a coin of Magnentius, of the year 351, bearing the Christian monogram. The dead man was therefore a pagan; but his family had no scruple about placing in his right hand, to pay his passage into the other world, a Christian coin. This tomb also marks the extension of Lutetia upon the right bank of the river (*Bull. ép. de la Gaule*, 1883, p. 130).

³ Magnentius (D. N. MAGNENTIVS AVG.).

⁴ The *Fæsti* of Idacius place this event on the 18th of January, 350.

will do the same. Again we have an Emperor murdered, again a palace and barrack revolution (350).¹

The servile populations of the two Gallic prefectures and of Italy accepted their new master with docility. Vetranio, an old general commanding in Illyricum, was tempted by the example of this facility in seizing the imperial authority; or, rather, his soldiers desired the advantages which were to be obtained by an election; for he himself, on the first news of the usurpation of Magnentius, had sent assurances of his fidelity to the Emperor of the East. Vetranio was a man of simple manners and amiable character, a native of a wild district of Moesia, — still another proof that the heart of the Empire, already growing cold, no longer supplied emperors or generals, who now for more than a century had been furnished exclusively by the Northern provinces, adjacent to the Barbaric lands. A man of very low extraction, Vetranio had remained extremely ignorant, and in skilful hands might be made a very useful tool. Constantina, the widow of Hannibalianus, resolved to employ him in carrying out designs whose exact nature is unknown to us. This ambitious daughter of the great Constantine, who, honored by her father with the title of Augusta, believed that this distinction gave her the right to intervene in the government of the Empire, herself bound the diadem upon the old soldier's head (March. 350). The two usurpers found it for their advantage to unite. They sent to Constantius a joint embassy, offering him alliance or war. Constantius would have been disgraced and ruined if he had taken the hand thus extended to him, red with his brother's blood; a spirit of revolt would at once have invaded his armies and his generals. On the other hand, the risks of war were formidable. — his legions, which had not been able to conquer the Persians, were scarcely to be believed a match for all the forces of the West. He decided, however, upon war;³ and we shall not feel obliged to account for this by the story of a vision which was spread abroad among his troops, in which, it was said, the great Constantine appeared to him.

GOLD COIN.²

¹ Aur. Victor, *Cæs.* 41; Eutropius, x. 5; Zosimus, ii. 42; Zonaras, xiii. 6.

² Vetranio wearing the diadem (D. N. VETRANIO P. F. AVG.)

³ See Peter Patricius, pp. 129–131 (ed. of Bonn).

holding in his arms the body of his murdered son and calling for vengeance. Artful negotiations, which preceded hostilities, were able to break the alliance of the two usurpers. The treasury of Constantinople was better filled than that of Illyricum; the soldiers and lieutenants of Vetranio were secretly approached, and were won over by gifts or promises. The haughty Constantina, disappointed in Vetranio, regained her brother's confidence, — serving doubtless as agent of his secret measures. Under pretext of supporting Vetranio against the Gallic usurper, Constantius sent troops into Macedon, and proposed an interview, to which the old general agreed. It took place at Naïssus,¹ in the presence of the two armies ranged around a tribune, where the two Emperors met each other (Dec. 24, 350). The sight of the son of Constantine, the memory of the victories of the great Emperor, which Constantius brought to mind in a skilful address, directed ostensibly against Magnentius only, but really against him who had enticed the Illyrian legions into disloyalty, produced its effect upon men already prepared to be convinced. The cry of "Death to usurpers!" was heard on every side; instantly comprehending his peril, Vetranio threw off the imperial insignia and knelt at the feet of Constantius. The latter, feeling that he had no need to protect himself by a death-sentence against this incapable old man, sent him away into a sumptuous exile in Prusa in Bithynia, where the discredited Emperor lived six years.²

Magnentius was not so easily overpowered. He possessed both the virtues and the faults necessary for a usurper, — courage, a certain amount of ability, and an unscrupulousness which made it easy for him to rid himself of possible enemies by executions, and to increase his resources by forced contributions, his troops by levies among the Barbarians, and his party by advances to the pagans.³ He made other advances to the orthodox party in the Eastern Empire, following the habitual policy of the Emperors of

¹ This is the place mentioned by Saint Jerome in his *Chronicle*. According to Socrates (ii. 28), the interview occurred at Sirmium.

² Zosimus, ii. 43, 44; Socrates, ii. 28.

³ He authorized nocturnal sacrifices, which must have gratified the pagans, who were still numerous in the East (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 10, 5). Julian (*Pan.* i. 29) asserts that he required from the citizens half their income, under penalty of death. But this assertion occurs in Julian's panegyric on Constantius, which leads us to suppose it exaggerated in the matter of the amount required.

the West, sending his ambassadors to Constantius by way of Alexandria, in the hope of gaining Athanasius to his cause. An attempt of Nepotianus, who seized upon Rome (June, 351) and reigned twenty-eight days, was quickly defeated; his mother, Eutropia, the sister of Constantine, and many of his partisans perished with him. Others succeeded in escaping to Constantius,¹ "whose camp became an asylum for Roman senators." For the defence of the provinces which he was about to leave, Magnentius appointed as Caesars his two brothers, Decentius and Desiderius, doubtless assigning to one of them Gaul, and to the other Italy; then he went in search of

MEDIUM BRONZE.²GOLD COIN.³

his adversary in the plains of Pannonia, bounded by the Save, the Drave, and the Danube. Constantius, with his army increased by the Illyrian legions of Vetranio, advanced from Sirmium (Mitrowitz) to Mursa (Esseck) and Siscia (Sisseck), three strong positions, which were held by his garrisons; he halted at Cibalis,—a place which seemed to him especially fortunate to his house, since there his father had first defeated Licinius,—and intrenched himself strongly, while his cavalry scoured the adjacent plains.⁴ Magnentius employed part of the summer in manœuvres designed to draw the imperial army out of its intrenchments: he defeated one of its detachments; he took Siscia, at the confluence of the Culpa and the Save; and if this be not an error of Zosimus, he attempted to capture Sirmium, in the rear of Constantius' army, the taking of which place would have laid open to him the Eastern provinces. Constantius made war in two ways. An envoy was sent by him to offer peace to Magnentius, on condition that the latter should renounce the prefecture of Italy. This proposition was haughtily rejected; but while negotiating with the usurper, the envoy sought to incite defections among his troops.—at least, a few days before the

¹ Julian, *Pan.* i. 42.

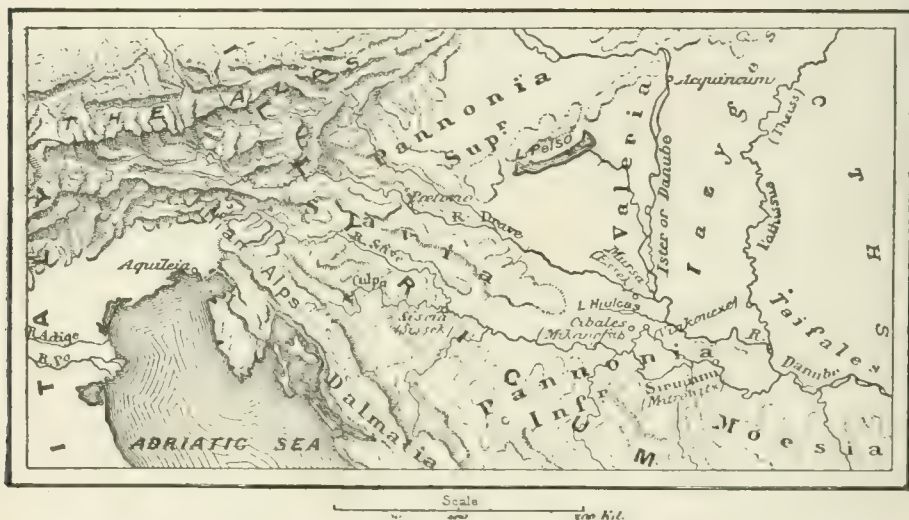
² Nepotianus (FL. POP[ilius] NEPOTIANVS P. F. AVG.).

³ The Caesar Decentius (MAG[us] DECENTIVS N[obilissimus] C[æsar]).

⁴ Cibalis was situated on an eminence near Lake Hiuicas, equidistant from the Drave and the Save, on the road leading from Mursa to Sirmium. It is thought to be in the neighborhood of either Mikanofsi or Vincouze.

battle of Mursa, the Frank Sylvanus, a distinguished general, went over to Constantius with a large body of cavalry.

Winter was approaching, and Magnentius would soon be obliged to fall back into Italy; he made an attempt first to take the stronghold of Mursa. The garrison held out bravely, giving Constantius time to hasten up with an army more numerous than that of Magnentius. The shock was terrible; as in ancient battles, half the combatants (fifty thousand men) perished: they were



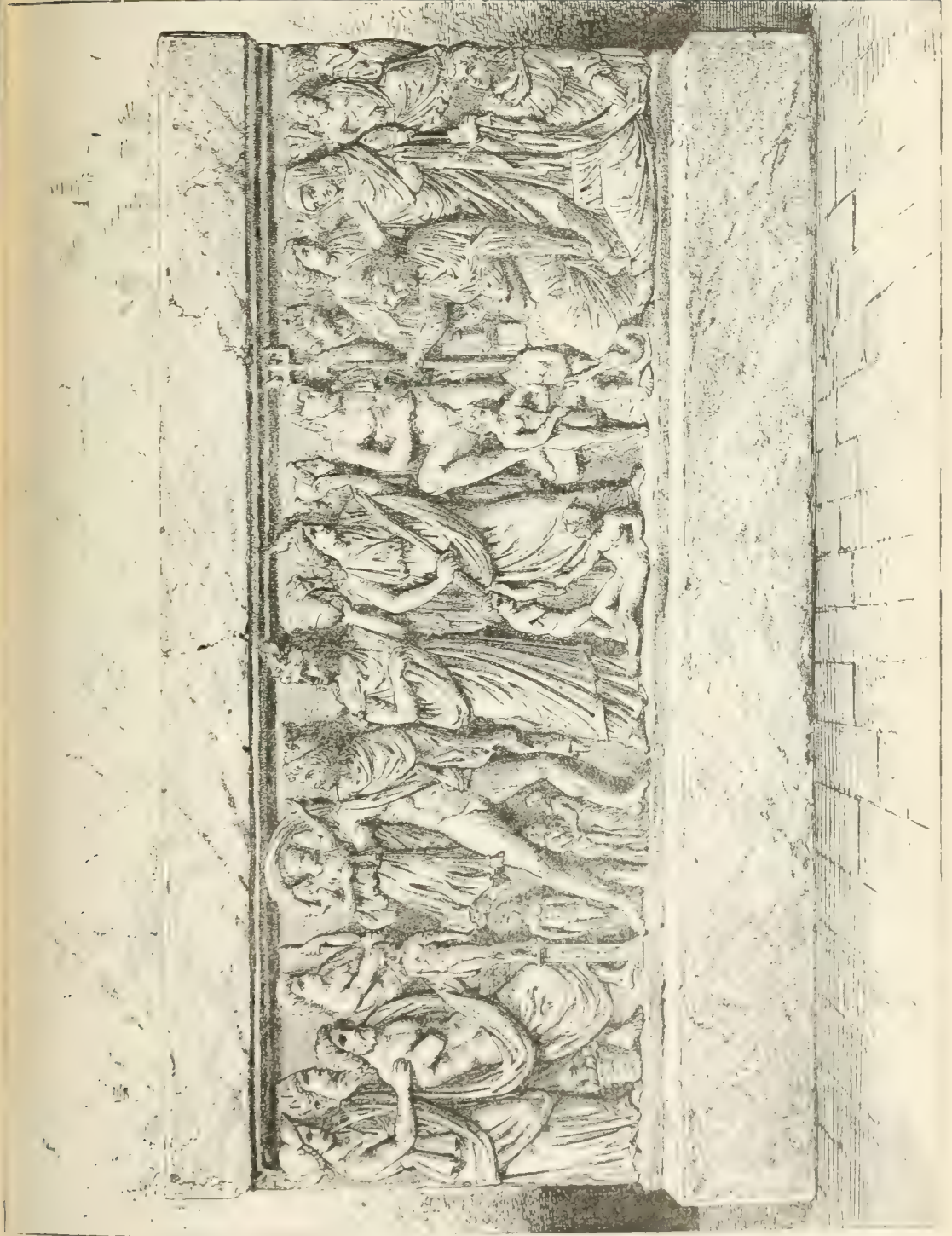
MAP FOR THE WAR BETWEEN CONSTANTIUS AND MAGNENTIUS.

the best troops of the Empire, which for many years remained enfeebled from this tremendous loss. The imperial cavalry, especially the cataphracti and the mounted archers, had the honors of the day. The Frankish and Saxon auxiliaries of Magnentius for a time held back the victors by their desperate resistance (Sept. 28, 351).¹ According to an ecclesiastical writer, Sulpicius Severus, Constantius remained in prayer in a church while thirty thousand men were dying for him; upon the testimony of others we learn that a cross, appearing in the sky, announced his victory to the Eastern populations.²

¹ Eutropius, x. 13; Aur. Victor, *Caes.* 42. Zosimus (ii. 45-63) gives a long and confused narrative of this campaign.

² Socrates, ii. 28.

NOTE. — Sarcophagus of Arles. Prometheus, aided by Minerva, forms man. The soul, represented as a winged girl, is brought by Mercury; the Parcae and other divinities approach. (Museum of the Louvre.) See opposite page.



SARCOPHAGUS OF ARIUS.

While Magnentius, escaping to Aquileia, was fortifying the mountain passes, an edict of Constantius promised safety to those of his partisans "who had not been guilty of any one of the five crimes which the law punishes with death."¹ The appearance of the imperial fleet on the Italian coast brought about many defections. Rome, which had been the scene of fearful slaughter after the defeat of Nepotianus, threw down the images of the usurper; Africa and Spain saluted those of Constantius as soon as the fleet appeared near their coasts; and gold sent to the Barbarians of the Rhine prevented Magnentius from obtaining soldiers from them.² The surprise of one of the forts guarding the defiles of the Julian Alps opened to the Eastern troops the gates of Italy, and at the same time their vessels entering the Po, compelled Magnentius to abandon Aquileia. He gained a slight advantage near Pavia, but was nevertheless driven back into the Cottian Alps, where he again endeavored to make a stand. But this army which had retreated from one lost battle-field to another, all the way from the interior of Pannonia, reduced in numbers and in courage, did not resist in the last encounter. Magnentius fled as far as Lyons. He there learned that the great city of Trèves had risen against Decentius; this was a signal for all the Gallic cities. In danger of being given up to the conqueror, Magnentius fell upon his sword. These events had occupied the year 352 and the first half of 353. It was said that before taking his own life, Magnentius had killed his mother, a kind of German prophetess, and his brother Desiderius; Decentius, the other Caesar, defeated by the Alaman Chlodomar, whom later we shall meet in arms against Julian, took his own life (August, 353). Thus this Barbaric family, which had so audaciously assumed the purple, disappeared entirely. The amnesty, with its vague terms intentionally employed by Constantius, saved no one: judicial executions took place everywhere, even in Britain, whither Constantius sent Paulus, nicknamed Catena, "the Chain," one of his most crafty agents.³ and seven years later Julian found in Gaul numerous partisans of Magnentius, who lived there as proscribed

¹ *Codex Theod.* ix. 38.

² Zosimus, ii. 53.

³ . . . *In complicandis negotiis dirus, unde ei Catena inditum est cognomen.* (Amm. Marcellinus, xiv. 5, and xv. 3).

persons. Amm. Marcellinus, the only historian of the time who is trustworthy, because he alone is dispassionate, has drawn in the first book which is left of his History a picture of this implacable vengeance. A word was enough, even a vague rumor, to make an innocent man a criminal;¹ and while blood flowed in torrents, Constantius celebrated at Arles, with splendid festivities, the thirtieth year of his *imperium*.²

II. — CONSTANTIUS SOLE EMPEROR; GALLUS AND JULIAN; SYLVANUS.

ONCE more the imperial power was held by one man alone. But what a sovereign was this, — suspicious, surrounded by eunuchs whom he obeyed,³ and by courtiers who took advantage of his timidity, exciting his suspicions⁴ that they might obtain the property of his victims! “Whether,” says Amm. Marcellinus, “any enemy of the accused man pressed him or not, as if the mere fact that his name had been mentioned was sufficient, every one who was informed against, or in any way called in question, was condemned.”⁵ During his reign the customary formalities of justice were often omitted. Accused persons were condemned after secret trial; confessions, extorted by torture, led at once to the death-penalty; he who did not confess perished also.

Men are safely led only when the best sentiments of their nature are appealed to; and Constantius had never the gracious frankness which wins fidelity, or the energy of character which compels it. He loved low methods of government, — espionage, the informer’s trade, meshes ingeniously woven, even around those

¹ The eighteen books of his History which we possess cover the period from 353 to 379, and will be our chief guide.

² Appointed Caesar in November, 323, he was invested on that day, not with the imperial dignity, which he did not receive till the year 337, but with the authority represented by the word *imperium*, which belonged to the Caesar.

³ Amm. Marcellinus (xviii. 4) says ironically of one of these, Eusebius by name, that the Emperor was favorably regarded by him. Julian calls Constantius “a man asleep, who is incessantly duped” (*Disc.* vii. 18).

⁴ . . . *Impendio timidus, semper se feriri sperabat* (Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 8). See in this section the unjust proceedings instituted against innocent persons.

⁵ xiv. 5.

who were ready to serve him faithfully, but, wounded by this jealousy, became his enemies. He remained, therefore, crushed under the weight of a grandeur due to circumstances only, and far too heavy for him to support.

He was in Pannonia, awaiting the attack of Magnentius, when the news which came to him from the East decided him to establish in that portion of the Empire a supreme command, in order to give unity to the defence of the provinces. This lieutenant might become formidable, but he was necessary. Constantius believed that the person least to be feared would be his cousin Gallus, the son of Constantius the consul, who had been murdered by the Emperor's command some years earlier. Gallus and his brother Julian, the last two surviving princes of the imperial family, had been relegated, one to Ephesus, the other to Nicomedeia. In 344 they had been placed together, the better to keep watch upon them, in the castle of Marcellum in Cappadocia, at the foot of Mount Argæus; here they lived sequestered from the world, constantly mindful of the murders of the year 337, and never without fear of seeing the executioner arrive for them also.² Attempts were made to tranquillize the fiery nature of Gallus and the precocious austerity of Julian by religious exercises of every kind. — pilgrimages to the tombs of martyrs, prayers at these holy shrines, sacred chants in the churches, reading aloud the Scriptures to the assembled congregations.³ Constantius, ordering these procedures, seems like a Merovingian king preparing for the tonsure those of his race of whom he did not choose to rid himself by means of the poniard. The usurpation of Magnentius, and the circumstance that Constantius remained childless, caused a change in the condition of the young

GOLD COIN.¹

¹ Gallus Caesar (D. N. CONSTANTIVS IVN. NOB. C.).

² Julian, *Letter to the Athenians*, 3, and Socrates, iii. 1.

³ Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedeia, had been the director of Julian's earliest studies, and Saint Cyrillus asserts that the young prince was baptized, which is, however, very improbable, it being at that time the custom, even for others than the imperial family, — *e. g.*, SS. Ambrose and Augustine, Eusebius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Synesius, etc., — to receive baptism very late in life. Gregory Nazianzen (*Insect.* i. 30) relates that it was proposed to have a church built by the two brothers, each constructing half of it, and that the part assigned to Gallus was completed, while an earthquake threw down Julian's. The earth was not so much in fault; Julian had been intentionally negligent in his share of the work (Sozomenus, v. 2).

princes. Gallus, at the age of twenty-five or six, was appointed Caesar, and invested with the government of the Oriental provinces (March 15, 351). The precaution of having him swear upon the Gospels that he would undertake nothing against the Emperor did not seem to Constantius a sufficient guarantee; he gave to Gallus for adviser and guardian an experienced soldier, Lucillianus by name, and for wife his sister Constantina, widow of Hannibalianus, hoping that the Augusta, whose pride would be at last satisfied, would secure her husband's fidelity; and he reserved to himself the appointment of the officers of the Asiatic army and of the praetorian prefect and the count of the East, who should receive his private instructions. No death-penalty could be ordered by the Caesar without the count's authorization; and on one occasion the latter took the opportunity to show to all men how much authority he whom they called their sovereign possessed, by opening the doors of the prison into which Gallus had thrown the magistrates of one of the cities.¹ In the very palace, the quaestor, who as government secretary was present at all councils and gave effect to all decisions, was much more the Emperor's agent than the Caesar's. The latter had, therefore, in reality a title only, and no real authority. Obligated himself to remain in the Western provinces, Constantius desired to have the chief place in the East filled, so that no man might be tempted to seize upon it. In the political organization of Diocletian the Caesar was a lieutenant of the Emperor; Constantius returned to this order of things, but exaggerated it. His too skilful schemes defeated themselves; they exasperated a fiery young man whom more confidence might perhaps have retained in obedience, and who, moreover, up to this time, had done nothing to deserve such treatment.

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xiv. 1. See what this historian relates of the proceedings of the prefect Thalassius, who made it his occupation to exasperate Gallus. The name of Caesar, the hereditary cognomen of the gens Julia, originally belonged to all related on the father's side of this house; accordingly, we have designated the Ninth Period of this work as that of the Caesars (Vol. IV. p. 491). Verus, the adopted son of Hadrian, assumed the name of Caesar, and henceforth it designated the heir-apparent, but conferred no special authority. The Caesars of Diocletian (Vol. VII. p. 363), heirs of the Augusti, were invested with extensive powers: each had his capital city, his army, and his treasury; they exercised executive, judicial, and military functions. Under Constantine the Caesars are boys designated for the imperial station: under Constantius they are lieutenants with very limited authority; and after Julian the title and position ceased to exist.

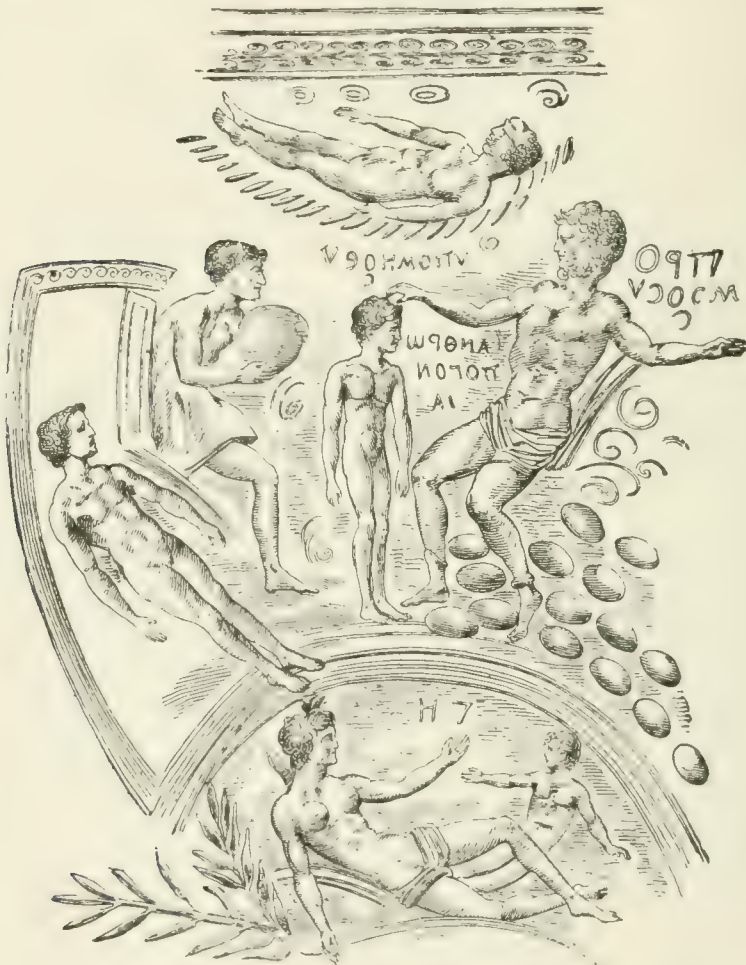
Rejoicing at his exchange of a prison for a throne, whose insecurity he did not at first recognize. Gallus threw himself eagerly into all forms of pleasure, going so far even as to scandalize the frivolous inhabitants of Antioch. For his pleasures, however, he had need of money, and he procured it by exactions and acts of injustice. Constantina, herself extremely rapacious, seconded him by aid of a system of espionage which she had set on foot to surprise imprudent words and the most secret domestic conversation.¹ She sold everything, — justice, pardons, and offices, to make for herself what the rulers of that day regarded as the one safeguard of their thrones; namely, a well-filled treasury. It is our misfortune up to this time to have found in all this royal race no one person, Constantius Chlorus excepted, whom we are able to esteem.

In 354 a period of scarcity caused popular tumults in Antioch. The mob gathered around the palace, demanding bread. "Address yourselves to the governor of the province," Gallus said to them: "provisions are scarce only because he chooses to have it so." This was a confession of his own powerlessness: but it was also a cowardly act: the unfortunate governor thus designated to the popular frenzy was torn in pieces. The capital of the East was in a state of tumult; Isaurian robber-chiefs ravaged many of the provinces: the Arabs pillaged the lands adjacent to their desert: the Persians resumed their raids in Mesopotamia: and the Caesar put a stop to none of these things.² Constantius, who had given the Caesar no freedom of action, was angry at the latter's supineness, and resolved to destroy his tool, rendered useless as much by the suspicious jealousy of the chief as by the character of the subordinate. Through Domitianus, the prefect of the East, he sent an invitation to the young prince to come to him in Italy: and when Gallus hesitated, the prefect said roughly: "Do you not understand that it is a command? If you fail to obey, I shall stop the supplies of the palace." The quaestor used similar language. Gallus incited his guards to murder the two officers, and

¹ Amm. Marcellinus (xiv. 1) says of her: *M. quæra quædam mortalis, inflammata avarientis assidua.*

² In 352 the perpetual quarrel between the Jews and the Samaritans had once more set Palestine in a blaze. The lieutenants of Gallus repressed this outbreak with the cruelty habitual to the Romans in dealing with a Jewish insurrection.

their dead bodies were dragged through the streets of Antioch; he then pretended that a conspiracy existed against his own life,



THE CREATION OF MAN, ON A GLASS CUP FOUND AT COLOGNE.¹

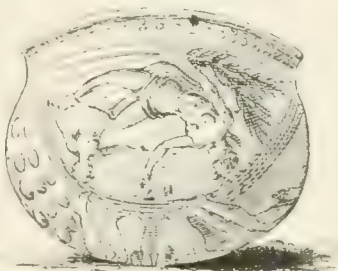
and employed this pretext to put to death, after the semblance of a judicial proceeding, all who appeared to him objects of suspicion.²

¹ Prometheus is forming a statue; Epimetheus holds out to him a lump of clay; another Titan, doubtless Atlas, looks on at the work. Above the bordering is another man, lying on his back, possibly the fourth son of Iapetus, Menoetius, whom Jupiter smote with a thunderbolt. Below, a child is playing near a reclining woman, personifying the Earth. Legend: $\Upsilon \Pi \Omega \text{M} \text{H} \text{O} \text{E} \text{V} \text{C} \text{ } \text{A} \text{N} \text{O} \text{P} \text{O} \text{I} \text{I} \text{O} \text{F} \text{O} \text{N} \text{I} \text{A} \text{ } \Upsilon \Pi \text{O} \text{M} \text{H} \text{O} \text{E} \text{V} \text{C}$. Cf. Robert Mowat, *Rev. archéol.*, November, 1882, p. 291.

² In respect to the cruelties of Gallus, see Amm. Marcellinus, xiv. 7, and particularly, in sect. 8, the torture and death of Eusebius, an innocent person.

This was not a revolt, for there had been no order to take up arms; but it was an open insult offered to the Emperor.¹

Constantius feigned to believe in the existence of a plot against Gallus, and strove the more to bring within his reach the Caesar,—for whom, it was said, a royal robe was secretly weaving in the city of Tyre. He sent friendly messages to the young man; he insisted upon the necessity for both of them to come to a cordial understanding upon the great interests of the Empire; and he reiterated the invitation for Gallus to come into Italy, bringing him his wife, “that beloved sister whom the Emperor ardently desired to see.” Meantime he recalled those officers who appeared to be devoted to Gallus; he withdrew from him as many troops as possible, under pretext that unoccupied soldiers soon lose their habits of discipline; and the unfortunate young prince soon found himself completely in the toils of this skilful hunter of his own race. Constantina “knew perfectly of what her brother was capable,” and did not deceive herself as to the affection the Augustus had for her; but her personal appeal seemed to be the only possible way to avert the danger: she set out for Italy, and died upon the road. There was nothing left for Gallus to do but to obey. At Hadrianople he was met by the order to dismiss his attendants; at Poetovium he was deprived of his insignia as Caesar; at Pola, in Istria, after a mock trial, he was beheaded, dying at the age of twenty-nine (354). Constantius even took vengeance upon his dead body, refusing to allow it burial in the tomb of the Flavii. Many of his advisers perished with him, and Ursicinus, the ablest general of the Eastern army, was condemned to death by a secret council. But before the execution of the sentence his services were needed, and his life was accordingly spared.² Such was the sad condition of the servants of this government, already exposed to secret accusations and mysterious sentences.

GLASS CUP.³

¹ Amm. Marcellinus represents Constantius as saying that justice had been scorned by Gallus, and that his detestable conduct had drawn upon him the vengeance of the laws.

² Julian, *Letter to the Athenians*, 3; Amm. Marcellinus, xv. 2.

³ Glass cup found at Cologne (Museum of Berlin).

A few months later, another tragedy occurred. Sylvanus, as a reward for his services in the Pannonian campaign, was employed in checking the Barbarian incursions into Gaul. Julian blames him for having done no more than buy their retreat with gold extorted



TRIUMPHAL ARCH OR GATE OF POLA.

from the cities. But Julian, just appointed Caesar at this time, was composing a eulogy on the murderer of all his kindred, in which he is guilty of repeating the calumnies of the eunuchs and the courtiers against the faithful general whose place he was about

to take. In despotic courts the servile troop, in order to maintain its own credit, is wont to parade a zeal for the monarch's safety, manifested by craftily awaking suspicions in his mind and by giving currency to calumnies which grow as they circulate, and come to the master's ears, who is himself always ready to regard as guilty every person accused of political offences. Forged letters were attributed to Sylvanus. His friends were immediately arrested, and an imperial officer, sent into Gaul to bring the general back to Italy, acted so precipitately that Sylvanus, believing himself ruined, sought safety by assuming the imperial dignity. He caused himself to be proclaimed Augustus at Cologne just at the moment when Malaric, the commander of the Franks of the guard,¹ had succeeded in proving his innocence before the imperial tribunal at Milan. Ursicinus was sent out to him, bearing complimentary letters from the Emperor and the assurance that his titles were to be preserved to him, but with secret orders to send him to Milan and to take his place at the head of the army. Ursicinus, however, incited an outbreak among the troops, and the soldiers murdered him whom twenty-eight days before they had invested with the purple (August. 355). All who were suspected of being his partisans perished at the same time, among them the two counts Lutto and Maudio, whose names indicate their origin.

III. — JULIAN IN GAUL (355–361).

IN studying the career of Julian we find ourselves confronted with one of the most singular figures in history. — a man who must be loved and respected, yet whose political course must be condemned.

Thrown upon himself during eighteen years of a sort of captivity, Julian had pursued, like Marcus Aurelius, his hero, an ideal of perfection;² becoming Emperor, he had so lofty a con-

¹ . . . *Gentilium rector* (Amm. Marcellinus, xv. 5).

² . . . *Quasi pabula quaedam animo ad sublimiora scandendi conquirens* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxi. 5). . . . *Rectae perfectaeque rationis imagine congruens Marco* (*ibid.* 1). In his Seventh Discourse, sect. 17, *ad fin.*, Julian says: "O Jupiter, or whatever be the name which pleases thee, show me the road that leads upward to thee!"

ception of his duties that he wrote: "A king should have the nature of a God."¹ But his mind, extremely clear in questions of administration and of war, was often lost in a region of dreams, and the solitude in which, for political reasons, he was long held, developed this natural inclination. He loved, in his nocturnal meditations, to hearken to the inner voices of his mystical imagination, ever dwelling upon Nature and upon the mysterious. He tells us that as a boy he often left his books to follow with devout gaze the triumphal march of the sun, or to contemplate by night the splendors of the starry sky.² In the worship of "the divine Star," the noblest of idolatries, he recognized the religion of his fathers,³ and in Christianity he now hated the religion of his persecutors.⁴ However, he drew from the Christians' books, which he carefully studied, those counsels to virtue which harmonized with his own philosophy, — for oneself, purity of soul and body; towards others, benevolence.⁵ Even when Emperor he preferred Socrates to Alexander, the life of the mind rather than the career of arms.⁶ All of affection that existed in this cold nature — which indeed knew friendship, but never love⁷ — was towards humanity, which he would fain render happy; towards the gods, whom he adored with an ardent piety; towards the forces which his dreamy imagination invested with life; and, unfortunately, towards those superstitious practices which philosophy had already long ago condemned.

His brother's changed condition had done no more than lengthen his own "gilded chains." He was permitted to leave his Cappadocian prison and go to Constantinople, where, as a humble student, he attended lectures. His prudent reserve and

¹ *Letter to Themistius*. He writes to him again: "O my friends! I could have wished to have no other occupation but to converse with you, as heavily laden travellers sing on the road to lighten the weight of their burdens."

² Julian, *Oration on the Worship of the Sun*, sect. 1.

³ See Vol. VII. p. 485.

⁴ In his *Letter to the Christians of Alexandria*, he says that he was himself a Christian up to the age of twenty; that is to say, the year 350. In his oration against Heraclius the reader should observe the history of his childhood, charmingly told by himself.

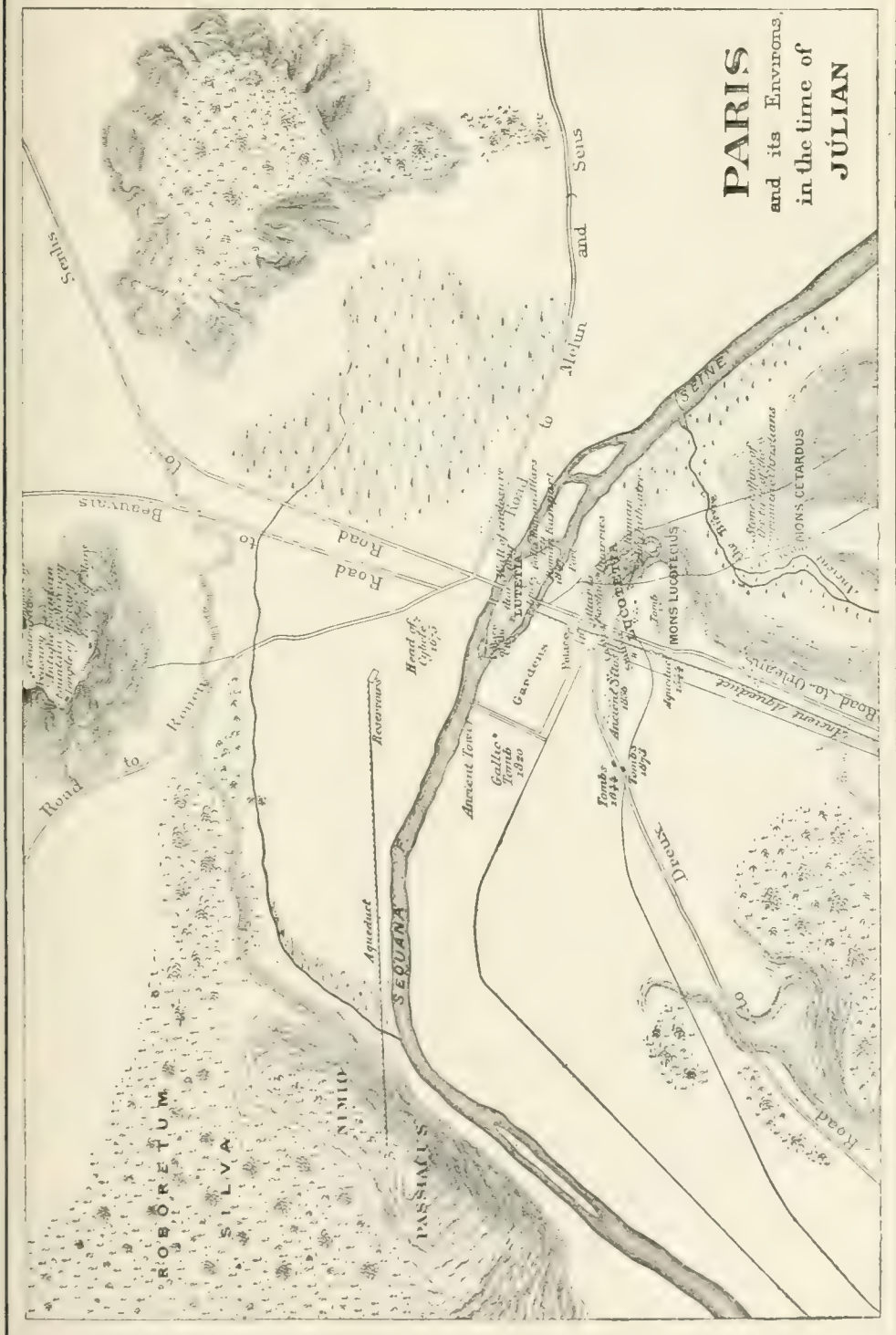
⁵ In his letter to a priest, written shortly before the expedition into Persia, he says that in his childhood, poor though he was, he gave to the poor. Later we shall see how he hoped to found benevolent institutions.

⁶ *Letter to Themistius*, 7.

⁷ See, in the *Misopagou*, sections 8, 11, and 27. Also Amm. Marcellinus (xxv. sect. 4): *Ita inviolata castitate enituit, ut post amissam conjugem nihil unquam concorum agitare.*

PARIS

and its Environs
in the time of
JULIAN



Scale
1000 Meters

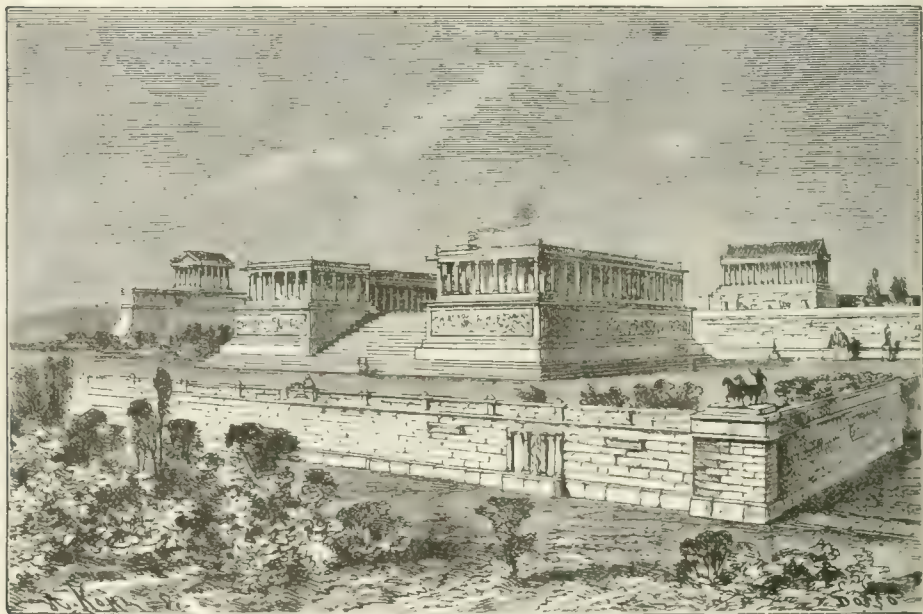
his industrious and modest life did not prevent men in search of all the chances of the future from seeking the friendship of the young prince. Constantius soon found him a centre of too much observation, and an imperial order relegated him to Nicomedeia, with a recommendation not to attend the lectures of Libanius, the most famous pagan rhetorician of the time, who taught in that city. Constantius already suspected Julian of pagan tendencies, and did not propose to allow him to become a leader for the partisans of the ancient cult. The Emperor's anxiety was not ill founded. Julian read in private the discourses of the eloquent rhetorician to whom he was not allowed to listen; the *Iliad* was his gospel, Homer and Plato were the enchanters who ruled his mind;¹ and he caused himself to be secretly initiated at Pergamus by a pupil of Iamblichus into the Neo-Platonic doctrines, and at Ephesus by a thaumaturgist into the mysteries of the condemned cult.² He had at first addressed himself to the aged Aedisius; but the sage replied: "My body is in ruins; it is a fallen edifice: question my children." The sons of his soul were Maximus

¹ Julian, who wrote and spoke in Greek, except in the fulfilment of his official functions, seems not to have been familiar with Latin literature, although Libanius says that he had read a few Latin authors. It would have been a useful counterpoise, of which he had great need; the same is true, however, of the most illustrious theologians of the East, — of Gregory Nazianzen, Saint Basil, and almost all the Nicæan Fathers, for whom it was necessary to translate into Greek Constantine's opening address. I do not say that the knowledge of Latin would have tranquillized the disputatious minds of the Greeks; but I call attention to the fact that the larger number of the heresies, and the greatest of them all, Arianism, sprang up in the Hellenic East, while the West was never seriously disturbed in that way. If the Greeks of the fourth century had been conversant with the works of Cicero and Sallust, of Caesar, Livy, Tacitus, and the great juriconsults of Rome, their loquacious subtilty would have given place to a well-balanced eloquence. They would have had an appreciation of realities, and also that sentiment of patriotism in which they are completely lacking, — and which we find at least in a few despairing words of the Pannonian Saint Jerome. Latin literature is a great school of reason and of patriotism; Greek literature of the fourth century is not this. To say that the people of the West were more devoted at that time to public affairs, would not, however, be true. It was that their language and their mental character were not adapted to metaphysical discussions; and while their social virtues were no more active, that which they sought from their religion was not so much controversies as it was consolations and hopes. At the same time it cannot be denied that the great theologian of the Western Church, Saint Augustine, seems, by his subtleties, to have breathed some Oriental atmosphere.

² Gregory Nazianzen (*Inveet.* 55, 56), who carefully collects all the legends concerning Julian, says that in the midst of the ceremony the neophyte, alarmed by the apparitions which crowded around him, instinctively made the sign of the cross, and that the phantoms at once vanished. We have already come upon (Vol. VII. p. 115) this belief in the power of the sacred sign to drive away demons.

and Priscus, and these two philosophers were Julian's constant companions during the rest of his life.

The young prince divided his life into two portions, — one for the Emperor and his jealous court, the other for himself; carefully concealing his preferences, and under this constraint constantly sinking deeper and deeper into hatred of the religion which drove him to this double-dealing. This was not the heroism of the Christians, willing to die rather than deny the faith. But there are no martyrs to paganism, and Julian felt



PERGAMUS: RESTORATION OF THE ALTAR OF ZEUS AND ATHENE.¹

no obligation to conform his soul to the external acts which were required of him. A most serious political question was involved also: Were the pagan divinities finally conquered, and was Jesus to be forever triumphant? In his struggle against the Christians Julian saw a sacred cause, and himself the defender designated by oracles at this time current among the pagan subjects of the Empire.² With ideas like these, dissimulation was no longer unworthy. No man has ever censured Solon's feint of madness, nor that of the elder Brutus.

¹ O. Rayet, *Mouvements de l'art antique*

² Sozomenus, v. 2: Theodoret, iii. 3.

Plato, while disbelieving in the gods of Athens, spoke of them in such terms that he did not imperil his life; and Libanius praises Julian for having "obeyed the dictates of prudence."¹

Being summoned to Milan after his brother's death as a suspected person whom the Emperor wished to have in his immediate presence, Julian lived at court for seven months, never secure of his life from one day to the next.² When the courtiers perceived this short, thickset man, awkward in manner, with pointed beard, and wearing the philosopher's cloak, his forlorn appearance caused him to be an object of ridicule to them all. A woman, the Empress Eusebia, made herself his protector.³ Shall we attribute her conduct to pity at sight of this last scion of an illustrious house obliged silently to endure the insolence of eunuchs and of guards, or shall we conjecture that, being herself childless, she wished to secure a friend in the heir-apparent to the throne? Noble natures are so rare in this family that for the sake of finding one we are glad to believe in the sincerity of her whom Julian himself calls "the good and beautiful Eusebia."⁴ She induced the Emperor to grant him an audience, and Julian obtained permission to withdraw into Asia and take up his residence on a small estate which he inherited from his mother, and which, when later he gave it to one of his friends, he describes thus: "It is twenty stadia⁵ distant from the shore, and therefore undisturbed by trafficking merchants and clamorous or quarrelsome sailors. A hillock near the house commands a view of the sea, the islands, and the city which bears an illustrious name;⁶ and the ground-ivy, the thyme, and other aromatic herbs will afford you constant gratification. When with tranquil attention you have pursued your studies and wish to relax your eyes,

¹ Libanius, ii. 270 (ed. of 1627).

² . . . περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων . . . κινδυνείων (Julian, *Letter to Themistius*).

³ After the death of his first wife, Julian's sister, Constantius had married, near the close of the year 352, Eusebia, a lady of consular family.

⁴ A foolish conjecture has been made, ascribing Eusebia's interest in Julian to a tenderer sentiment than sympathy. But the Empress saw him only once, at the beginning of the year 355, and again for a few days at the close of the same year. Eusebia was, it is true, a very beautiful woman (Amm. Marcellinus, xviii. 3); but the cold and austere Julian, whose passions were all intellectual, is not the person for the hero of a romance. Libanius (ii. 325) speaks of him as more chaste than Hippolytus.

⁵ [About two miles and a half.]

⁶ Constantinople.

the prospect of the ships and the ocean is delightful. In this retirement I found many charms when I was a boy, for it has fountains, a beautiful bath, a garden, and an orchard; and when I grew up, I was still so fond of it that I frequently resorted thither, and my obtaining it seemed to be a special favor of fortune. It affords, too, a small memorial of my agriculture, a sweet and fragrant wine, which is good even when it is new. The grapes, both when they hang on the vine and are pressed into the vat, are as fragrant as roses. Why, then, you will say, did I not plant many more acres with such vines? Because I was not a very keen husbandman; and besides, as mine is a temperate cup, there was always enough for myself and my few companions. Such as it is, my dear friend, you will now accept it. However trifling the present, it is pleasing both to give and receive 'from house to house,' according to the wise Pindar."¹

While Julian occupied himself with these pleasures of rural life for the sake of escaping from the scrutiny of Constantius, the latter lived in the midst of suspicions and in perpetual fear. Some imprudent words let fall by a governor of Pammonia at a banquet were transformed into a plot, which the Emperor punished with cruel tortures and executions: at the same time Sylvanus in Gaul was driven into revolt. The Empire appeared to Constantius to be full of treasonable schemes: and lest the brother of Gallus should incite revolt in the Oriental provinces where he had made his home, the Emperor ordered him to go over into Greece to live,

a country in which he owned not an acre of land, and knew not a person. Julian however at once obeyed, and went to Athens (July, 355).

This precautionary measure of Constantius was far from being an act of wisdom. Since Alexandria and the great Asiatic cities had been occupied with theological disputes, Athens had again become the most vital centre of Hellenism. "Each land," says Himerius, "bears its own peculiar fruit: that of Athens is eloquence." Men believed in the old gods, or at least spoke of them with the art of rhetoricians and the subtilty of sophists; and Christianity was there subjected to an animated and brilliant criticism, both as to its history and its dogmas. When in the

¹ *Letter 46.*

midst of this crowd of masters and disciples Julian appeared in his philosopher's cloak; when his eagerness to learn was manifest, and his ability to discuss with the wisest,—many pagan hearts turned eagerly towards him, and many Christians, divining their secret enemy, said among themselves, “What a monster Rome keeps here!”¹ But the future Emperor hid his thoughts from all, unless it were the hierophant of Eleusis, whom he secretly consulted;² and these scholarly enthusiasms, this sincere interest in all knowledge which made him live in the far-off past, and of which the courtiers at Milan scoffed, served to protect him against the jealousy of Constantius.

Since the defeat of Magnentius the Emperor had continued to reside at Milan. The war with Persia—a war of merely predatory character—could easily be left to the generals in command in the invaded provinces; upon the lower Danube all, as yet, remained quiet. But serious dangers appeared in the West, and turned away the Emperor's attention from the eastern capitals that he might remain near Gaul and Illyricum. The Pannonian frontier was always harassed by the Quadi and the Sarmatae. Constantius had been obliged, in 354, to hasten against the Alemanni, who, masters of the Decumatian lands, were seeking to obtain a footing in the northern part of Helvetia; also from Gaul came news of disaster. To increase his own army, Magnentius had withdrawn the garrisons from the Rhenish frontier; and these posts had not been again fortified, owing to the revolt of Sylvanus: accordingly, on the death of the latter the Barbarians had combined in a general attack. The Alemanni had fallen upon the two German provinces, the Franks upon Belgium, and forty-five cities had been sacked; among them Mayence, Strasburg, and Trèves, the pride of Northern Gaul. All the left bank of the Rhine, from the Lake of Constance down to Batavia, was permanently occupied by these Barbarians; and while an immense mass of booty and a crowd of captives were carried away into the German forests on the other side, the roads leading into Gaul

¹ Words of Saint Gregory Nazianzen, who was at this time at Athens. The saint regrets that Constantius had not put this young man to death along with the others in 337: . . . *κακῶς σωθέντα*. Saint Basil was also in the Greek capital, and Julian had relations with both of them.

² Eunapius, *Marinus*, pp. 475, 476.

were full of wretched fugitives, — the mother dragging her children with her, the son supporting the steps of the aged man, and with them some few heavy carts heaped with whatever fragments had been rescued from pillage. They went their way, cursing the Germans and the Emperor and the Empire; their piteous tales spread terror; and often upon their track, like wolves following the frightened flock, came savage bands, yellow-haired men with eyes of angry blue, who, with wild outcries, destroyed men and things for the mere pleasure of destroying.

While these disasters went on, the single master of the Roman world was assembling councils, discussing the consubstantiality of the Son and the Father, sending into exile bishops whose theological views differed from his own, and risked losing his kingdom in this world by his ambition to regulate the affairs of Heaven. The cry of desolated Gaul, however, pierced through the disputes on *ὁμοούσιος* and *ὁμοιούσιος*; Constantius decided to send thither one of his generals. But whom to send? Those whom their services made conspicuous inspired him with endless suspicions. He feared lest an army sufficient to defend the Western Provinces might offer to any commanding officer the same temptation to which Magnentius and Sylvanus had fallen victims. "A kinsman would be better than a stranger," the Empress Eusebia suggested; and Constantius determined to repeat with Julian the experiment he had made in the East, when he had summoned one of his own relatives to occupy the highest position, lest some other man might seize it. That experiment had proved unsuccessful; but Gallus had been struck down, not for revolt, but for maladministration. What, moreover, was there to fear from this student of Athens, whose mind, always in the clouds, was devoid of worldly ambition, who, near or far, could be held in leash, and who, if need were, could be destroyed as readily as his brother had been? Constantius gave to Julian the title of Caesar and the prefecture of the Gallic provinces (Gaul, Spain, and Britain). "It is not a sovereign that I send to Gaul," the Emperor said, "but a figure bearing the imperial image."

Julian wished to refuse. The feeling that he had a duty to perform towards the old gods stood in the way.¹ Immediately

¹ Theodoret, iii. 3.



ATHENS.

on his arrival in Milan (October, 355) the eunuchs of the Empress seized upon him; he was shaved,¹ deprived of his cloak, and arrayed in a military chlamys having an image of the Emperor attached to it, that none might forget who the real master was. "In this array," he says of himself, "I was a pitiful looking soldier." Constantius presented him to the army, who applauded not so much their new general as the *donativum* promised them on the occasion.

The hero of the day remained anxious and alarmed. When he returned to the palace, seated in the same chariot with the Emperor, Julian, pursued by memories of his brother, replied to the acclamations of the crowd by repeating to himself the lines of Homer, that on its prey "purple Death lays hold, and mastering Fate."³ His own purple mantle seemed to him like a blood-stained shroud (Nov. 6, 355).



JULIAN CAESAR.²

Constantius caused him to marry Helena, the Emperor's sister, — a sad union, which gave him no sons, and was early broken by death. This daughter of the Empress Fausta, older than Julian, seems to have had no place in his heart or in his memory; his numerous writings mention sometimes the Helen of Homer, but never his own Helen. He was



COIN REPRESENTING JULIAN AND HELENA.⁴

at this time poor, and on his marriage received many valuable presents, of which the most precious, we may believe, was a collection of the best Greek writers, — a refined expression of regard from the Empress Eusebia. This library of Greek books he kept always with him; even on his expeditions at least some of them were among his luggage. From them he derived instruction and delight; by

¹ After his accession he allowed his beard to grow again.

² FL. CL. IULIANVS NOB. CAES., and Julian's head uncovered. On the reverse GLORIA REI PVBLICAE, and two figures supporting a shield on which is the legend VOTIS; and underneath, KONS. XI. (Gold coin.)

³ *Iliad*, v. 83.

⁴ Julian and Helena with the attributes of Serapis (the *modius*) and of Isis (the lotos-flower). On the face, DEO SARAPIDI; on the reverse, the Nile, holding a vessel and a reed, and leaning upon an urn whence water is flowing. (Small bronze.) (Cohen, vol. vi. pl. xii. No. 12.)

means of them. moreover, he found something which he did not seek, namely, that popularity which, notwithstanding Christian hos-



BOOKS.¹

tility, still clings to his name. By his taste for letters Julian belongs to all scholars; and the poets, the orators, and the philosophers whom he loved, plead for him with posterity. His reputation as a writer, however, led him to the committal of an unworthy action. He felt himself obliged, or others persuaded him, to respond to the sudden favor of which he found himself the object by a public expression of gratitude.

Feigning to accept the official theory that the massacres of 337 were the acts of a mutinous soldiery, and the death of his brother a stern but legitimate punishment, he read, on occasion of some public festivity in honor of his accession to the rank of Caesar, an adulatory discourse upon the virtues and exploits of Constantius, which must have cost heavily to his own sense of honor. It was thus, however, that he paid his ransom; we could wish it might have been paid in any other way.

On the 1st of December, 355, Julian quitted Milan with the Emperor, who accompanied him as far as Pavia, and proposed to share with him the consulship of the following year. Constantius called the young Caesar his brother; Julian wore upon his breast the effigy of Constantius; and the crowd admired this fraternal concord, — “a wolf’s friendship,” says Julian (*Letter* 70); and the distrust was mutual. Under pretext of organizing the service around the new emperor in a manner worthy of his title and of his birth, Constantius had removed from him his friends and attendants;² minute instructions regulated the affairs of his household, even to the food served on his table; and the generals of the Gallic army had orders “to keep a watchful eye upon his conduct,” — Marcellus, their chief, having full control of the army. That the soldiers might not look to Julian as a distributor of favors, he was not authorized to make them the gifts habitually

¹ Books (*volumina*) found at Herculaneum (Museum of Naples).

² Except the physician Oribasius, whom Julian was allowed to retain.

bestowed by a newly appointed Caesar, and was expected, as a subordinate, to render account of all his acts to the Emperor.¹ This was the system which had been followed at Antioch. The distrustful mind of Constantius is rightly recognized in it; also, however, it is just to see reasonable precautions taken against the inexperience of a young prince, in whom no one at that time could foresee the great general.

Julian stopped at Vienne, which with its sumptuous structures still was worthy of the epithet Martial gives it: "Vienne the beautiful."² On the first day of January, 356, he assumed the consular insignia, and for four months he studied in history the science of war as practised by the great generals of earlier days, and in the camp the use of weapons and military drill. "O Plato!" he exclaims, "see what a philosopher has become!" At the end of these four months the philosopher was a soldier; he knew, at least, all that books can teach: actual experience of command soon made him a general at once daring and prudent. Throughout the whole of Gaul perhaps no man had ever heard his name. But the coming of a prince of the imperial family appeared to these enthusiastically loyal populations a promise of real assistance; the soldiers were gratified when they saw a Caesar ready to learn from them, and the officers conceived an affection for this studious and sedate young man, who begged them to tell him the history of their campaigns, who listened to their counsels, and who did not feel that he had learned everything on the day when he was made Caesar.

The condition of Gaul was deplorable. Cologne, one of the chief bulwarks of the Empire, had recently been sacked; the Rhine and the Vosges were no longer barriers to the Germans; they penetrated with impunity into the very heart of the country, and Autun, which they besieged, was with great difficulty saved by its garrison and a body of veterans who had thrown themselves into the place. When summer came Julian visited the gallant city to congratulate its defenders (June 23); then he advanced, fighting

¹ . . . *Tanquam adparitorum, super omnibus gestis ad Augusti scientiam referri* (Amm. Marcellinus, xvii. 11). See, on this point, pp. 76-77 of this volume.

² There are frequently found in the neighborhood of this city fragments of valuable marbles, among them immense pieces of cornice exquisitely carved (Allmer, *Revue épigr. du midi de la France*, 1882, p. 318).

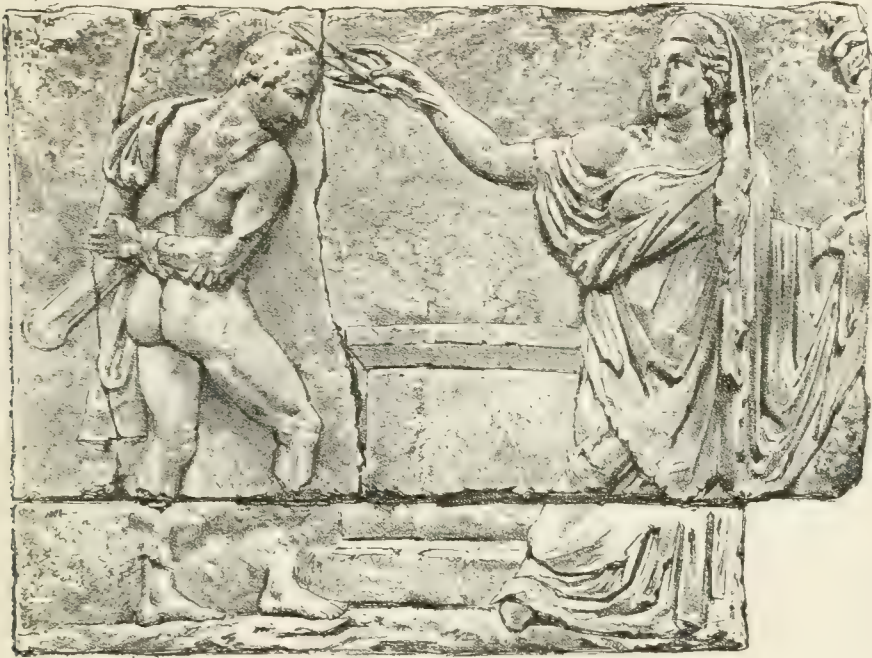
as he went, as far as Auxerre, Reims, and the cities of the Moselle. The Barbarians fell back before a display of courage which since



VIENNE: ANCIENT BUILDING CALLED LE PÉN DE L'AIGUILLE.

the time of Constantine they had not witnessed in the Roman troops. In Alsace they suffered a serious defeat, which permitted

Julian to enter Trèves, and also Cologne, whose walls he rebuilt. Then he advanced up the valley of the Rhine for the purpose of



BAS-RELIEF IN THE MUSEUM OF SENS.

supporting the operations of Constantius, who was making a successful expedition into Rhaetia against the same adversaries; after which Julian returned to Sens to pass the winter of 356-357.

In order to give his troops more comfortable quarters for the winter, he dispersed them through several cities, keeping but a few with him. This, however, came very near causing a disaster. Scattered through the country for pillage, the Barbarians had been surprised and driven back across the Rhine by



BAS-RELIEF IN THE MUSEUM OF SENS.

an attack resolutely conducted; learning from deserters how small a

body of soldiers the Caesar had kept with him, they formed the audacious plan of seizing Julian in his winter-quarters. Making their way stealthily between the Roman outposts, they suddenly appeared under the walls of Sens; but suitable vigilance was observed by the garrison. For a month the Barbarians kept the city besieged, while Marcellus, who chanced to be in the neigh-

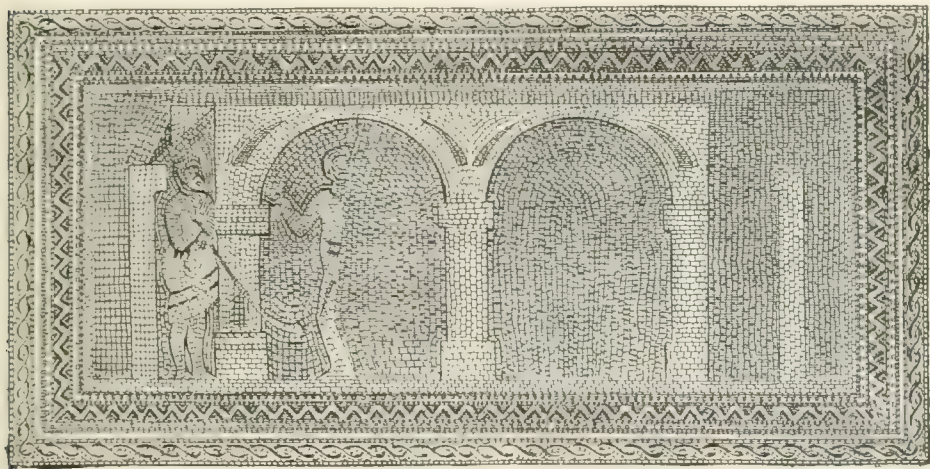


MAP FOR THE CAMPAIGNS OF JULIAN IN GAUL, GERMANY, AND PANNONIA.

borhood, made no effort to come to its relief. The Caesar defended himself bravely, and wearied out the besiegers, who finally drew off. Marcellus was evidently to blame; if not treacherous, he was at least incapable. He was recalled, and the Emperor, understanding that his own extreme of prudence was in danger of becoming the extreme of rashness, re-established a unity of command by placing the whole Gallic army under Julian's orders.

The Caesar, at last invested with real authority, acknowledged the favor by a second panegyric on Constantius, which is

no more creditable to him than was the preceding one. These panegyrics, characterized by a verbose rhetoric which bristles with classic quotations, were greatly in fashion at that time,¹ and were no more embarrassing to the conscience of the rhetorician, accustomed constantly to maintain the most extravagant theses, than the defence of great criminals embarrasses the



MOSAIC AT GRAND, IN THE VOSGES.²

modern advocate. It was a question of art, and one thing only was of importance; namely, that the periods be well cadenced. Julian himself ridicules this lying eloquence which men admire "when it makes small things great."³ He compensated himself by a sincere eulogy, which he sent to Rome at the same time with the other, upon his benefactress, the Empress Eusebia.

The Gallic army consisted of only thirteen thousand men;⁴ but there were brave soldiers in it, like that legionary tribune who afterwards became the Emperor Valentinian. This army advanced, in the summer of 357, into the Vosges to act with the Master

¹ A few years earlier, Rome had erected a statue in honor of the rhetorician Anatolius, with this inscription: Η ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑ ΡΩΜΗ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΩΝ (Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*, p. 492, edit. Didot [French translation]).

² Upon the recent discovery of this mosaic, which represents the stage of a theatre, see the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, xi. 211 (1883).

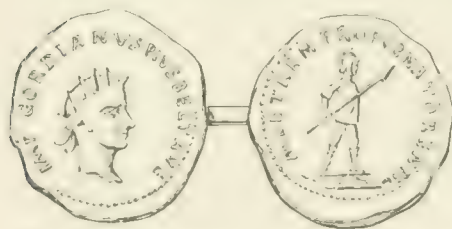
³ In the *Second Panegyric*, sect. 23.

⁴ This is the number given by a deserter to the Alemanni, and Marcellinus accepts the true as veritable (xvi. 12).

of the Infantry, Barbatio, whom Constantius had sent with a large force from Italy towards Basle.¹ A body of Alemanni made their way between the two armies and fell upon Lyons; but the city was able to repulse them. When they returned, laden with booty, Julian had closed the defiles of the Vosges, and not one of the marauders passed through. But Barbatio was not able to detain those who came in his direction; nor was he any more successful in his attempt to throw a bridge across the Rhine, and lost many men in an encounter with the Barbarians. These defeats made the successes of Julian more conspicuous. Before advancing into Alsace, which was threatened with a formidable invasion, he had prudently fortified Saverne, one of the gates of Gaul; and then, secure of having, in case of need, this place of refuge behind him, he went to meet the enemy in the direction of Strasburg. Almost the whole Alemannic nation was in arms; seven chiefs had crossed the Rhine with an army of thirty-five thousand picked men.² This was the greatest effort that the Barbaric world had yet made, on this side, against the Empire. When the Alemanni in their engagements with Barbatio had seen flee before them those soldiers whom by the insignia on their shields they recognized as the troops who had formerly been their conquerors,³ their hearts

¹ Barbatio was under the direct orders of Constantius, and not of Julian. His subsequent conduct revealed incapacity, therefore, but not treachery towards the Caesar. He had 25,000 men, — from which we see that the entire army of the West, when gathered for a great effort against the Germans, was only 38,000 men in all.

² Part of these soldiers served in virtue of treaties of mutual assistance made between the tribes; the others were paid. Thus we see the Germans in possession of something like a regular army (Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 12). A little later (xvii. 1), the same author shows the Alemanni building dwellings after the Roman method (*ritu Romano*), in the midst of well-cultivated fields, and we have gold coins from Barbarian mints, in imitation of the coins of the Empire. (Cf. Eckhel, vii. 316, 330, etc.) Lastly, certain usages of civilized nations were established in Germany; for example, the



GOLD COIN OF THE EMPEROR GORDIAN FROM A BARBARIAN MINT

common frontier between the Alemanni and the Burgundians was marked, says Amm. Marcellinus, by boundary-stones (*terminales lapides*). These were efforts to emerge from barbarism that it would have been wise to encourage, and not the transplanting of German tribes into Roman provinces.

³ Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 12: . . . *Scutorum insignia contuentes norant eos* . . . etc. Elsewhere (xxx. 10) he speaks of *arma imperatorii comitatus auro colorumque micantia claritudine*. The usage of placing designations upon the shields was very ancient, existing among the

were filled with pride and confidence. Accordingly, they assumed towards Julian a very arrogant tone. Before the engagement began, they summoned him to quit a country which they said was theirs, so much had it been infiltrated with German blood,¹ and they showed letters from Constantius which had seemed to relinquish to them this province when he solicited them to enter it for the purpose of making a diversion against Magnentius. The answer made to them was terrible: six thousand men were left dead upon the field. Julian—recognizable by the standard borne behind him, a purple dragon—had shown himself everywhere amid the fight, and at the decisive moment had brought back into the fray his fleeing cataphraeti. A great number of fugitives were drowned in the Rhine or killed while attempting to escape by swimming; among the captives were Chnodomar, who had been the terror of Gaul. Instead of having him thrown to the wild beasts, Julian sent him to Constantius (August, 357).² The old warrior, kept a prisoner at Rome, lived there six years.

This victory brought joy to the Empire and terror to Germany. Julian took the opportunity to cross the river and ravage in turn the country of these incessant pillagers, and he did not return into Gaul till snow began to cover the hill-tops. Before re-crossing the Rhine with twenty thousand Roman captives whom he had set at liberty, he repaired the defences of the fort which Trajan had constructed at the confluence of the Nidda and the Mein.¹ This was giving back to the declining Empire its haughty

Greeks. Cf. Pausanias, *Missina*, 28, sect. 5. Bocking (*Not. D. g.* vol. i., *Eindeitung*, pp. 93 *et seq.*) gives many examples of this. Dion Cassius (lxvii. 10) says that during the Dacic war a Roman general caused to be placed on the soldiers' shields each man's name and the name of his centurion. Vegetius (ii. 18) repeats this, adding that to recognize each other in the thick of the fight, the soldiers painted certain figures on their shields. This custom was subjected to regulation later, and each corps had its devices, which remained its own, as in later times the knight had his armorial bearings. The *Notitia dignitatum* gives numerous examples of this.

¹ . . . *Barbari qui domicilia fixere vis Rhenum* (Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 11)

² Amm. Marcellinus relates, at great length and confusedly, the story of this battle, of which Julian speaks modestly, only calling it a fortunate day. Constantius has been accused of foolishly claiming the honor of this victory. He merely followed an old Roman custom in this matter. The real conqueror, though far away from the battlefield, was always he under whose auspices the army had fought, and Christianity had not changed this pagan idea. Constantius, however, exceeded the usual limit by describing the battle as if he had been present at it, and making no mention of Julian.

³ Vol. V. p. 226.

attitude of the time of Trajan. The alarmed Alemanni begged for peace; Julian granted them only a truce of ten months, and that only on condition that they should supply with provisions the fort built against them.

After this brilliant campaign the soldiers had a right to their well-earned rest; but their young chief could now ask any sacrifice of them. Although in the middle of winter, he led them to the Lower Rhine, where the Franks seemed to entertain the idea of making a permanent settlement. The Alemanni did not like to shut themselves up in cities; and for this reason a battle in the open country, where the advantage was with the tactics and armament of the Romans, sufficed to drive them from Gaul. Endowed perhaps with a more military spirit, the Franks had established themselves within the last twenty years in the delta of the Meuse and the Scheldt, upon partially submerged lands which secured them inaccessible retreats, and for further conquest they recognized the importance of fortified positions. While the Roman army was across the Rhine, they came up the Meuse and rebuilt two old forts, thus rendering themselves masters of the whole river; and from these positions they proposed to advance, on the return of spring, into the interior of the country. Julian resolved not to leave in his rear these bold adventurers. For fifty-four days in the months of December and January he besieged them in these forts, notwithstanding all the inclemency of the



COIN OF JULIAN.¹

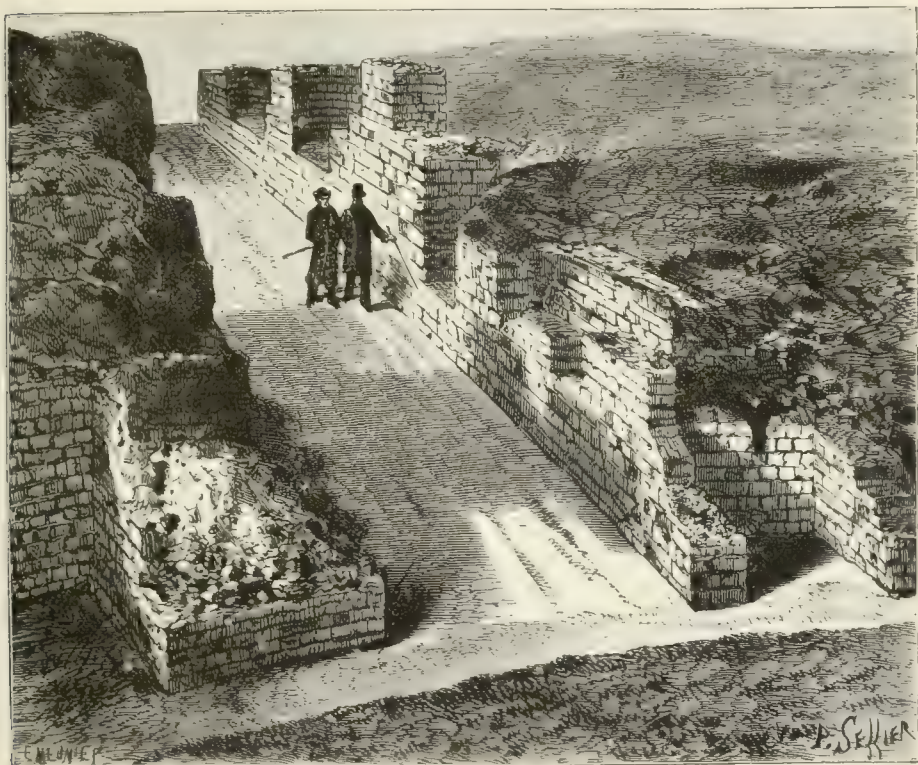
weather. Boats constantly in motion upon the river kept the ice broken, so that there should be no chance for the enemy to escape across it. Hunger at last obliged the besieged to surrender. "It was remarkable," says a contemporary, "to see the Franks captives, for their law requires them to conquer or die." Julian sent them to Constantius, and the Emperor enrolled

them in his guard.

The next year (358), long before the crops were ripe, the Caesar again took the field, requiring his soldiers to carry with them

¹ Coin of Julian, with the legend, VIRTVS CAESARIS. Julian holding a spear and a globe; on each side, at his feet, a captive (medium bronze). The obverse, which is not given here, bears as its legend *Nobilissimus Caesar*. The coin belongs, therefore, to the time of Julian's government in Gaul.

biscuit for twenty days (*buccellatum*).¹ The Salian Franks, whom the Quadi had formerly driven out of Batavia, surprised by Julian after a rapid march, declared themselves subjects of the Empire, and agreed to furnish a corps of cavalry. In return for this, Julian gave up to them Toxandria, the country around the mouths of the Meuse and the Scheldt.² He had like success with the Cha-



ARENAS OF LUTETIA (ENTRANCE FROM THE RUE DE NAVARRE).

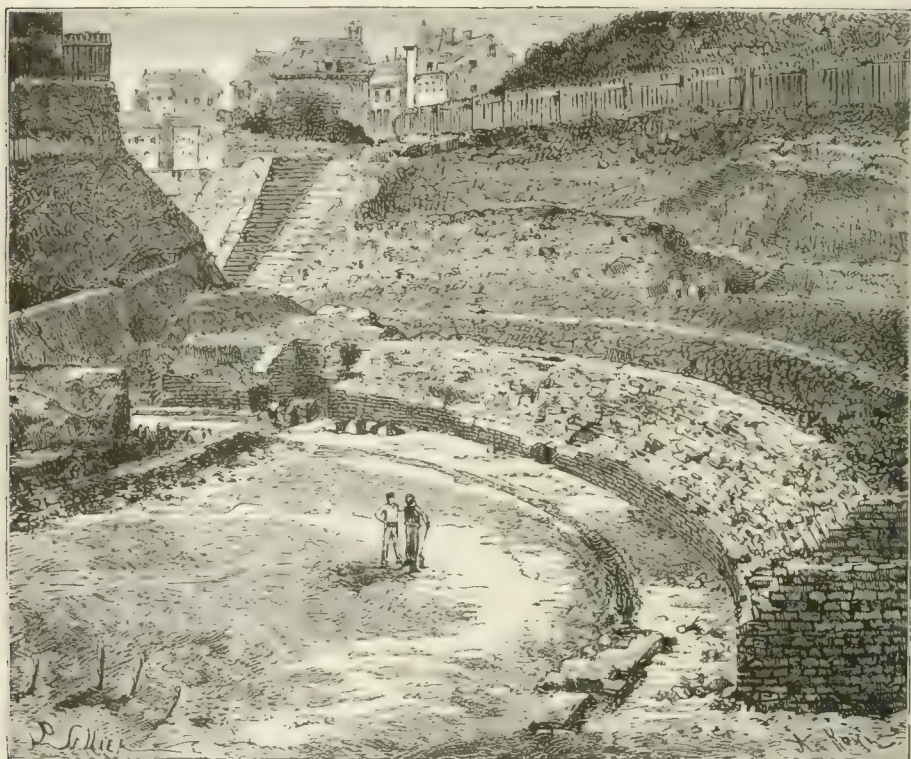
mavi, another Frankish tribe, compelling them to return across the Rhine. From them he had taken as hostage the son of their king; but the youth had disappeared during the battle, and the father, believing him dead, deplored the misfortunes which had overwhelmed his race and people. "Your son is alive," Julian said; and showing him the captive, he added: "He is under my care, and shall have all that he needs, so long as he remains

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xvii. 8. Military operations did not usually begin in Gaul before July.

² Northern Brabant, the province of Antwerp, and a part of Limbourg.

faithful to me." These men, accustomed to the murder of hostages, were touched by an act which appeared to them generous, and was certainly politic. Long after, we still find Chamavian auxiliaries in the Roman army.

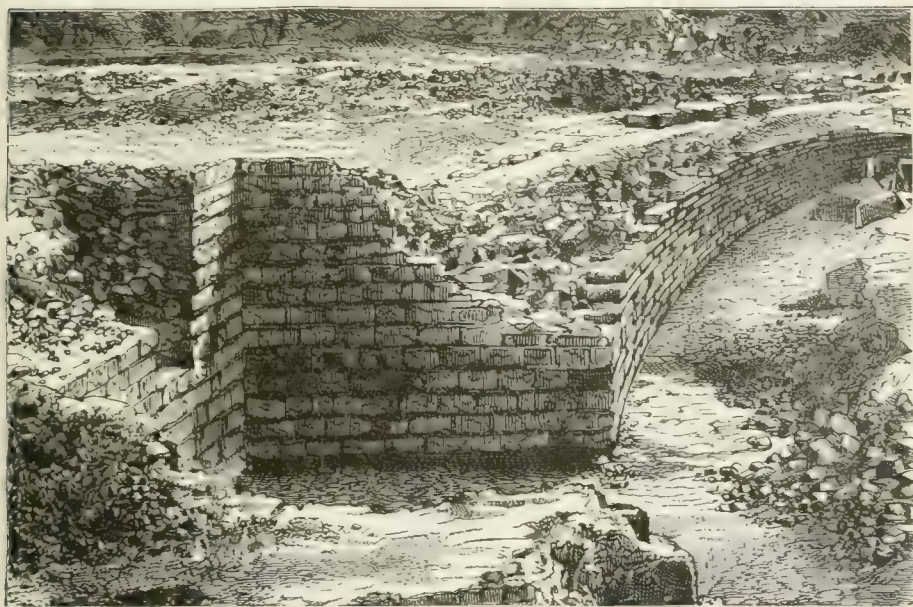
To remove from the Franks all temptation to go beyond their boundaries, Julian built upon the Meuse three fortresses, provi-



PORTION OF THE ARENAS OF LUTETIA.

sioning them with corn obtained from Britain. A numerous flotilla went to bring this corn, and in so doing exhibited the Roman eagles upon the Gallic rivers which fall into the North Sea, where now for many years Rome had made no manifestation of her power. The prefect Florentius had proposed to buy from the Germans the right of passage at a price of two thousand pounds of gold; but Julian would not agree to this, and such was his ascendancy over the Barbarians that they made no attempt to seize upon this rich booty. A reconnoitring expedition into Germany, carried on with energy in the autumn, made the tribes across the

Rhine feel the necessity of prudence, in face of so active a general. Accordingly, in the following year (359) he needed only to make an excursion across the river to secure complete tranquillity on this frontier. The Alemanni themselves brought in the materials necessary for the reconstruction of seven cities: among



OTHER PORTION OF THE ARENAS OF LUTETIA.

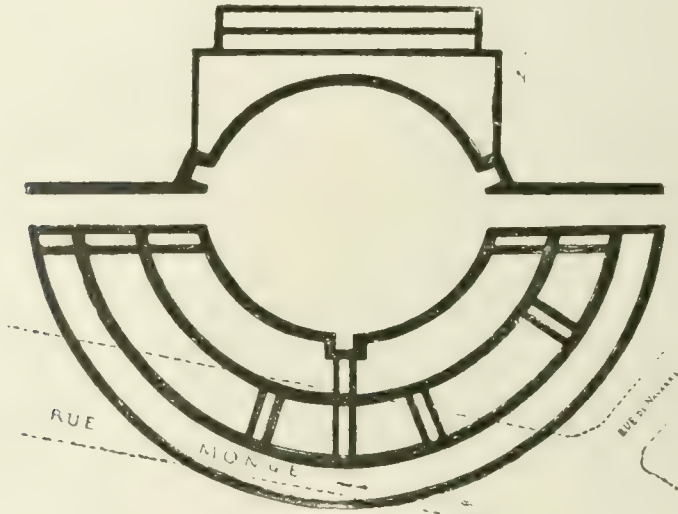
them Bonn, Bingen, Andernach, and Nuys, which, with Mayence and Cologne, were to stand sentinel for Rome upon the Rhine.

The winters between these campaigns Julian passed at Lutetia.¹ Situated in the midst of that fertile region so well named the Ile-de-France, almost at the point of meeting of the three valleys of the Oise, the Marne, and the Seine,² on the banks of

¹ Julian gives in his *Misopogon* a correct description of this city. He remarks that the river remains usually at about the same level, and that the winters are very mild, owing to the vicinity of the ocean, which moderates the temperature. "The inhabitants have vines," he says, "and even fig-trees, which they wrap in straw during the winter." He speaks of the influence of the sea upon the temperature of countries adjacent to it, or what we call "the marine climate."

² "The Plan of Paris and its Environs, here given, is reduced from M. Albert Lenoir's *Plan de Lutèce*, of which a new edition, completed by M. Jacquier, was added in 1882 to the 11th part of *Paris à travers les âges*. Some modifications, however, have been made in it, of which the most important is the distinction between *Lutetia* and *Lucotetia*, which goes back, since it is indicated by Strabo, to the earliest times of the Empire. The name Lutetia desig-

a gently flowing river which falls into the sea opposite the British coast, and rises near the localities where the Rhône and the Saône descend into the Mediterranean, Lutetia had found in its geographical position all the conditions of a great commercial centre; and such it was. From the time of Tiberius the rich corporation of the boatmen of the Seine, *Nautæ Parisienses*, had

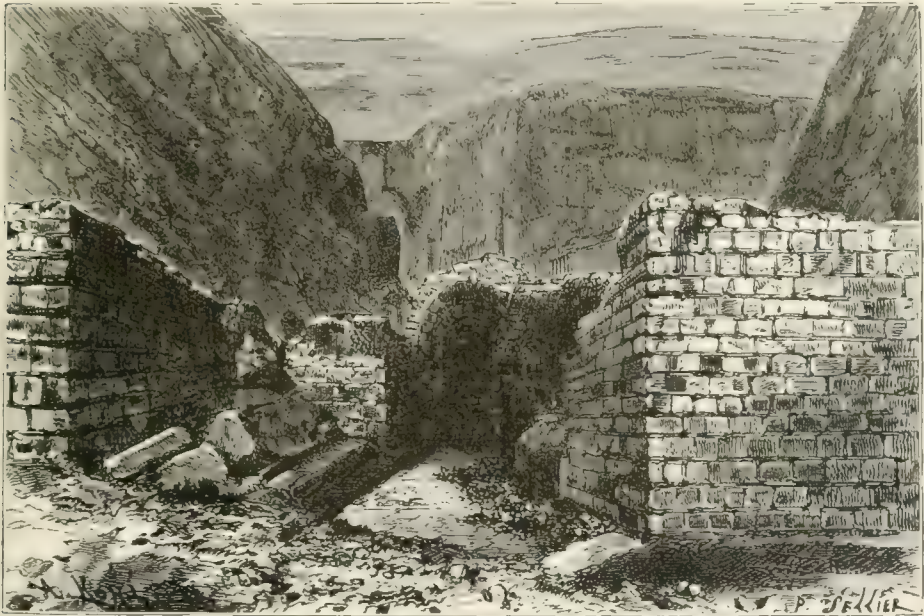


PLAN OF THE ARENAS OF LUTETIA.

been established in the island of *la Cité*, as in a ship at anchor in the river. Two wooden bridges united this island with the opposite shores, upon which lay, on the northern bank the Gallic city, on the southern the Roman. Lutetia was therefore an important military position. Caesar had often been there; the later Emperors had made it an imperial residence, and had formed military establishments there; for the city was then becoming

nated the island of the city, the old capital of the Parisii, while *Lucotetia* was the name of a village (*vicius*) situated chiefly on the hill Sainte-Geneviève. Also the indication, made by M. Lenoir, of antiquities found in the rue Vivienne (upon which discovery the learned academician rests his theory that the old road to Rouen followed a different course from that of the rue Montmartre), has not been repeated here, since M. de Longpérier has proved that these remains were brought from Italy in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, we have indicated, along the road to Dreux (rue de Vaugirard), the tombs discovered there in 1644 and in 1873. Lastly, for the modern names of the Bois de Boulogne, Passy, and Chaillot, we give the Latin names which designated those localities." (Note of M. Longnon, designer of this map.)

what Paris is to-day,—the centre of resistance against Germany. A bold dash easily brought the Barbarians from the Rhine to the gates of Trèves, the Gallic capital of Maximian Hercules and of Constantine, and they had many times threatened it. But for them Lutetia was too remote. On the slopes of the hill Locoticius, on which now stands the Pantheon, were, at the northeast, a municipal edifice, the arenas, and a theatre which has been lately discovered; on the southwest, the camp of the



THE AQUEDUCT OR SEWER OF THE ARENAS OF LUTETIA.

legions; between the two, the imperial palace, supplied by an aqueduct with pure spring water from Arcueil;¹ on the site of the old Hôtel-Dieu, the remains of some triumphal construction, probably posterior to Julian; lastly, on the hill Locoticius a great pottery. The taste of these early Parisian artists may be judged of by the accompanying representations of vases found in this neighborhood.

Every year in the autumn Julian came to the Palais des Thermes which still bears his name; and men wondered to see this young conqueror lead the life of a philosopher in the impe-

¹ Another aqueduct brought to the Gallic city water from the hills of Passy.

rial residence. In the coldest weather he had no fire; his bed was a couch of skins; his food, a soldier's rations; and he divided his virtuous and industrious life between public affairs and books. He secured to the provinces that which they most needed; namely, an upright administration, conducted in the in-



VASES OF TERRA COTTA FROM THE POTTERY OF LUTETIA.¹

terests of the persons governed.² He prevented the praetorian prefect Florentius from increasing the taxes; and to show him that he demanded too much, he examined the latter's accounts. No informers were allowed in the palace; but if any man sought for redress, he was sure to obtain it if his cause were good.³ In

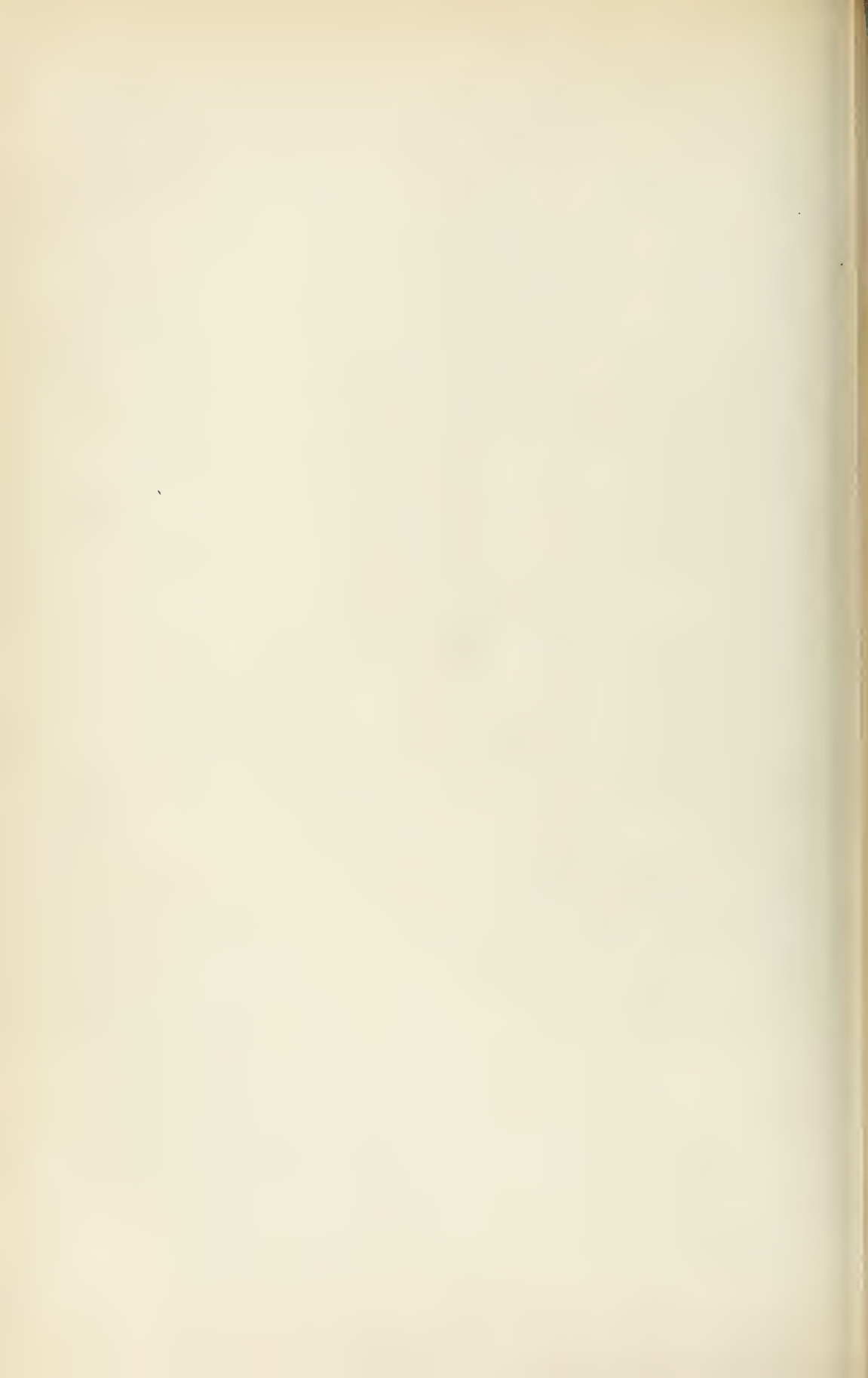
¹ Grivaud (*Antiquités gauloises et romaines*, 1807) has represented a great number of fragments found in the excavations made for the substructures of the Pantheon and the Luxembourg. Some of these may now be seen in the Musée Carnavalet. Later (chap. cix. sect. 2) will be represented the fragments of a triumphal arch (?) recently discovered in clearing the ground of the last remnants of the Hôtel-Dieu. M. Cousin has collected these bas-reliefs in the *Musée municipal*.

² See his *Letter 17*, addressed to Oribasius.

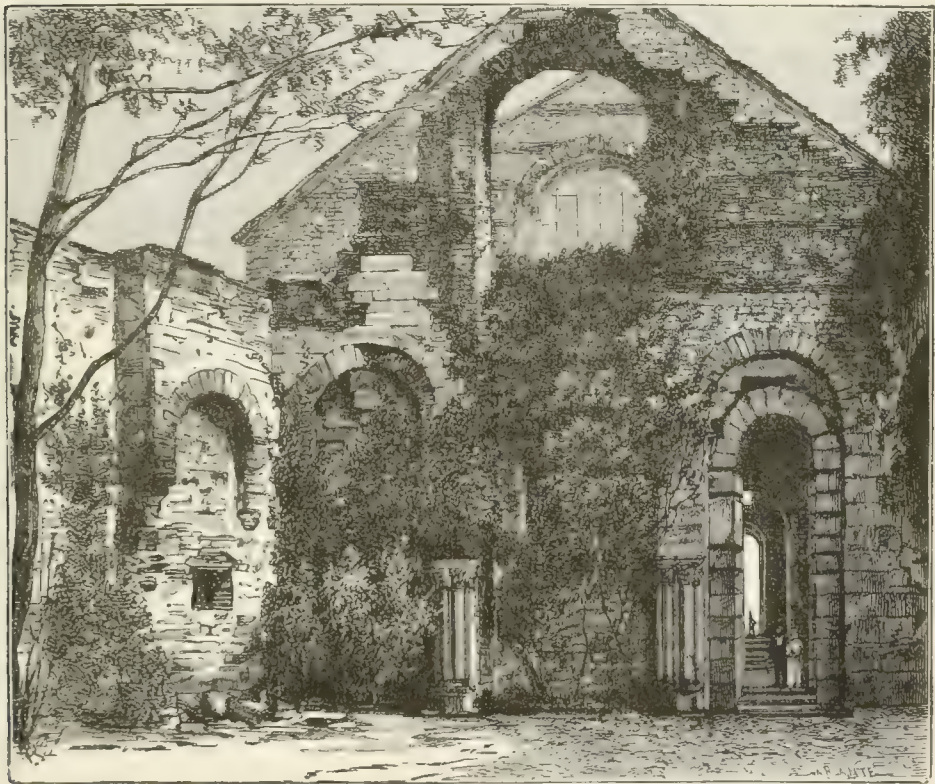
³ Amm. Marcellinus relates that when an advocate exclaimed, "What criminal would not be esteemed innocent if it were sufficient to deny!" Julian replied: "And what innocent man would not pass for guilty if it were sufficient to accuse!"



PALACE OF THE THERMES (PRESENT CONDITION).



the evening Julian gathered philosophers and learned men about him, if any were in the neighborhood, or else he occupied himself with Eusebia's Greek books. He did not disdain to listen to the advice of the wise Eutherius, his chamberlain, a faithful servant, who instead of laboring to corrupt his master, as eunuchs were wont to do, placed at his service the results of experience



REMAINS OF JULIAN'S PALACE IN PARIS (PALAIS DES THERMES), EXTERIOR.

and a passion for well-doing.¹ Whether this man was pagan or Christian, we know not. Two of Julian's best friends were, however, followers of the old religion. — Oribasius, his physician, and Sallust, his most valued lieutenant. He encouraged the former to make an abridgment of the writings of Galen,² and with the

¹ . . . *Beneficendi avidus . . . etiam Julianum aliquoties corripuit* (Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 7). Another eunuch had been Julian's preceptor, from whom he acquired his love of Greek literature.

² The *ἱατρικαὶ συναγωγαί*, of which nearly half has been preserved. It is a sort of medical encyclopædia, formed of extracts from the writings of Galen and the most renowned phy-

latter he discussed the campaigns they had made together and, when they were alone, the divinity they both worshipped, the Sun-god. Upon this subject he was with all the rest more silent than Pythagoras, and no man witnessed the secret devotions which he performed every morning to Mercury. "the Supreme Mover of the world and the principle of all intelligence."¹ He wrote much. His History of the Gallic War is lost; but we have many of his books, among others *The Enemy of the Beard*, a satire upon the people of Antioch, composed at a later period, in which he makes mention of his "dear Lutetia" and of the Gauls. "They worship Venus,"—he says, but we cannot take his words as exactly true,— "because they consider this goddess as presiding over marriage; and in adoring Bacchus and liberally using his gifts, they obtain from the god only an innocent gratification."

Another of his works, *The Caesars*, is a little satiric drama, containing much truth and some malice.² We are so soon to take leave of the Empire that it will not be without interest to pass, with Julian, his predecessors in review, and notice his judgments upon them.

The time is the Saturnalia, the great pagan festival. By way of amusement in these days devoted to pleasure, Julian relates to his friend Sallust the story of a celestial banquet. Romulus has invited the gods and the Caesars to a repast. "The gods were entertained on the summit of heaven," says Julian, "and the Caesars below the moon in the highest region of the air. Thither they were wafted and there they were buoyed up by the lightness of the bodies with which they were invested, and by the revolution of the moon. Four couches of exquisite workmanship were spread for the superior deities. That of Saturn was formed of polished ebony, which reflected a divine lustre that was insupportable; for on viewing this ebony the eye was as much dazzled by the excess of light as it is by gazing steadfastly on the sun.

sicians. At the beginning of his first book Oribasius says: "Emperor Julian, I have finished, according to your desire while we were in Gaul, the abridgment which your Divinity commanded."

¹ . . . *Mundi velociorem sensum, motum mentium* (Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 5).

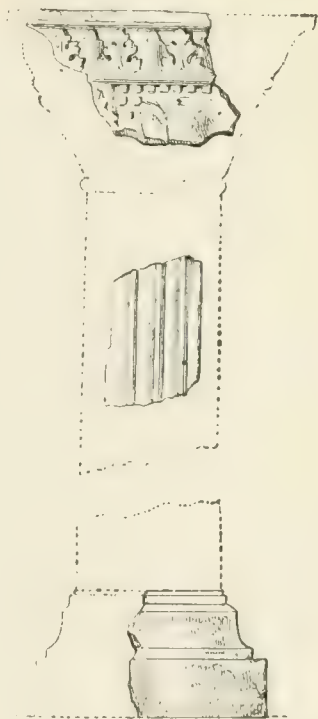
² [This satire is called by Gibbon one of the most agreeable and instructive productions of ancient wit.]

That of Jupiter was more splendid than silver, and too white to be gold; but whether this should be called *electrum*,¹ or what other name should be given it. Mercury, although he had inquired of the metallists, could not precisely inform me." When the gods were seated, Silenus places himself near Bacchus, and entertains the god with his sarcastic comments upon the Caesars as they arrive. First comes Julius, strong and handsome, with a lordly air, as of one who has ambition enough to seek to dethrone Jupiter himself. Then Octavius arrives. "He assumed, like a chameleon, various colors; at first appearing pale, then black, dark, and cloudy, and at last exhibiting the charms of Venus and the Graces. In the lustre of his eyes he seemed willing to rival the sun,² nor could any one encounter his look." Silenus exclaims at his appearance, and fears he may do some mischief; but Apollo, interposing, consigns Augustus to Zeno for instruction, who in a few moments causes the Emperor to become wise and virtuous.

The third who approaches is Tiberius, with grave but fierce aspect, at once wise and terrible, but showing scars, the traces of his crimes and vices. Silenus calls him an old satyr, although much afraid of him, and wishes him back in his solitary Island of Capri.

Then advances a dreadful monster: this is Caligula. The gods avert their eyes. Nemesis delivers him to the avenging Furies, and he is at once flung into Tartarus.

On the approach of Claudius, Silenus scoffs; he begs Romulus to send for Narcissus and Pallas, and also for Messalina. "Without

FRAGMENTS.³

¹ This word is used by the ancient writers in two different senses.—either for amber, or for a mixed metal composed of four parts of gold with one of silver.]

² ["His eyes were bright and lively, and he affected to have it thought there was a certain divine vigor in them, and was wonderfully pleased if any one when he looked earnestly upon him, turned down his eyes to the ground, as at the lustre of the sun" (Suet., *Aug.* c. 79).]

³ Fragments of columns found in the Palais des Thermes.

them," he says. "Claudius appears like guards in a tragedy, mute and inanimate."

Next enters Nero, playing on his harp and crowned with



JUPITER.²

laurel. Silenus turns to Apollo and says: "This man makes you his model."

"I shall soon uncrown him," replies Apollo; "he did not imitate me in everything, and when he did he was a bad imitator;" upon which Nero is swept away discrowned by the River Cocytus.

After this, seeing many come crowding together, — Vindex, Otho, Galba, Vitellius, — Silenus exclaims: "Where, ye gods, have you found such a multitude of monarchs? We are suffocated with smoke, for beasts of this kind spare not even the temples of the gods."¹ Thereupon, Jupiter calls for Vespasian to come from Egypt and extinguish these flames; but the god sends Titus away con-

temptuously, and will have Domitian chained with Phalaris, "the Sicilian tiger."

"Then came an old man [Nerva] of a beautiful aspect (for even old age is sometimes beautiful); in his manners most gentle, and in his administration mild. With him Silenus was so

¹ The reference is to the burning of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus under Vitellius and by his partisans.]

² Bronze statuette (sixteen and one half centimetres in height), found near Châlon-sur-Saône, in 1763, in a perfect state of preservation (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2,922).

delighted that he remained silent. 'What,' said Mercury, 'have you nothing to say of this man?' 'Yes, by Jupiter,' he replied; 'for I charge you all with partiality in suffering that bloodthirsty monster to reign fifteen years, but this man scarce a year.' 'Do not complain,' answered Jupiter: 'many good princes shall succeed him.'"

Next enters Trajan, bearing Getic and Parthian trophies, — but on his arrival Silenus begs Jupiter to be careful lest his cup-bearer, Ganymede, be stolen away from him. — and then, "a venerable sage [Hadrian] with a long beard, an adept in music, gazing frequently on the heavens and curiously investigating the abstrusest subjects; and then Antoninus, 'important in trifles, one of those who would harangue about a pin's point.'

"At the entrance of the brothers, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, Silenus contracted his brows, as he could by no means jeer at or deride them: Marcus in particular, although he strictly scrutinized his conduct with regard to Commodus his son, and his wife Fausta, — as to her, his immoderate grief for her death, though she little deserved it; as to him, in hazarding the ruin of the Empire by preferring him to a discreet son-in-law who would have made a better ruler, and studied the advantage of his son more than he did himself. Notwithstanding these failings, Silenus could not but admire his exalted virtue. Thinking his son [Commodus] unworthy of any stroke of wit, he silently dismissed him. And the latter, not being able to support himself or associate with the heroes, fell down to earth."

On the arrival of Pertinax, Nemesis reproaches him with knowledge of the conspiracy by which his predecessor was destroyed. "He was succeeded by Severus, a prince inexorable in punishing. 'Of him,' says Silenus, 'I have nothing to say: for I am terrified by his stern and implacable looks.'" Geta is simply dismissed from the banquet, but Caracalla is sent to be punished for his crimes. Macrinus and "the youth of Emesa" [Elagabalus] are driven from the sacred enclosure, and "Alexander the Syrian" is censured for his avarice and his subjection to his mother.

The seven Emperors next following are omitted, and it is believed the text is here mutilated. Then enters Gallienus with his

father Valerian, the latter dragging the chain of his captivity, the former effeminate both in his dress and behavior; and Jupiter orders them both to depart from the banquet.¹

"They were succeeded by Claudius, on whom all the gods fixed their eyes, admiring his magnanimity, and granted the Empire to his descendants, thinking it just that the posterity of such a lover of his country should enjoy the sovereignty as long as possible."² It will be remembered that Julian was the descendant of Claudia, sister to Claudius II.

Then entered Aurelian in haste, as if escaping from those who were accusing him before Minos of many murders which he could not deny or palliate. "But my Lord the Sun," says Julian, "assisted him by informing the gods that the Delphic oracle, 'That he who evil does should evil suffer, is righteous judgment,' had been in this case fulfilled."

While the gods are admiring the energetic Probus, Silenus remonstrates with him upon his harshness, and Bacchus is amazed to hear the old joker speak so gravely for a moment. Carus and his sons Carinus and Numerianus are repulsed by Nemesis, and then Diocletian approaches, and with him the two Maximians and Constantius. "These, though they held each other by the hand, did not walk on a line with Diocletian. Three others also surrounded him in the manner of a chorus; but when, like harbingers, they would have preceded him, he forbade them, not thinking himself entitled to any distinction; and transferring to them a burden which he had borne on his own shoulders, he walked with much greater ease. But Maximian, behaving with imprudence and haughtiness, Silenus, though he did not think him deserving of ridicule, would not admit him into the society of the Emperors. Besides, by his impertinent officiousness and perfidy he often interrupted the harmonious concert. Nemesis

¹ "Gallienus deserved to be excluded. But Julian seems to represent the gods as ungrateful. Ought they thus to treat the unfortunate Valerian, who was so zealous for their worship? Misfortune, after all, is not a crime. But it should be remembered that Valerian was taken by his own fault, and that according to the pagan ideas, being a prisoner, he ought to have shortened his disgrace and not have survived his liberty. When Perseus, king of Macedon, applied to Paulus Aemilius not to lead him in triumph, the Roman considered him a coward, and made answer that the Macedonian king's fate was and had been at all times in his own power."—*La Bletterie*.]

² In the judgment of Gibbon, this was not adulation, but superstition and vanity.]

therefore soon banished him, and whither he went I know not, as I forgot to ask Mercury.

“To this most melodious tetrachord, a harsh, disagreeable, and discordant sound succeeded. Two of the candidates¹ Nemesis would not suffer to approach even the door of the assembly. Licinius came thus far; but having been guilty of many crimes, he was repulsed by Minos. Constantine entered and sat some time, and near him sat his sons. As for Magnentius, he was refused admittance because he had never done anything laudable, although many of his actions might appear brilliant; but the gods, perceiving that they did not flow from a good principle, dismissed him, much afflicted.”

Then follows a competition for a seat among the heroes, and Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Trajan, being the greatest of Roman warriors, are recognized as candidates for this honor. But

Hercules insists that Alexander of Macedon be added to the list. Saturn urges the claims of a philosopher, and Marcus Aurelius is also included. Finally, Constantine completes the number. They urge their respective claims, and when the arguments are ended, “it was expected,” says Julian, “that the gods would have immediately determined the pre-eminence by their votes. But they

SILENUS.²

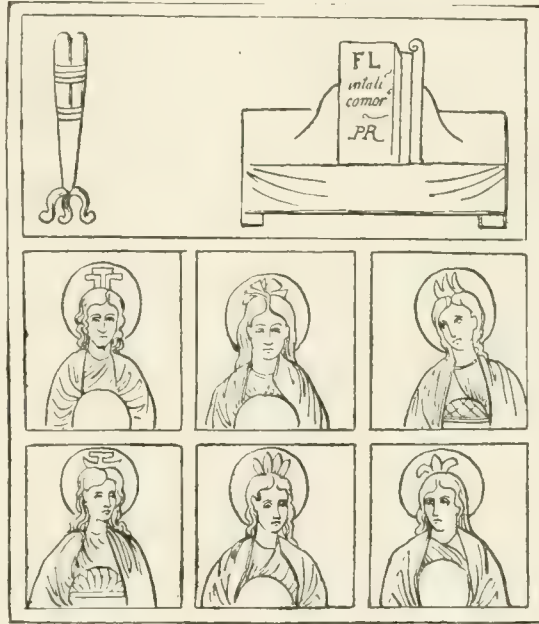
¹ [Maxentius and Maximin Daza.]

² Bronze statuette of Roman workmanship (height, 34 centim.), *Cabinet de France*.

thought it proper first to examine the intentions of the candidates, and not merely to collect them from their actions, in which Fortune had the greatest share; and that goddess, being present, loudly reproached them all. Augustus alone excepted, who, she said, had always been grateful to her." The candidates are then questioned one by one as to what each thought the highest excellence, and at what he had principally aimed in the important actions of his life. Alexander at once replies, "Universal dominion." Caesar declares his chief aim to have been to excel his contemporaries, and neither to be nor to be thought second to any. Augustus announces his great desire, "To reign well." Trajan claims the same view with Alexander, "but with more moderation." Marcus Aurelius, being questioned by Mercury, replies with a low voice and great diffidence: "To imitate the gods." Constantine's answer is that, having amassed great riches, it was his principal aim to expend them liberally for the gratification of his own desires and those of his friends. After each of these answers much debate follows among the gods; the candidates are sharply questioned, and defend themselves as best they can. The answers having all been given, the gods vote, but privately, and Marcus Aurelius receives the coveted honor. To console the defeated, they are allowed to remain and to place themselves under some special guardian and protector. Upon this, Alexander hastens to Hercules, Augustus to Apollo, Marcus Aurelius attaches himself closely to Jupiter and Saturn, Caesar wanders hither and thither till Mars and Venus, moved with compassion, call him to them. Trajan joins Alexander, "but Constantine, not finding among the gods the model of his actions, and perceiving the Goddess of Pleasure, repaired to her; she received him very courteously, embraced him, and then, dressing him in a woman's variegated gown, led him away to Luxury. . . . 'As for you,' said Mercury, addressing himself to me, 'I have introduced you to the knowledge of your father the Sun: obey then his dictates, making him your guide and secure refuge while you live; and when you leave the world, adopt him with good hopes for your tutelar god.'"

To gain victories, to set free twenty thousand captives, to build up cities, to husband the public resources so that instead

of extra taxes there were reductions made, bringing down the *caput* from twenty-five to seven *aurei*; ¹ finally, to employ in literary pursuits hours stolen from sleep,—such a life as this shows the truly great man. The populations whom he protected against the public treasury and against extortioners, after having set them free from the Barbarians, blessed the young emperor. But the men placed about him to rule over his conduct were full of anger against a prince who gave them no opportunities, who himself watched over everything, examining all questions with such clear-sighted intelligence that he went straight and promptly to the best decisions. The praetorian prefect Florentius, reduced to the position of a subordinate held strictly to account,

INSIGNIA OF THE VICAR OF THE DIOCESE OF THRACE.²

revenged himself by insulting and satirical letters sent to the court. "Of himself," the prefect wrote, "Julian can do nothing; it is Sallust who directs affairs, and with this general the Caesar may become dangerous." At Milan all sorts of scandalous reports were current. The courtiers, disposed to say that Constantius

¹ While reducing the amount of the taxation, he was very strict in levying it with punctuality, and would suffer no arrearages, — that scourge of the Roman finances (Amm. Marcell., xvi. 5, and xvii. 2) The tax of twenty-five *aurei* on the thousand (two and a half per cent) was exceptional, and occasioned by circumstances concerning which we are ignorant. When, as a consequence of civil wars or invasions, industry and traffic languished, the indirect taxes and the *chrysaeum* brought in but little. Then, to make good the deficit, the government bore heavily upon the landed property. This must have been the case in Gaul. The tax of seven *aurei* seems to have been the usual one, for we find it in 445 (*Nov. Valent.* III. tit. v. sect. 4). If the property brought in three per cent, the proprietor retained for income in the first case only one half per cent, and in the second, two and three tenths per cent. This was, therefore, a very considerable diminution of tax in the case of the Gauls, and must have secured their devotion to Julian.

² *Notitia dignitatum*, Bocking, p. 65.

in person had gained the battle of Strasburg, turned into derision the bulletins of "the little conqueror," *victorinus*, "the ape clad in purple," "the braggart mole." The Emperor knew how worthless all this gossip was; but it pleased him, nevertheless. He was weary of this increasing fame; and since Florentius declared that the strength of Julian was all due to Sallust, he recalled the latter and sent him to an obscure position in Thrace. The Caesar was extremely grieved at this separation. We have the sad letter which he wrote to his "dear friend," the companion of his labors, the sharer of his most secret thoughts, — a letter ending in words which surely sprang from the heart: "And now, wherever you go, may the benevolent Deity be your guide, and Jupiter, the friendly and hospitable, receive you, conducting you safely by land, and if you take ship, smoothing the waves before you! May you be loved and honored by all men, so that they may rejoice at your arrival, and lament at your departure! Still retaining your affection for me, may you never lack the society of a friend equally faithful! May the Divinity also conciliate to you the favor of the Emperor; may he regulate all concerning you to your complete satisfaction, and grant you a safe and speedy return to your own country and to us!"

More serious anxieties were soon to assail the young Caesar. Constantius was about to call away half of the army of the Gauls.

IV.—THE PERSIAN WAR RENEWED; JULIAN PROCLAIMED AUGUSTUS: DEATH OF CONSTANTIUS (361).

THE Emperor had remained at Milan. This city he rarely quitted, except, as in 357, for a triumphal entry into the old capital of the world, which he greatly admired, but in which the Persian Hormisdas, who accompanied him, remarked that men died, as they did elsewhere;¹ or, as in 358, for a rapid expedition

¹ Amm. Marcellinus (xvi. 10) gives curious details concerning this triumphal entry of Constantius into Rome, where for thirty-two years no Emperor had been seen, and Symmachus (x. 54) concerning the Emperor's visits to pagan temples, his respect for the Vestals, his gifts for festivals and public sacrifices, the priesthoods conferred by him upon noble Romans, etc. Lastly, to recompense the city for its welcome, Constantius caused to be



MAP
of the
ROMAN EMPIRE
during the reign of
CONSTANTIUS

Scale

Miles

0 10 20 30



against the Alemanni of Rhaetia and a brief campaign against the Barbarians of the Middle Danube, where an easy victory gave him the surname of Sarmaticus. Religious disputes occupied him much more closely. He wished, like his father, to govern the



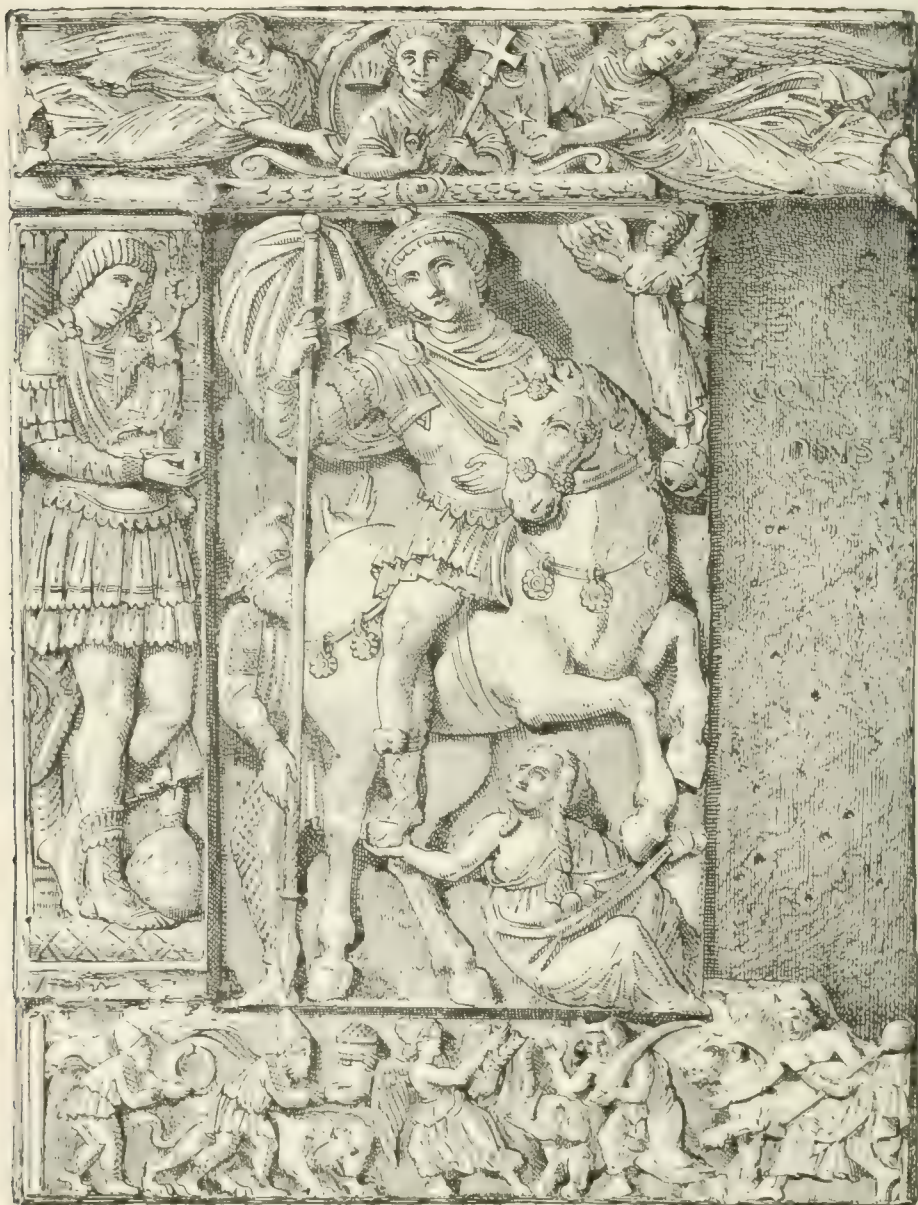
THE TRIUMPH OF CONSTANTIUS AT ROME.¹

Church. To succeed in this, a monarch must be extremely powerful; Constantine himself never obtained anything more than a relative tranquillity. Under Constantius the Empire was perpetually agitated by the disputes of the Arians and the Orthodox; of these we shall speak later: they were quarrels always more

brought from Egypt the obelisk which still stands in the square of St. John Lateran. We may notice that although himself a zealous Arian, Constantius made no attack upon paganism at Rome, except to order the altar of Victory to be removed from the curia while he himself was there. He had made the pagan Themistius senator of Constantinople, and he sent another pagan, the philosopher Eustathius, as ambassador to Sapor.

¹ Collection of Tobias Biehler at Vienna. This cameo, on agate-onyx, published by the Rev. C. W. King, of Trinity College, in vol. iv. of the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*, May, 1880, is the eleventh in size among known cameos, but it is among the very poorest as a work of art. Compare it with the cameos of Augustus, Tiberius, and Septimius Severus, represented in the colored plate, Vol. IV., and in the text illustrations, Vol. IV. p. 265, and Vol. VI. p. 504, and its great inferiority will be obvious. In this cameo is the hero of the occasion Constantius, or Constantine? I believe it to be the former, who made a triumphal entry into Rome in 357, while we have no account that Constantine ever did so.

noisy than dangerous. He also proposed to suppress all indiscreet search into the future. The magicians seem to have alarmed him



THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF CONSTANTINE INTO ROME.¹

extremely, for he set on foot an actual persecution against all who questioned the stars or the oracles. In 359 the *magister peditum*,

¹ Gori, *Diptychum Eusebianum*, published in his *Thesaurus diptychorum veterum*, vol. ii. pl. i. p. 168. Above, two Victories, each holding a shield; between, the Christ blessing

Barbatio, much disturbed by the arrival in his house of a swarm of bees, consulted the diviners as to this omen, and learned from them that it announced an event of great importance. This event which Destiny had in hand could be nothing less, the general thought, than the approaching death of the Emperor, to be followed by his own accession to the imperial dignity; and his wife, Assyria, in her imagination seeing him already invested with the purple, implored him, in a letter written in cipher, not to prefer to herself the Empress Eusebia on account of the latter's beauty. A copy of this letter was brought to Constantius by the treachery of a slave. According to the old beliefs, which when driven out from men's minds had left behind them a multitude of superstitions, an evil thought was a beginning of crime; and these puerile hopes had always been considered as treason.¹ Barbatio and his wife were beheaded; and, as was the custom, the friends of both shared the same fate.

These pretended conspiracies, which disturbed the court, did not agitate the Empire; but an unforeseen peril threatened it in the East.

Sapor, at last making an end of the wars which had long detained him in the eastern provinces of his Empire, claimed anew the whole of Armenia, and Mesopotamia with it.² In 359, guided by a deserter who furnished him with plans of the fortresses and details of the condition of the arsenals and of the distribution of the Roman troops in the East, he crossed the Tigris at Nineveh

with the right hand, and holding in the left a sceptre surmounted by a cross. In the centre the Emperor on horseback, and a suppliant Barbarian; the horse has the *phalurae* of which our collections furnish many examples; a woman supports the Emperor's foot, and by what she bears in her robe doubtless symbolizes abundance. Above, at the right, is a Victory holding a palm, its feet are placed upon the globe of the world, representing symbolically the words *toto orbe recepto*, placed by Constantius in one of the four inscriptions of the obelisk transported by him to Rome. At the left is a man holding in his hand a Victory and having a sack of gold at his feet. In the lower section of the diptych is still another Victory, and Barbarians offering gifts. In the effaced compartment at the right are legible the words: *Constantius Dominus noster*.

¹ See in Amm. Marcellinus (xxix. 1) how this passion for penetrating the future had spread, and how many victims it made during the reign of Valens. The methods at that time employed, remind one of the table-tipping of recent times.

² Amm. Marcellinus (xvii. 5) has preserved this letter of Sapor (who styles himself "the brother of the Sun"), and the reply of Constantius to his "brother, king Sapor." We observe that the phraseology employed by modern kings towards one another is very ancient. The style of Marcellinus is often diffuse; the account given in the text of the siege of Amida is greatly abridged.

with an army said to be a hundred thousand strong. For this campaign we have the story of an eye-witness, Amm. Marcellinus, who is able to tell us how in those days a great siege was conducted.

"I was sent," he says, "with a centurion to the satrap of Corduene, who ordered me to be conducted to the top of some high rocks, whence with good eyesight a man could see for a distance of fifty miles. Here we remained waiting for two days, and on the morning of the third day the whole horizon was filled with countless hosts of men, the king marching before them, glittering with the brilliancy of his robes. The king had crossed the river at Nineveh; and we, calculating that the whole host could hardly pass over in less than three days, returned with speed to the satrap and brought word of what we had seen. Upon this, orders were given to compel the residents of the country to retire with their families and all their flocks to a safer place, and that all the standing crops should be burned.

"When these orders had been executed, and the fire was kindled, the violence of the raging element so completely destroyed all the corn, which was beginning to swell and turn green [April or May], and all the young herbage, that from the Euphrates to the Tigris nothing remained. Fearing to be cut off from provisions, Sapor, with his army, advanced through the grassy valleys at the foot of the mountains: and finding that the Euphrates could not be crossed, being swollen by the melting of the snow, determined to direct their march to the right through a region fertile in everything, and still undestroyed. When our generals received intelligence of this from their spies, we determined to march in haste to Samosata to destroy the bridges at Zeugma and Capersana, and thus check the enemy's invasion if we could find a favorable chance for attacking them." On the road an engagement took place, and the Romans, being defeated, fled in a great panic and threw themselves into the town of Amida, a fortified position, where the Parthian legion, with a considerable squadron of native cavalry, were in garrison. They were reinforced by six legions, two of which were Gallie (who by forced marches had outstripped the Persian host), and some squadrons of companion archers, — corps in which all the freeborn Barbarians served, and conspicuous for the splendor of their arms, and their prowess.

“Marching slowly, on the third day the king came to Amida.¹ And at daybreak everything as far as we could see glittered with shining arms, and an iron cavalry filled the plains and the hills. The king himself, mounted on his charger and taller than the rest, led his whole army, wearing, instead of a crown, a golden figure of a ram’s head inlaid with jewels: being also splendid from the retinue of men of high rank and of different nations which followed him. He rode up to the gates to try the garrison with a parley; and the Deity of Heaven, mercifully limiting the disasters of the Empire, led this king to such an extravagant degree of elation that he seemed to believe that as soon as he appeared, the besieged would be suddenly panic-stricken, and have recourse to supplication and entreaty. Pushing on boldly, so that his very features could be plainly recognized, his ornaments made him such a mark for arrows and other missiles that he would have been slain if the dust had not hindered the sight of those who were shooting at him. His mantle, however, was pierced by a javelin; upon which he withdrew, raging as if against sacrilegious men who had violated a temple, and crying out that the lord of so many monarchs and nations had been insulted, and resolved to use all his efforts to destroy the city. But on the following day he sent Grumbates, king of the Chionitæ, to demand first that the garrison should surrender. The garrison, however, replied to this demand by a shower of arrows, one of which struck down the king’s son who rode at his side. — a young man in the flower of his age, a prince who in stature and beauty was superior to his comrades. After a whole day’s contest the body of the young prince was recovered by the Persians and borne with great lamentations into their camp. Then a cessation of arms was ordered, and for seven days the youth, so noble and beloved, was mourned after the fashion of his nation with a funeral feast, dancing, and singing melancholy dirges: and the women, with pitiable wailing, deplored the hope of their nation cut off in his early youth. . . . Then Sapor determined to propitiate the shade of the dead prince by making the destroyed city of Amida his monument.

“Having given two days to rest, and sent out large bodies of

¹ Saint-Martin, in his *Mémoires historiques*, i. 166–173, places Amida on the site of the ancient Tigranocerta.

troops to ravage the fertile and well-cultivated fields, which were heavy with crops, the enemy then surrounded the city with a line of heavy armed soldiers five deep; and at the beginning of the third day the brilliant squadrons filled every spot as far as the eye could see in every direction, and the ranks, marching slowly, took up their appointed positions.

From sunrise to sunset these lines stood immovable, as if rooted to the ground, without changing a step or uttering a word; and then the men, withdrawing in the same order as they had advanced, refreshed themselves with food and sleep, and on the following morning, even before the dawn, led by the clang of brazen trumpets, returned and surrounded the doomed city.

“Then Grumbates, like a Roman herald, gave the signal by hurling at us a blood-stained spear, and the whole army, with clashing arms, rushed up to the walls. The attack was fierce; but soon many of the enemy fell, their heads crushed by great stones hurled from the scorpions. Some were pierced with arrows or transfixes with javelins, and strewed the ground with their bodies; others, wounded, fled back in haste to their companions. Nor was there less grief and slaughter in the city, where the cloud of arrows darkened the air, and the vast engines scattered wounds everywhere. This slaughter lasted till the close of day, and was renewed again the next morning before daybreak, until the losses on both sides caused a longer truce; for when the time intended for rest came to us, continual sleepless toil exhausted our remaining strength, in spite of the dread caused us by the bloodshed and the pallid faces of the dying, whom the scantiness of our room did

NOTE. — The colored plate represents a massive silver cup, which marks the progress of art under the Sassanid kings. This cup (which was presented by the Duc de Luynes to the *Cabinet de France*, where it may be compared with that of Chosroës), of cast and chased silver, with figures gilded and in niello, represents in bas-relief a king of Persia hunting. The monarch, whose horse is going at full speed, is discharging an arrow; before him are fleeing two wild boars and a pig, a buffalo, an *aris*, and an antelope. Many victims of the royal hunter are stretched upon the ground. His costume is very rich; a tiara is upon his head, precious stones adorn his ears, his neck, and his double girdle; the tunic and the *anaxyrides*, or trousers, are embroidered, as also the horse's harness, which, like the bow, is decorated with two floating streamers. These knots, or ends of the *kosti*, are a divine attribute, which from the royal person extend to the objects which are used by him. M. de Longpérier ascribes this cup to King Perosius (fifth century A. D.); but M. Chabouillet is disposed to date this specimen of Oriental silver-work as far back as the reign of Sapor II., the adversary of Constantius. Cf. *Catalogue général*, etc., No. 2,881, pp. 468, 469, and *Annales de l'Institut archéol.* xv. 98.

not permit us even the last solace of burying, since within the circuit of a moderate city there were seven legions, and a vast promiscuous multitude of citizens and strangers of both sexes, and other soldiers, so that at least twenty thousand men were shut up within the walls.

“In the meantime the restless Persians were surrounding the city with a fence of wicker work, and mounds were commenced; lofty towers were also constructed, with iron fronts, in the top of each of which a balista was placed, in order to drive down the garrison from the battlements. But during the whole time the shower of missiles from the archers and slingers never ceased for a moment. . . .

“At the dawn of the next morning we saw from the citadel an innumerable multitude, which, after the capture of the fort called Ziata, was led to the evening’s camp; for a promiscuous multitude had taken refuge in Ziata on account of its size and strength, it being a place ten furlongs in circumference. In those days many other fortresses were stormed and burnt, and many thousands of men and women carried off from them into slavery, — among whom were many men and women enfeebled by age, who broke down under the length of the journey, gave up all desire of life, were hamstrung, and left behind. Our Gallic soldiers beholding these wretched crowds, demanded to be led against the enemy, threatening their tribunes and centurions with death if they refused them leave. Permission being at last given them, armed with axes and swords they went forth, taking advantage of a dark and moonless night. And imploring the Deity to be propitious, and repressing even their breath when they got near the enemy, they advanced with quick step and in close order, slew some of the watch at the outposts, and the outer sentinels of the camp who were asleep, fearing no such event, and entertained secret hopes of penetrating even to the king’s tent, if fortune assisted them. But some noise, though slight, was made by them in their advance, and the groans of the dying aroused many from sleep, and the bands of the Persians were now to be heard flocking to battle from all quarters. Nevertheless the Gallic troops, with undiminished strength and boldness, continued to hew down their foe with their swords, while some of their own men were

also slain, pierced by the arrows which were flying from every side. And they still stood firm when they saw the whole danger collected into one point, and the bands of the enemy coming on with speed, yet no one turned his back; and they withdrew, retiring slowly, as if in time to music, and gradually fell behind the pales of the camp, being unable to sustain the weight of the battalions pressing close upon them, and deafened by the clang of the Persian trumpets. And while many trumpets in turn poured out their clang from the city, the gates were opened to receive our men if they should be able to reach them; and the engines for missiles were heard playing, although no javelins were shot from them, so that the Persians might be terrified by the noise into falling back, and so allowing our gallant troops to be admitted in safety.

“Owing to this manœuvre the Gauls about daybreak entered the gate, although with diminished numbers, many of them severely and others slightly wounded, and having lost about four hundred men. . . . To their leaders, as champions of valiant actions, the Emperor, after the fall of the city, ordered statues in armor to be set up at Edessa in a frequented spot. And these statues are preserved up to the present time unhurt.

“When the next day showed the slaughter which had been made, nobles and satraps were found lying among the corpses, and all kinds of dissonant cries and wailings indicated the grief of the Persian host. . . . A truce was made for three days by common consent, and we gladly accepted a little respite in which to take breath. . . .

“And now the Persians, rendered more savage than ever, determined to proceed with their works, and with extreme warlike eagerness hastened to die gloriously, or else to propitiate the souls of the dead by the destruction of the city. All kinds of structures and iron towers were brought up to the walls, on the lofty summits of which balistae were fitted, which beat down the garrison who were below them, and spread great slaughter in our ranks. At last, when evening came on, both sides retired to rest, and the greater part of the night was spent by us in considering what device could be adopted to resist the formidable engines of the enemy. At length, after we had considered many plans, we

determined on one which appeared the safest, because it could be the most rapidly effected; namely, to oppose four scorpions to the enemy's four balistae, which were carefully moved a very difficult operation from the place in which they were. But before the work was finished, day arrived, bringing us a mournful sight, inasmuch as it showed us the formidable battalions of the Persians with their trains of elephants, the noise and size of which animals are such that nothing more terrible can be presented to the mind of man.

"And while we were pressed on all sides with the vast masses of arms and works and beasts, still our scorpions were kept at work with their iron slings, hurling huge round stones from the battlements, and baskets of burning pitch and tar, by which the towers of the enemy were crushed and set on fire, and the balistae and those that worked them were dashed to the ground, so that many were fatally injured, being crushed by the falling structures, and the elephants were driven violently back, and also, surrounded by flames, retreated, and could not be controlled by their riders. The works were all burnt: but still there was no cessation of the conflict, for the king of the Persians himself,¹ who is never expected to mingle in the conflict, sprang forth like a common soldier among his own dense columns, and as the number of his guards made him the more conspicuous, he was assailed by numerous missiles, and forced to retire after he had lost many of his escort.

"On the following day Sapor, full of rage and indignation, called forth his people again to attack us; and as his works had been all burned, the attack had to be conducted by means of their lofty mounds raised close to our walls, while we also from mounds within the walls, as fast as we could raise them, struggled, in spite of all our difficulties, with all our might, and with equal courage, against our assailants. The conflict was prolonged until at last, while the fortune of the two sides was still undetermined, the structure raised by our men, having been long assailed and shaken, at last fell, as if by an earthquake; and the whole space which was between the wall and the external mound, being made level

¹ The personal gallantry of Sapor is well known; he exposed his life in the same way at the siege of Bezabde. Constantius was much more prudent.

as if by a causeway or a bridge, opened a free passage to the enemy. By the king's command all his troops now hastened into action, and a hand-to-hand engagement ensued. The city being filled by the eager crowd which forced its way in, all hope of defence or escape was cut off, and armed and unarmed, without any distinction of age or sex, were slaughtered like sheep. . . . After the massacres and plunder of the destroyed city, the count Aelianus and the tribunes, by whose vigor the walls of Amida had been defended and the losses of the Persians multiplied, were wickedly crucified; and Jacobus and Caesius, the treasurers of the commander of the cavalry, and others of the band of *protectores*, were led as prisoners with their hands bound behind their backs; and the people of the district beyond the Tigris, who were diligently sought for, were all slain, without distinction of rank or dignity." The historian tells us that he succeeded in making his escape (359). The city fell at the close of autumn (*autumno praecipiti*). The invasion by the Persians had therefore lasted about six months.

Amida had held out seventy-three days, and its capture cost the Persians thirty thousand men; Sapor was no longer in a position to undertake anything, and he returned into his own kingdom. But encouraged by this success, he set out again, the winter being over, with a powerful army, and took Singara, which he destroyed, and Bezabde, which he fortified. Roman



COIN OF SINGARA.¹

deserters had taught the Persian king that the capture of important cities was much more useful in extending his empire than victories in the open field and the richest of booty. Constantius, alarmed, proceeded to the East, and ordered Julian to send him most of his auxiliaries, and with them three hundred picked men from the other corps.² The demand was not unreasonable; the welfare of

¹ ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ. Bust of Gordian. On the reverse: ΑΥΡ[ηλια] CΕΙΤ[ιμα] ΚΟΛ[ωνια] CΙΝΓΑΡΑ: personification of the city, turreted and surmounted by the sagittarius. (Bronze coin.)

² According to Julian's account, he had already sent to the Emperor four cohorts of foot, three troops of cavalry, and two legions (*Letter to the Athenians*, sect. 10). Amm.

the Empire required that the Gallic army, having now no enemies to encounter, should contribute to save the Oriental provinces; but the Emperor's order caused consternation among the troops and throughout the country. The auxiliaries had enlisted with the condition that they should never be called to serve beyond the Alps; and the legionaries, for the most part born in Gaul, were terrified at the idea of being sent into the depths of Asia, whence, even if victorious, they could never hope to return. Soon murmurs are heard; libels upon Constantius are circulated "in the two legions of Celts and Petulantes," where the complaints of "abandoned Gaul" are set forth. Julian, apprehensive of resistance, advises the messengers who have brought the imperial rescript to send the troops away in small detachments, and, above all, not to let them pass through Lutetia, his place of residence.¹ They believe a snare is hidden under this prudence, and insist that the Caesar himself shall give the order for departure. Julian urges the soldiers to obedience; he bids them adieu kindly; he gives them huge wagons, in which, along with the baggage, their wives and children may be carried; and he returns into the palace quite decided to lay down the purple, that he may not be responsible for the woes about to fall upon unprotected Gaul. The remainder of the day passed quietly, without outcries or tumult of any kind, only a growing excitement was discernible in the camp; groups gathered around some speaker, then broke up, to form again. At sunset men seemed to have reached a decision; they gathered in a mass, came down to the palace, surrounded it, and thousands of voices raised the alarming cry: "Julian Augustus!"

When their voices reached the ear of Julian, he was alone in a remote room, extremely irresolute, seeing just before him the throne, or else death,—the latter certain, in case he refused. To end his hesitation, he appealed to the gods. "Through a narrow aperture," he says, "I raised my eyes to heaven, and falling prostrate before Jupiter, I begged the god to give me a sign, which

Marcellinus met near the banks of the Tigris one of the Parisii who had deserted to the Persians.

¹ In 1781 there was found, under the Palais de Justice in Paris, an antique cippus, five feet ten inches in height, without inscription, and bearing on each face a divinity in high relief. These are given on the opposite page. Cf. Dulaure, *Histoire de Paris*, vol. i. p. 75, and pl. 4.

he at once bestowed upon me." The young Caesar felt a new strength descend upon him, before which his reluctance gave way. The resolution towards which he inclined became decided in his mind, and, as often happens, he took the secret impulses of his own heart as a sign of the will of the gods.¹ Going out to the soldiers, he promised each man five pieces of gold and a pound of silver; then, as there was no diadem at hand, a standard-bearer put his own collar upon Julian's head.

The revolution cost not one drop of blood. The new Emperor permitted the adherents of Constantius to go away freely, and he sent to the wife of his most dangerous enemy, the prefect Florentius, the necessary authorization to employ the public post (March or April, 360). It was a usurpation, certainly; one which Julian had neither resisted nor brought about. The demands of Constantius had made rebels; the fame and popularity of the Caesar made an Emperor. After a resistance creditable to his honor and his philosophy, he yielded; but we cannot say, with Gregory Nazianzen, that he seized upon the crown to make himself master everywhere.² If we search to the bottom of this man's mind, it becomes clear that he never desired the imperial station. All his letters attest this. "Three or four philosophers," he says, "can do the human race more service than a multitude of kings."³ His supreme ambition was philosophy; but with it there was now mingled a desire to bring about the triumph of this philosophy and of the religion which he had deduced from it.

Julian hoped that Constantius would ratify the wish of the army, and that civil war might thus be avoided. He wrote to the Emperor a truthful account of all that had taken place. His letter was firm, and worthy of himself. He promised to remain faith-

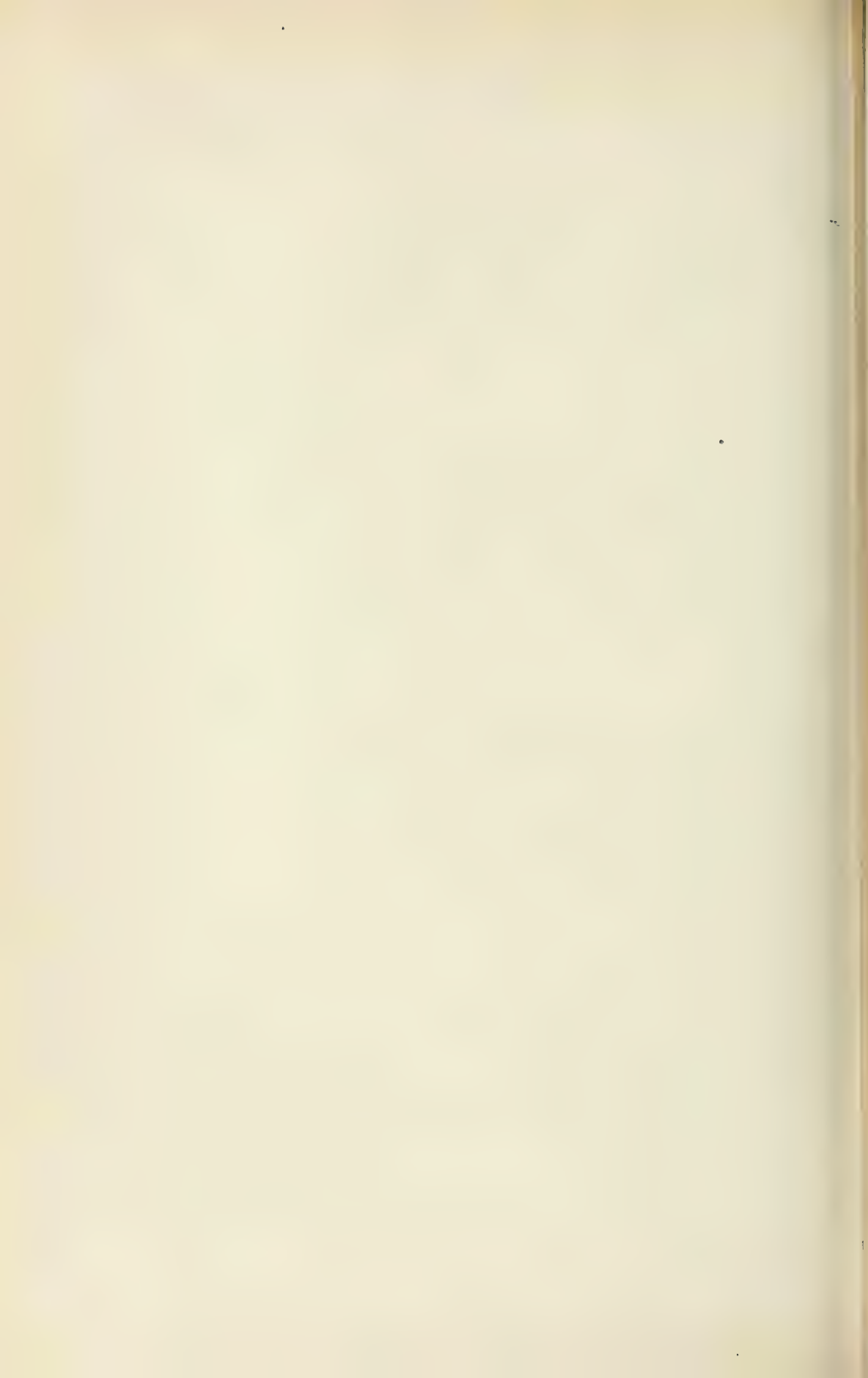
¹ The extreme anxiety in which he was at the moment increasing the tendency of his mind to enthusiasm and mysticism, he regarded as a sign from heaven — as an old Roman augur would have done — whatever object happened to appear before his eyes. Later, the unknown sign of which he speaks in his *Letter to the Athenians*, sect. 14, became an apparition of the Genius of the Empire, which predicted to him obscurely his approaching end. This prediction gives date to the account of Amm. Marcellinus (xx. 5). This story was made up after the death of Julian, so that the pagan Emperor might have his celestial vision, as the Christian Emperor had his. Amm. Marcellinus (xxv. 2) represents the Genius of the Empire appearing to Julian a second time on the eve of his death. See close of the following chapter.

² *Invect.* i. 46.

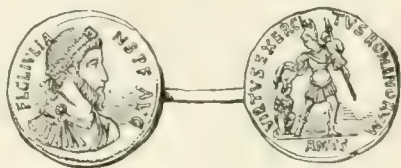
³ *Letter to Themistius*, sect. 8.



DIVINITIES CARVED ON THE FOUR FACES OF AN ANTIQUE CIPPUS FOUND IN 1781 IN PARIS UNDER THE PALAIS DE JUSTICE.



ful to Constantius, to accept from him a praetorian prefect, and to send to him some military aid, though not as much as the Emperor had called for.¹ The legions, on their part, wrote supplicating the Emperor to permit the Caesar to retain the title of Augustus. As had occurred a century earlier, Gaul, speaking by soldiers who were, for the most part, her own children, asked for a national government. The Emperor received these communications, in the middle of the year 360, at Caesarea in Cappadocia, where he was preparing to march against Sapor. In order to gain time, he replied with moderation, advised Julian to content himself with the title of Caesar, and to receive those whom

JULIAN AUGUSTUS.²

he had sent to fill various offices in the army and administration of the West. When the messenger of Constantius, the quaestor Leonas, arrived at Lutetia, Julian, without entering into any discussion with him, called together the army and had the imperial letter read aloud in their presence. The soldiers interrupted the reading by unanimous cries of "Julian Augustus!" "You see this," said the new Emperor to the envoy; "it is the army which refuses to obey, not I." In answer to the charge of ingratitude made in the letter of Constantius, Julian replied only: "It is true that I was an orphan when the Emperor ascended the throne; and he knows how I became so."

However, to indicate his respect and his desire for peace, he accepted the praetorian prefect who was sent him; but the other officers he dismissed, saying that he had need to choose for himself those who should serve under him. A rupture was inevitable. The Empress Eusebia had just died; we may hope, and it is possible, that she never knew of the breaking of those ties which she had formed.³

¹ Amm. Marcellinus (xx. 8) speaks of a second letter, stern and threatening, which was to be given to Constantius privately.

² FL. CL. IULIANVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Julian, bearded and wearing the diadem. On the reverse, VIRTVS EXERCITVS ROMANORVM. Soldier seizing a prisoner by the hair. (Gold coin.)

³ Amm. Marcellinus (xxi. 6), speaking of the marriage of Constantius with Faustina at the close of the year 360, says: *Amissa pauperculam Eusebia.*

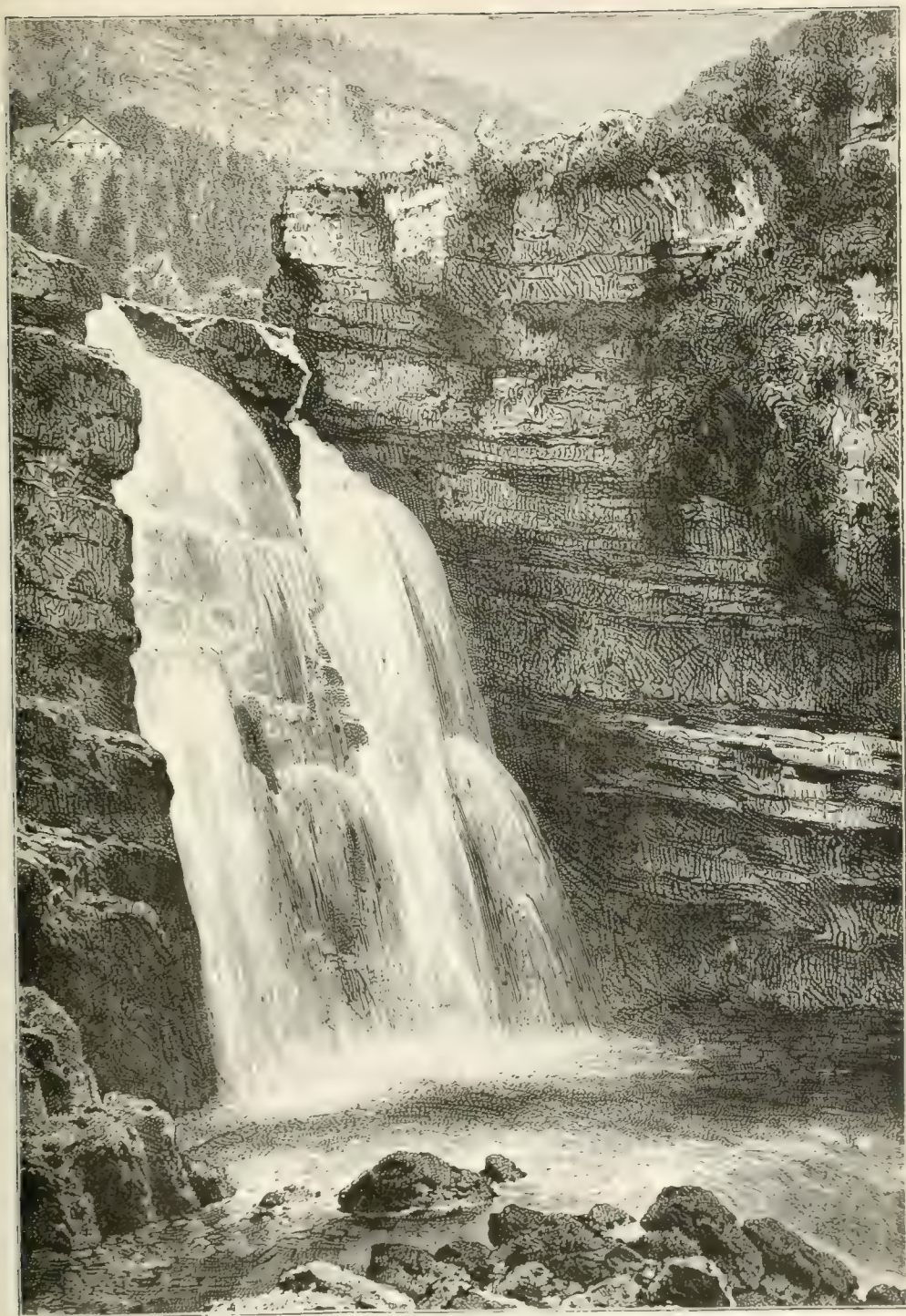
After an unsuccessful campaign in Mesopotamia, where he had vainly endeavored to retake Bezabde, Constantius returned to pass the winter at Antioch. He occupied his leisure in completing public works for the embellishment of this capital of the Syrian provinces, and for the improvement of the basins of Seleucia, which served it as a harbor; and also in festivals on occasion of a third marriage, and in quarrels with his bishops. — deposing this one, exiling that, and not discerning that it was for his interest, on the approach of civil war, to secure peace in men's souls.¹ Meanwhile he had decided to begin in the spring his campaign against the new Magnentius: he collected troops, ordered great quantities of provisions to be gathered in the fortresses of the Western Alps, and by secret emissaries strove to hurl the Alemanni upon Gaul;² he also hoped to shut Julian up in his provinces. A final imperial letter promised "to the Caesar" his life on condition of absolute submission. This haughty language did not intimidate the Gallic Augustus. Julian made ready for the struggle calmly and prudently. He granted a general amnesty to the partisans of Magnentius, who for seven years had been living in concealment in Gaul or among the Germans, dreading the hatred of Constantius; and he thus gave himself ardent supporters of his own cause. That his provinces might not be exposed to alarm during his absence, he employed three months in visiting the banks of the Rhine, fortifying cities and castles, supplying them with provisions and men, and bringing the Roman standards so near to the Barbarians that he had reason to believe that the latter would retain a respectful fear of them.³ He returned through the valley of the Doubs, visiting the strongholds of Mandeure and Besançon, which protected the valley of the Rhône⁴ against the Barbarians; and he halted at Vienne, whence he watched during the winter the passes of the Alps. The Gauls gave him everything he needed, — money, provisions, and soldiers.

¹ Socrates, iv. 7; Sozomenus, vi. 26 and 28.

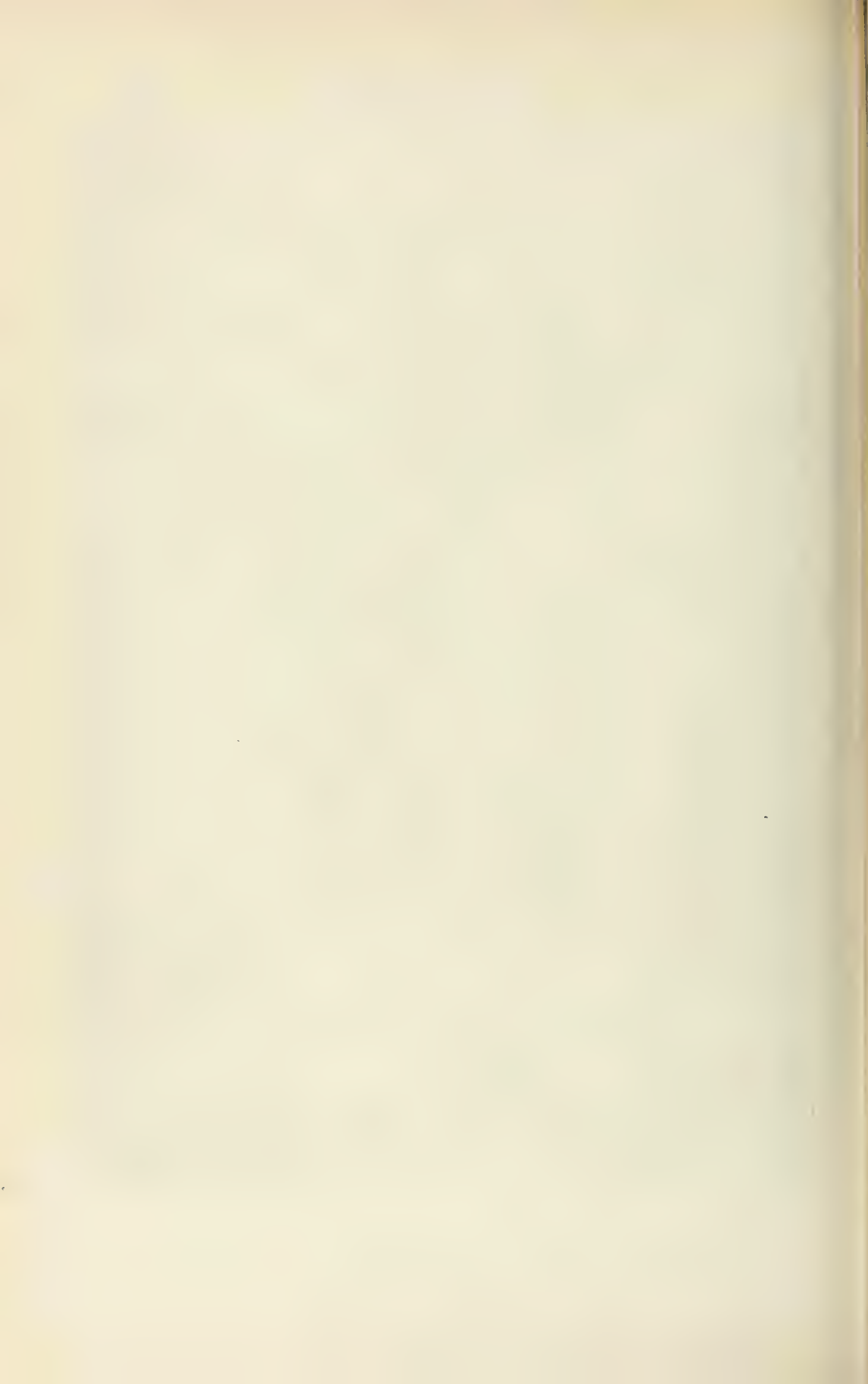
² See, in Amm. Marcellinus, xxi. 3, the story of the Aleman king Vadomar, who made an agreement with Constantius to betray Julian, and whose letter was intercepted. Julian, in his *Letter to the Athenians*, and Sozomenus (v. 2) attest the solicitations addressed by Constantius to the Alemanni to induce them to attack Gaul.

³ Amm. Marcellinus, xx. 10; Julian, *Letter* 38, and *Misop.*, sect. 22.

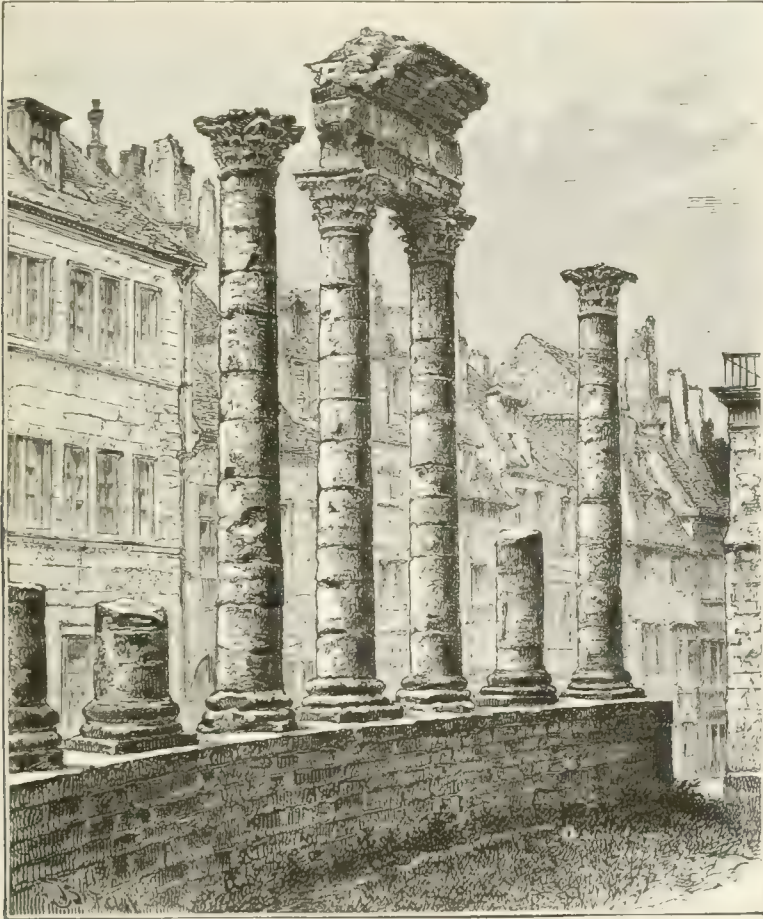
⁴ He has given us, in his *Letter* 38, a very exact description of Besançon



THE CASCADE OF THE DOUBS.



He proposed to leave to them as their defender his friend Sallust, who at news of the events that had taken place in Lutetia had hastened to join him. Determining to take the offensive, Julian sent out a manifesto designed to rally to his cause all the



BESANÇON: ROMAN RUINS IN THE SQUARE OF ST. JEAN.

pagans in Greece and Asia.¹ We have his letter addressed to the senate and people of Athens. In this he related his life, his campaign, his elevation, and the murders of Constantius: and he very distinctly stated his belief in the old gods.

At that time an oracle was current among the pagans.

¹ At Vienne, where he passed the winter of 360, he was present in the church of that city at the Christian festival of the Epiphany (Amm. Marcellinus, xxi. 2). A few weeks later he offered a sacrifice to Bellona, *placata ritu secretiora Bellona* (*Ibid.* 5).

announcing that the magical arts which Peter had employed to cause the Christ to be worshipped, would lose their power at the end of three hundred and sixty-five years.¹ This period was close at hand; and the oracle was doubtless well known to Julian, who may easily have believed himself the person designated by the Sibyl as the avenger promised to the ancient divinities.

The soldiers had revolted that they might not be torn away from Gaul; but they now joyfully consented to cross the Alps and the Rhine under their chosen leader. Julian divided his small army into three corps,—one to advance through the Alps and Upper Italy; the second, through Rhaetia and Noricum; with the third—three thousand picked men—he made his way through the Black Forest to the banks of the Danube. Sirmium was the place appointed for the rendezvous. Each corps was ordered to advance by forced marches, that the enemy might not have time to organize a defence. The flotilla of the Danube, captured by a sudden advance, in eleven days carried the army, without fighting, into Pannonia.² The population of the river-banks, gathering to see these soldiers from Gaul pass by, welcomed with clamorous enthusiasm the young general whose victories had already made him famous. Even Sirmium offered no resistance; his advanced guard captured the imperial *magister equitum*, and when Julian himself arrived, both people and soldiers came out to meet him with torches and garlands of flowers. With a rapidity like that of the first Caesar, Julian arrived before it was known that he had set out.

He hastened to occupy Naïssus, where he established his headquarters, and the pass of Succî, a defile separating the Rhodope from the Haemus, and Illyricum from Thrace.³ Strangely enough, Constantius had done nothing to protect this important position, nor had he closed the passes of the Alps in Italy and Noricum.⁴

¹ Saint Augustine, *Cir. Dei*, xviii. 53.

² Zosimus, iii. 10, and Mamertinus, *Pan. vet.* xi. 8. See, in Sozomenus (v. 2) what puerilities the Christians at this time accepted with confidence,—the dew which falls on the garments of the soldiers makes the figure of a cross, and in the entrails of a sacrifice a crowned cross appears to Julian. Credulity, placed at the service of enthusiasm, was the malady of the time.

³ Between Sophia and Philippopolis.

⁴ Two legions, faithful to Constantius, had taken refuge in Aquileia, but opened the gates on hearing of the Emperor's death.

Trusting in his usual good fortune in civil wars, where he had always been victorious, he had concerned himself but little about this new rival, considering the Gallic war as of no more importance than a hunting-party;¹ and he had fulfilled his imperial duties by employing the summer of 361 in a last expedition into Mesopotamia against the Persian king. He was at Edessa when he learned that Julian had taken possession of Illyria. He returned in haste to Antioch, and although in feeble health set out for Europe. At Tarsus he was seized with a fever, and died at Mopsucrene (Nov. 3, 361) in his forty-fifth year, a few days after he had received baptism.² Gregory Nazianzen accuses Julian of having poisoned Constantius, — a calumny pleasing to the irritable bishop, but so manifestly false that the Church historians have not ventured to repeat it.

Amm. Marcellinus points out certain good qualities in Constantius, virtues belonging to him as a man rather than as an Emperor, — good morals, sobriety, and a taste for letters: but also the superstitiousness of an old woman,³ and wordy subtleties with the priests; a rapacity which the cry of the oppressed provinces never abated; a suspicious policy which was ready to put to death even the innocent; lastly, a cruelty which surpassed that of the worst tyrants, taking pleasure in the most ingenious refinements of torture, that punishment might be carried to the utmost extreme without taking life.⁴ Such is the portrait of Constantius, drawn by a contemporary friendly to Julian, it is true, but even more a lover of the truth.

It is said that on his death-bed Constantius designated Julian as his successor. A conqueror without having fought, and the last scion of the Flavian family, Julian had no need of this declaration. No man hesitated in recognizing the rebel of yesterday as the legitimate Emperor. The Counts Theolaif and Aligilde⁵

¹ . . . *Tanquam venaticam prædam caperet* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxi. 7).

² As early as the year 359 his death had been regarded as near at hand (*Ibid.* xviii. 3). His posthumous daughter Constantia married the Emperor Gratian.

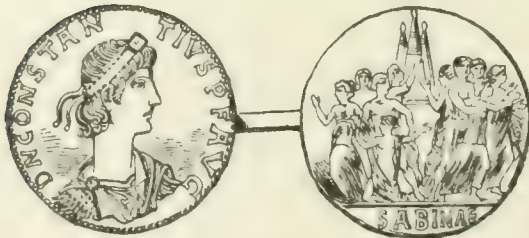
³ *Anilis superstitio* (*Ibid.* xxi. 16).

⁴ . . . *Caligine et Domitiani et Commodi inhumanitatem facile superabat . . . morteque longius in puniendis quibusdam, si natura permitteret, conabatur extendi* (*Ibid.*).

⁵ Amm. Marcellinus, xx. 2. Observe the German names of these deputies of the imperial court and council.

brought to him the oath of fidelity of the ministers, the generals, and the court. All Constantinople went out to meet him (Dec. 11, 361), and the Roman Senate, which had lately received with disfavor an accusing document from Julian on the subject of Constantius, hastened to repair this fault by sending to Julian a *senatus-consultum* decreeing to him the imperial honors.

¹ D. N. CONSTANTIVS P. V. AVG. Diademed bust of Constantius II. wearing the *paludamentum* and the cuirass. On the reverse, SABINAE and the rape of the Sabine women: in the foreground, two men, one of whom is dragging away a kneeling woman, and the other grasps a woman with outstretched hands, who is apparently calling for help; in the background, six women and three obelisks. (Bronze medallion.)



COIN OF CONSTANTIVS.¹

CHAPTER CVI.

THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION DURING THE REIGN OF CONSTANTIUS.

I. — PAGANISM AND THE DIVINERS.

THE pagan reaction which Julian sought to make victorious is the most important fact of his reign. To understand this error we must remember the life to which he had been condemned before his accession, and we must take into account the religious state of the Empire during the reign of Constantius. We have shown that the perils which threatened Julian's youth, his hatred for the religion of those who persecuted him, and his love for Greek letters and philosophy, had early won him over to Hellenism. We have now to see how, in view of the fierce discords in the Church itself and of the presumption of certain of the bishops, this man, who was by conviction a pagan, might easily believe, on becoming master of the Roman world, that the tranquillity of the Empire required him to strive against the Christian revolution and the independent attitude of the clergy, by restoring the old system of religion and the old authority of the Emperors.

The religious history of the reign of Constantius has a two-fold aspect, for there were two religions in the Empire, or, we might say, three, — Paganism, Nicæan Orthodoxy, and Arianism in all its shades. Of these religions Constantius persecuted two. This was not because the pagans made any disturbance. They had legal and historic possession; a prefect of Rome called their cult the religion of the Empire; and they nowhere formed communities for purposes of resistance or for the observance of religious rites. But the government was hostile to them, and the mind of Constantius was not firm enough to keep to the tolerant policy of his father. From the imperial palace came forth, now and then, menacing words, which authorized, if not persecution against individuals,

at least, here and there, the pillage and destruction of edifices consecrated to the old cult. Libanius asserts that Constantius prohibited sacrifices and overthrew temples.¹ This man is a rhetorician, and the rule of his special kind of writing is to generalize even from a single fact. As there had been for two centuries local acts of violence against the Christians, so now, under Constantius, such acts were committed against pagans, and probably in considerable number. What, however, shall we think of many laws, preserved in the *Theodosian Code*, formally proscribing paganism? This subject has been much discussed. The law of 341 is open to much doubt; the genuineness of the edicts of 346(?) and 356(?) have been regarded as equally questionable.² I admit them myself because so many witnesses attest them and because Amm. Marcellinus refers to them in speaking of contrary decrees made by Julian.³ These were made in order to gratify those Christians who, like Firmicus Maternus, clamored for the despoiling, the overthrow, and the complete annihilation of idolatrous impiety. "Destroy the temples," he said to Constantius, "and in their place rear trophies of Victory." But the execution did not follow the threat, except in certain places, and in spite of their formidable language, these laws remained without efficacy. The armies of Magnentius and Eugenius were in the main composed of pagans, and the troops of Julian showed their joy when he publicly professed himself a believer in the old faith. In 333 Constantius put an end to the nocturnal sacrifices which Magnentius had authorized;⁴ but he did not speak of the public sacrifices which Constantine had

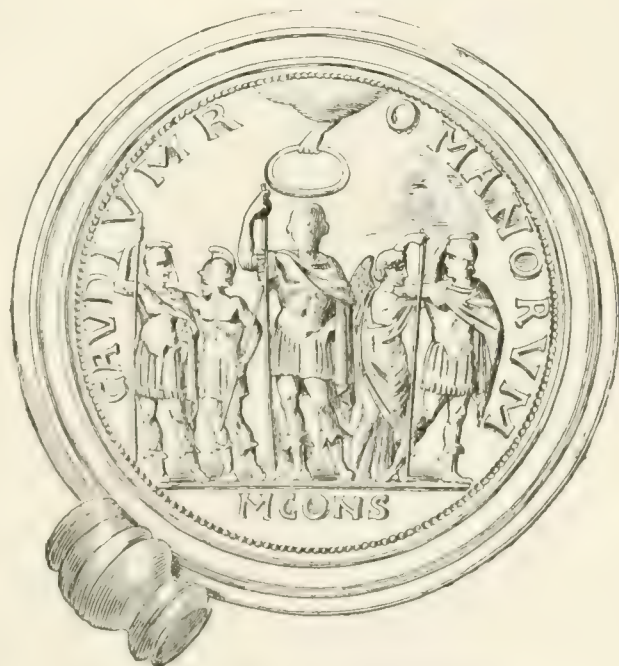
¹ Ὁ μὲν γὰρ [Constantine] ἐγύμνωσε τοῦ πλοῦτου τοὺς θεοὺς· ὁ δὲ [Constantius] καὶ κατέσκαψε τοὺς ναοὺς καὶ πάντα ἱερὸν ἐξαλείψας νόμον ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν οἷς ἔσμεν (vol. ii. p. 591, edit. of Venice. Cf. *Id.*, Letter 1080, and the *Discourse for Aristophanes*).

² *Codex Theod.* xvi. 10, 4, and 6. Lusaulx (*Untergang des Hellenismus*) and Hanel (*Corpus jur. antejustin.*) regard as authentic the laws of 346 and 356, closing the temples and prohibiting sacrifices under penalty of death. Bengnot and the Duc de Broglie (iii. 364) adopt the conclusions of La Bastie, who thinks that if these laws were issued, they were certainly not executed.

³ xxii. 5. When he says of Julian: *Sui pectoris patefecit arcana et planis absolutisque decretis aperiri templa, arisque hostias admoveri ad deorum statuit cultum.* In chap. ii. of the same book he says that the temple of Serapis was threatened with destruction, "like so many others" (*ne illud quoque tentaret evertere*); and, in his treatise *Against Heraclius*, sect. 17, that the sons of Constantine overthrew the national temples which their father had despoiled; finally, we read in Sozomenus (iii. 17): *ναοὺς ἀπανταχοῦ κειμένους ἐν πόλεσιν, ἐν ἀγροῖς κεκλείσθαι προσέταξαν.*

⁴ *Codex Theod.* xvi. 10, 5.

allowed to continue, which the usurper certainly had not prohibited, and which scandalized the Christians much more. When, a few months after the publication of the law of 356, the Emperor went to Rome, he ordered the altar to be removed from the curia, so that the customary libations should not be made in his presence;¹ but he did not interfere with the privileges of the Vestals, he distributed priesthoods, granted money for the ceremonies, and, accompanied by the Senate, visited the sanctuaries of the gods, read with composure the inscriptions engraved to them, and listening to the history of each temple, expressed his approval of the men who had founded them. "Notwithstanding his attachment to another faith, he

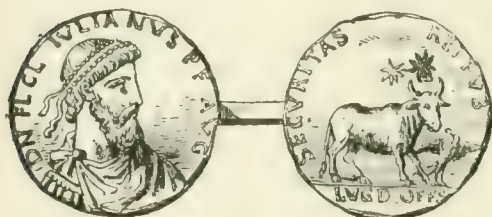
GOLD MEDALLION OF CONSTANTIVS II.²

¹ Julian annulled this order.

² FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. CAES. Lau-

relled bust of Constantius, with the *paludamentum* and the cuirass, holding a spear and a shield, upon which is represented the Emperor galloping to the right, preceded by a Vic-

respected that of the Empire."¹ Symmachus was in the right in saying this; paganism was still so powerful in Rome that a sophist of great renown, the intimate friend of nobles, lost his popularity on the day when he inscribed his name among the catechumens.² Constantius always regarded the college of pontiffs as religious magistrates in charge of the national cult,³ and a law of 358 regulates the election of the pontifex maximus for the province of Africa.⁴ Constans, so full of zeal for orthodoxy,—in the provinces belonging



COIN OF JULIAN.⁵

to his brother,—gave the prefecture of Illyria to a pagan very devout towards the old gods, and the same Emperor prohibited the destruction of temples in the neighborhood of Rome.⁶ In the city itself these edifices all remained

undisturbed, and Memphis, Alexandria, and Antioch, like the old capital of the world, still kept theirs. Memphis had its sacred bull, Apis, always an object of public worship; Alexandria, its great temple of Serapis, still full of all the beautiful objects which Marcellinus mentions as belonging to it; and the statue of the Apollo of Daphne, which rivalled in splendor the best works of pagan art, still stood just outside the gates of the great Syrian city in which "the disciples were first called Christians." When Julian entered Antioch, shortly after his accession to the throne, he saw the smoke of sacrifices arise from many altars, and the inhabitants celebrating with great display the death of Adonis,

tory, followed by a soldier, and putting to flight a crowd of enemies. On the reverse: GAUDIVM ROMANORVM. Constantine in the centre with two of his sons, all three standing, in military costume, and leaning on their sceptres; a celestial hand holds a crown over the head of Constantine; his son at the left is crowned by a soldier; the one at the right, by a Victory. Underneath, M. CONS. Weight, 9 oz. (Museum of Vienna.)

¹ Symmachus (*Letters*, x. 54), Amm. Marcellinus (xvi. 10), and the anonymous author of a Description of the World who visited Rome at this time, all say the same: . . . *Colent et deos, ex parte Jovem et Solem* (Hudson, *Geogr. minor.* iii. 15).

² Saint Augustine. *Confessions*, viii. 2: *Superbi irascabantur, dentibus suis stridebant et tabescebant*. Under Julian, he was obliged to close his school.

³ *Codex Theod.* ix. 17, 2 (law of 349). He calls the tombs *aedificia manium*.

⁴ *Ibid.* xii. 1, 46.

⁵ Coin of Julian, with Apis on the reverse. Great bronze in the Museum of Lyons (Comarmond, *Descript. des Antiques*, pl. 216, No. 13).

⁶ *Codex Theod.* xvi. 10, 3.

symbol of the harvest falling before the sickle, to spring up again a few months later in a new harvest.¹ "At Alexandria," says a contemporary, "the gods are worshipped fervently; the temples are richly adorned; the priests and augurs, numerous. . . . Heliopolis, Olympia, Athens, Eleusis, all preserve their sanctuaries," etc.² and men continue to interrogate the future on the banks of the sacred lake of Aphaca. The Jupiter of Pheidias is still at Olympia, the Poliac Minerva in the Parthenon, and the Greeks still celebrate their four great games,³ and even their mysteries. The official orator in the reign of Constantius, Themistius, — a pagan whom the Emperor made senator, as he made another pagan his ambassador to Persia,⁴ — represents Egypt as all lighted up with illuminations at the festival of the Minerva of Saïs; and as late as 362 the pagans in Alexandria were numerous enough to make a sanguinary riot on occasion of a word of contempt uttered against the temple of Serapis by the bishop of the city.⁵ At Bostra the number of idolaters equalled that of the Christians,⁶ and the most famous pagan of the time, Libanius, had a school successively at Constantinople, Nicomedeia, and Antioch, without being anywhere molested. This persistence of the old cult should not surprise us; the contrary would be remarkable; for in history we find no abrupt changes: revolutions, even those which have been compared to thunderclaps, have had their long antecedents, and their results are of long duration. The philosopher Chytras in Alexandria, accused in 359 of consulting diviners, was set at liberty when he explained that from his childhood he had been a worshipper of the gods, and that he had now consulted the oracle, not through ambition or sacrilegious curiosity, but to render the divinity favorable to himself.⁷

The last of these facts confirms those which precede it, and shows us the true nature of the persecutions of Constantius, and

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 11, 13, 14, and 16. Julian (*Misop.* 8) says that at Antioch he sacrificed in the temples of Jupiter Philus [the patron of friendship, identical with Jupiter Hospitalis], Ceres, and Fortune.

² *Vetus orbis descriptio*, pp. 15, 17, etc.

³ Julian, *Letters* 8 and 35.

⁴ Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 5. Eunapius speaks also (p. 466) of the embassy of the sophist Eustathius in 358.

⁵ By the bishop's own avowal (Julian, *Letter* 52).

⁶ Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 11.

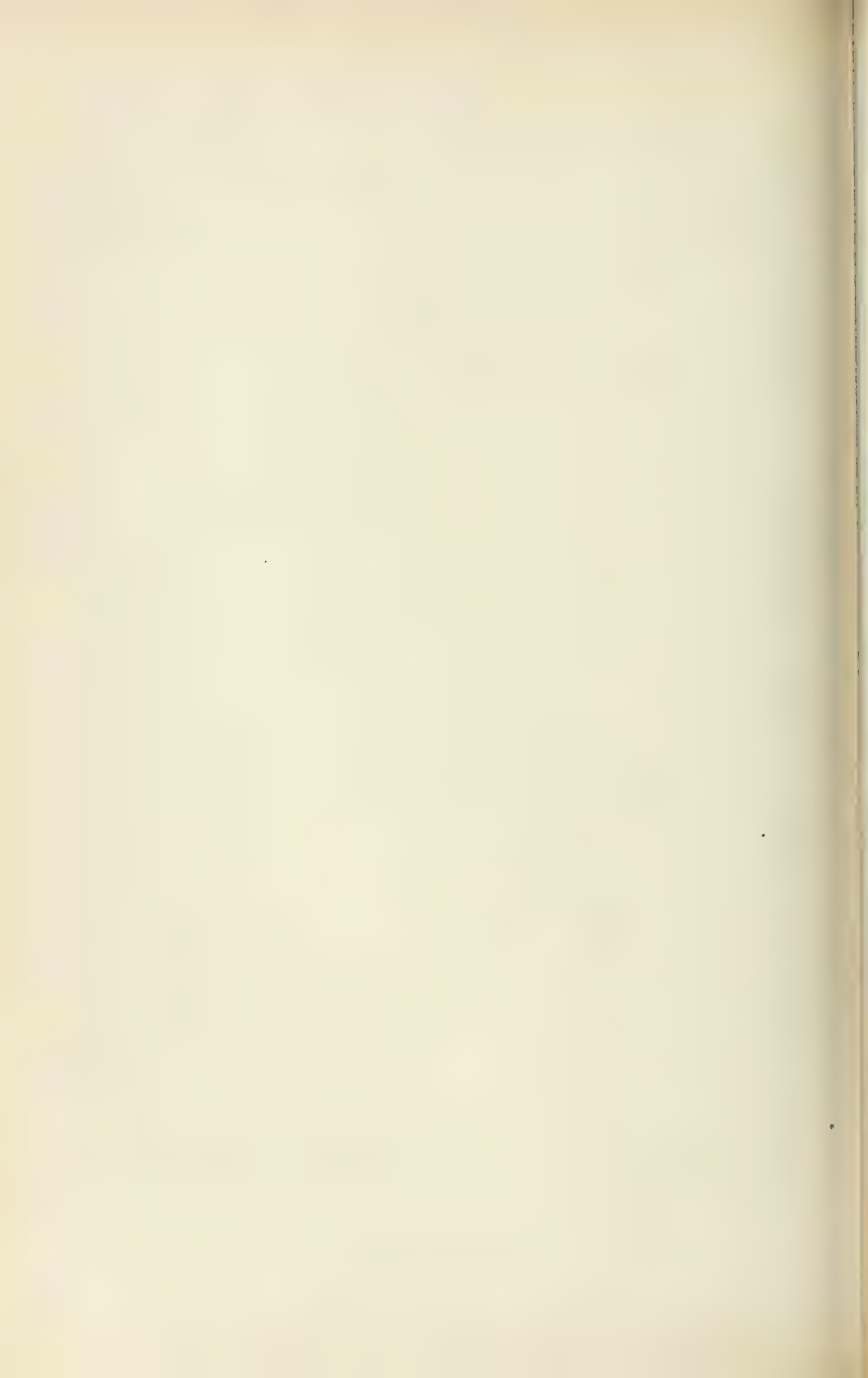
⁷ *Ibid.* xix. 12.

his hostility towards all foolish persons who were attracted by astrology or magic. In these men who sought to penetrate the destinies of the Empire, he saw, as his father and all his predecessors had seen, fabricators of conspiracies, and he designates them, as three centuries earlier Nero had styled the Christians, "enemies of the human race." He decreed death, with all forms of torture, against persons, however elevated their station might be, who should inquire of soothsayers and diviners concerning the future,—*sileat . . . perpetua divinandi curiositas* (358).¹ In the rapacious and wicked hands of informers these laws were a valuable means of finding criminals and confiscations. Amm. Marcellinus says of Constantius: "This feeble mind, incapable of application to serious things, was singularly in fear of the oracles. . . . Free rein being once given to calumny, a crowd of men, noble and obscure, accused of having consulted the Apollo of Claros, the oaks of Dodona, or the Delphic tripod, to know when the Emperor should die, were dragged from all parts of the Empire to be examined before a commission which sat at Scythopolis in Palestine. As the crime charged was treason, the usual exemption from torture in case of

¹ *Codex Theod.* ix. 16, 45: . . . *Sit equuleo deditus unguisque sulcantibus latera*, and 6. annis 357 et 358. The elder Pliny (xxx. 1 et seq.) did not believe in magic, and ridicules the men who thought that by swallowing the heart of a mole—"that animal so ill-used by Nature"—one could obtain revelations of the future. Lucian (*The False Prophet*) thinks the same. But both are sceptics, and they were never popular leaders. All the world—pagans, Christians, even philosophers—believed in magic. See the *Apologia* of Apuleius, who had to defend himself from a formidable accusation of this kind; Maury, *La Magie et l'astrologie*; De Vogüé, *Inscr. araméennes*, p. 81; and Vol. VI. p. 397 of this work. "Astrology," says M. de Vogüé, "which had its beginning in Chaldaea, attributed to the planets a special agency in human affairs. These stars of periodical revolution (*errantes*) were considered divinities of the first rank, some benevolent, others the reverse; they served as visible intermediaries between the earth and the Supreme Power, invisible, incomprehensible, and fatal, whose soul filled all Nature, and whose special abode was the inaccessible region of the upper air, above the zone of the fixed stars. The planets, agents of this power, had to do with all the phenomena of the visible world,—some as demiurgi, others as sources of life or death, of good or evil; they presided over the succession of seasons and events, and the least details of terrestrial existences. The zodiac was their sidereal abode; each had its normal residence in one of the signs. There its power was greatest, and reciprocally was modified as it passed into other signs and constellations. The movement of the planets among the heavenly bodies determined therefore a multitude of actions and reactions,—some favorable, others unfavorable; and the study of them, and application to the facts of existence, were the sum and substance of astrology. Certain conjunctions of stars were regarded as very fortunate, and these were represented on amulets, to apply their virtues to the persons wearing them. Moreover, vows and prayers were addressed to these sidereal divinities; notwithstanding the inevitable character of their movements, they were believed to have a will of their own, which could be conciliated by homage and sacrifices."



AMPHITHEATRE OF APHACA (AFKA). SOURCE OF THE RIVER ADONIS (AFTER A PHOTOGRAPH BY DR. LORTET).



the *honorati* was not granted; many died upon the road from the weight of the chains with which they were loaded, while others perished under torture in the prisons." Such, then, was the condition of paganism under Constantius: "The pagan cult was officially maintained and often honored, and it was at the same time insulted with impunity. Everything depended on the disposition of the people and of the magistrates, on the strength of one party or the other,—often on a mere accident of place."¹

This inquiry into practices which in a certain measure made part of the national cult, and these threats hanging over those who still remained believers in the old religion, disturbed pagan society. The other, the Christian part of the community, was even more agitated; but its disturbances came from within. Never had moral disorder like this been seen before in the Empire, and Constantius seemed to take pleasure in making it worse. "By his foolish superstitions," says Amm. Marcellinus, "he disfigured the Christian religion, which is in itself simple and clear, and he excited controversies rather than appeased them. The high-roads of the Empire were full of troops of priests going to their interminable discussions in the synods."²

II. — STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE ARIANS AND THE ORTHODOX; COUNCIL OF SARDICA.

THE truths of mathematics are not discussed, because they are absolute certainties; but the demonstration of religious doctrines being impossible, men quarrel and kill each other about them. Accordingly, at all periods the civil power seeks to prevent these disputes. In order to introduce into the Church the same peace which he had caused to prevail in the State, Constantine had ordered the Nicene Fathers to draw up a confession of faith, which he then undertook to impose upon all the bishops; for he proposed to govern the new clergy as he had the old,—with absolute authority. The Orthodox, especially their leader, Athanasius, had quickly made the Emperor see that they intended to be themselves

¹ This judicious language is that of the Duc de Broglie, iii. 133.

² xxi. 16.

sole masters of the Christian conscience of the world; on the other hand, the Arians had shown towards him a docility which pleased his imperious spirit, and he had died a believer in the Arian doctrines, after having sent into exile the chiefs of the Orthodox party.

The situation was not the same for his sons. Constantine II. and Constans reigned in countries where the Nicene creed had been willingly accepted; nothing disturbed the peace in religious matters, and the Emperors naturally shared the faith of their subjects, — for them it was a question of policy, and not of conscience. Accordingly, they had decided at Sirmium, in 338, to recall the banished bishops. Arianism, on the contrary, in its different forms,² prevailed in the East



CONSTANS I.¹

because the bishops in that part of the Empire were anxious to preserve their religious independence and the authority of their Councils. Rome had long disturbed them by her discreet but persistent claims to be made the centre of Catholic unity. To strive against her they needed the assistance of their Emperor, which they had secured by their submission, and he was favorable to a clergy who seemed to remain national in refusing to recognize a foreign authority. Constantius in the East was the partisan of the Arians, from the same motives that retained the Emperors of the West in the Orthodox faith. Thus Valentinian and Valens at a later period separated from each other in their religious faith when the one reigned at Milan and the other at Constantinople.³

Constantius must have been strengthened in these inclinations by his monarchical instincts when he learned that Athanasius, on returning to Alexandria, had called together eighty bishops of Egypt and Libya; that he had caused them to prepare an encyclical letter condemning in violent terms the council assembled by

¹ Constans I., third son of Constantine (FL. IVL. CONSTANS P. F. AVG.). Gold coin.

² The strict Arians, rejecting the word *ὁμοούσιος*, which for the Orthodox expressed identity of substance, maintained a difference in substance between the Father and the Son; the semi-Arians admitted resemblance of substance, *ὁμοιούσιος*; the Acacians (so-called from their leader, Acacius of Caesarea) admitted neither unity nor equality, nor even resemblance between the Father and the Son. The semi-Arian bishop of Constantinople, Macedonius, deposed in 360, taught a new heresy, — that of the Pneumatomachi, who deny the deity of the Holy Spirit.

³ Magnentius sought also to gain over the Orthodox of the East: see above, p. 70.

Constantine at Tyre;¹ that, finally, the Alexandrian bishop had addressed himself for justice to the Bishop of Rome. — a subject of the Emperor's brother, — whose approbation, secured in advance, would determine that of all the Western prelates.

Constantine's latest counsellor, Eusebius of Nicomedeia, continued to direct the policy of that Emperor's son. When Pope Julius convoked the synod demanded by "the Egyptians," Constantius authorized their adversaries to hold another in his presence at Antioch. Ninety-seven bishops were present. They prepared twenty-five canons, which the Church has received, and a very orthodox confession of faith, with the single exception that the word which at Nicaea had been employed to express the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son was not employed in it. One of the canons, the twenty-fourth, declared that as the possessions of the Church were the patrimony of the poor, the bishop should take of them for his personal needs only so far as was absolutely necessary for his subsistence. Two other canons, the fourth and the twelfth, were directed against Athanasius, who while under sentence of deposition from a council, still held the see of Alexandria. The Fathers appealed for the execution of sentences passed by the council to the external authority, or, as was said later, to the secular arm.² The Cappadocian Gregory, ordained bishop of Alexandria, went into Egypt with a military escort commanded by the dux Balac. A soldier, the prefect Philagrius, went before them to prepare the way. If we may believe the ecclesiastical writers, who derive their authority chiefly from the person most interested, namely Athanasius himself,³ Philagrius

¹ See, Vol. VII. p. 553, an extract from this letter.

² At the same time they recognized the disadvantages of rashly calling in the imperial authority; and while they solicited it in the Alexandrian question, they condemned by their eleventh canon the bishop (or priest) who should appeal directly to the Emperor without the consent of his metropolitan and his fellow-bishops of the same province.

³ The maxim of law, *unus testis, nullus testis*, is applicable in history in cases where it is legitimate to expect either prejudice or self-interest. Compare, for example, in the *Monumenta* placed at the end of the works of Saint Optatus (Migne, *Patrologie*, xi. 1179), what the Bishop of Carthage says of "the very religious Constans" and of his two envoys, Paulus and Macarius, who came into Africa "as ministers of a holy work," and how the Donatist author of the *Marculi Passio* speaks of *Constantis regis tyrannica domo*, and "the two wild beasts" whom he sent to declare "an accursed war upon the Church." The same thing is true in respect to the Alexandrian troubles. In their circular letter to the bishops, the Fathers of Philippopolis lay them all at the door of Athanasius and his partisans, — which by no means proves that he ought to be personally accused of causing them.

let loose Jews and pagans against the Christian community, the church was sacked, believers were insulted and beaten, and a sort of persecution extended throughout the whole of Egypt. It is not easy to see what interest the government and the bishop could have in stirring up tumults which no man can be sure of arresting at the desired point. Athanasius was beloved in Alexandria, and the turbulent population of that city, consisting of pagans, Jews, and Christians always in a state of hostility, was fond of riots. Street-brawls there doubtless were, in which blows were given and received; and of these the partisans of Athanasius got the larger and heavier share, because the soldier, who was ordered to take part in the affair, brought to it his customary brutality. A strange spectacle was this episcopal entry assuming the aspect of civil war, and old pagans well might say that their gods had been more pacific.

Athanasius had escaped to Rome, uttering an eloquent wailing, his *Letter to the Orthodox*, in which he compares himself to the Levite who cut into twelve pieces the body of his murdered wife and sent it to the twelve tribes of Israel.¹ At this time fifty bishops were assembled in Rome, but not one of the Fathers of Antioch was among them (347). These latter had replied to the Pope's letter of convocation that Julius was wrong in receiving into his communion Athanasius, whom two councils had condemned; that all the bishops having equal authority, their jurisdiction was not dependent on the size of the cities; and that it would be fitting to remember that the preaching of the gospel had begun in the East,—by which they wished it understood that the true tradition was to be found there.² In his reply, Julius reproaches the Eusebians for not agreeing with him and the bishops of the West on the subject of Athanasius, so that "sentence could be given unanimously; this is the custom," he says.³ And, in fact, when a bishop had been cut off from the communion of the other bishops, it was necessary that the sentence be communicated to the absent:

¹ *Works of Athanasius*, i. 110 (edit. of 1698). [See *Judges* xix. 29.]

² This sentiment was so general in the East that we find it expressed in the Council of Constantinople (381) at the very time when Theodosius was seeking to reunite the two churches. See, in Gregory Nazianzen, the poem *Περὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ Βίον*, line 1560.

³ . . . πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ὡς αὐτῶς παρὰ πάντων ὁρισθὲν τὸ δίκαιον. This long letter occurs in the *Apology* of Athanasius against the Arians, in his *Works*, i. 123 *et seq.* The passage quoted is in sect. 34.

if they accepted it, it became the decision of the Church; if not, another council was called to decide the matter. Forty years later, Ambrose, writing to Theodosius, maintained the same doctrine,¹ and two Emperors had put it in practice. — Aurelian in the case of the Bishop of Antioch, and Constantine of him of Carthage.² Pagans and Christians alike recognized in the Roman see a dignity superior to the other episcopates; but they also thought that, in the exercise of jurisdiction, the bishops of Italy and the West should be associated with the Bishop of Rome. At this epoch the pontifical monarchy had not yet come into existence; the Christian republic was governed by synods and councils, — that is to say, by the representative system.

Graver disturbances than those of Egypt took place in the capital of the Empire. In 340 Eusebius of Nicomedeia and Paul of Thessalonica disputed the see of Constantinople. Eusebius had against him the canons,³ and Paul, the Emperor. The former gained the victory, and the latter was driven out. But Eusebius did not long survive the Council of Antioch; Paul reappeared in the city to take possession of his episcopate, and a party in the Church promised to obey him. The Eusebians did not propose to abandon so lucrative a position; they caused Macedonius, a deacon, to be consecrated bishop, and the master of the cavalry, Hermogenes, confirmed the election in the name of the absent Emperor. Open hostilities at once began. The partisans of Paul, gaining the advantage, burned the palace of Hermogenes, seized his person, and dragged him through the streets till he was torn in pieces. The murder of a lieutenant of the Emperor implies many other murders, of which we have no report, for the victorious party allowed nothing to remain of whatever may have been written on this riot in Constantinople. It was a repetition of the scenes which had occurred in Alexandria, made in this case by the Orthodox; and it was an aggravated case, for the murder of Hermogenes was nothing less than treason. At news of what had occurred, Constantius with his guards hastened to the city. The inhabi-

¹ *Letter 14*, edit. of the Benedictines.

² See Vol. VII. p. 301.

³ The 15th Nicæan and the 21st of Antioch forbade the transference of a bishop from one see to another. In the election of Paul, the Emperor had not been consulted.

tants received him with every demonstration of penitence. Contrary to his habit of extreme severity, the Emperor forgave: the criminals were persons of very little importance, from whom nothing was to be feared. The city, however, lost half its customary distributions, and the bishop, Paul, seized unawares, was carried on board a vessel and sent a second time into exile. But when the praetorian prefect, escorted by a mass of soldiers, attempted to conduct Macedonius to the church and place him in the episcopal chair, it was necessary to make a pathway of blood through the midst of the exasperated crowd, and more than three thousand persons perished.¹

The enthroning of the two bishops, Gregory and Macedonius, *manu militari*, shows the importance of the struggle which was going on in Constantinople and in Alexandria. It was reproduced in other cities: Athanasius, who neither knew all nor tells all that he knew, makes mention of riots in many cities of Thrace. The disputatious Greeks had found in Christian theology inexhaustible subjects of discussion. As in earlier times the crowd had gathered to literary entertainments, public recitations, and the carefully prepared improvisations of the rhetoricians, so now men frequented the assemblies where the new teachers discussed the essence of the Father and the Son; and these assemblies were of every day occurrence. Amm. Marcellinus shows us the roads thronged with priests on their way to these discussions, and each man, he says, sought to bring the others to his way of thinking.²

The West, where men's heads were not made hot by so ardent a sun, had a faith more tranquil, more exactly defined; and the Roman clergy, who already manifested a spirit of government akin to that of the old Senate of republican Rome, by degrees took

¹ Socrates (ii. 16) says three thousand one hundred and fifty.

² *Constantinus . . . excitavit discidia plurima, quae progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum: ut ceteris antistitum iunioris publicis utro citroque discurrentibus per synodos . . . dum ritum antiquum ad suam trahere conatur arbitrium, rei vehiculariae succideret nervos* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxi. 16 *ad fin.*). The twentieth canon of Antioch had decided that in each ecclesiastical province there should be two synods annually, and the Benedictines of St.-Maur enumerate more than forty of them in the reign of Constantius, of which one, that of Milan, in 355 brought together over three hundred bishops. We have seen (Vol. VII. p. 530, and note 1) that Constantine had placed the *cursus publicus*, with all its accompanying advantages, at the disposal of bishops or priests whom he summoned to court or convoked for a council. The Bishop of Centumcellae also makes allusion, in 355, to the great expense this involved (Theodoret, ii. 16).

control of the religious movement. Its head had never allowed himself to be present at a council held outside his own diocese, where it would be necessary to settle questions of precedence or doctrinal authority, preferring to leave this in a vague distance, whence, under favorable circumstances, uncontested rights might, at some future time, emerge. At this moment he was making good use of the distractions of the Eastern Church to represent Rome as the centre of the Orthodox faith, and the refuge of those who suffered in its name. With a boldness which was politic, and also noble, the Pope took part with Paul of Constantinople, Athanasius of Alexandria, Marcellus of Ancyra, Asclepas of Gaza, and Lucius of Hadrianople, who were all persecuted by the Eusebians.¹ But to defend in the great Oriental cities the new rights to which the Church laid claim, was to raise the hand against Constantius. The Pope needed therefore to have a sword at his command. The Emperor of the West was adroitly approached. This young man,² of feeble intellect and coarse manners, was incapable of comprehending that the question to be decided was this, — should the bishops be simply religious functionaries of the Empire, or should they be in their respective dioceses each a supreme authority freely elected, and independent of the laic power. Constantius was at this time in the north of Gaul, occupied in fighting or in negotiating with the Franks. The Pope wrote to him at great length; he sent to him Hosius of Cordova, the confidential adviser of Constantine the Great, and he charged the Bishop of Trèves, who had kindly received Athanasius during his exile, to see to it that Constantius remained firm in the Orthodox faith. The Emperor seeing his bishops in harmony among themselves and his subjects submissive to their bishops, remained with them. At the request of the Pope he proposed to his brother to hold a general council at Sardica (Sofia), on the confines of the two Empires; to this

¹ The Eusebians, who had assembled at Antioch, replied to the Pope by a very animated letter, in which they asserted that it did not concern him to make inquiry into their conduct in expelling certain bishops from their churches, since they had not interfered with his jurisdiction within its proper limits (Socrates, ii. 15). In this passage and in chap. xvii. Socrates makes reference, in defence of the Pope's intervention, to canons which did not exist. See, on this subject, President Cousin's discussion prefixed to his translation of Socrates.

² He was born in 320.

Constantius agreed, and issued the necessary letters (344).¹ One hundred and seventy bishops presented themselves in the city designated; Pope Julius did not attend, sending two priests to represent him, and Hosius, in whom he had entire confidence, presided over the debates, as at Nicaea.

The matter to be settled by this council was decided in advance. One party intended to annul the decisions of the councils



CONSTANTIUS II.²

of Tyre and of Antioch; the other, to maintain them. The question in reality had a political aspect: Should the Churches of the Eastern Empire be subordinated to those of the Western? This is why Constantius remained so firmly attached to his Arian clergy. When the Oriental bishops saw Athanasius admitted to the council, they refused to sit with "the excommunicate," and to the number of eighty with-

drew to Philippopolis. Then the conflict began, and thunderbolts were interchanged. The two councils fulminated against each other: the Fathers at Sardica deposed eleven bishops of the Eastern Church; the Fathers at Philippopolis excommunicated Athanasius anew, and with him eight of his adherents,—Hosius and Pope Julius himself included. The separation was final: the limits of the two Empires marked the limits of the two Churches.

This council, which began the schism from which Christendom suffers to this day, was a misfortune for religion, but it was a benefit to the Papacy. The Western bishops, threatened by the Eastern in their faith and in their desire to preserve the unity of

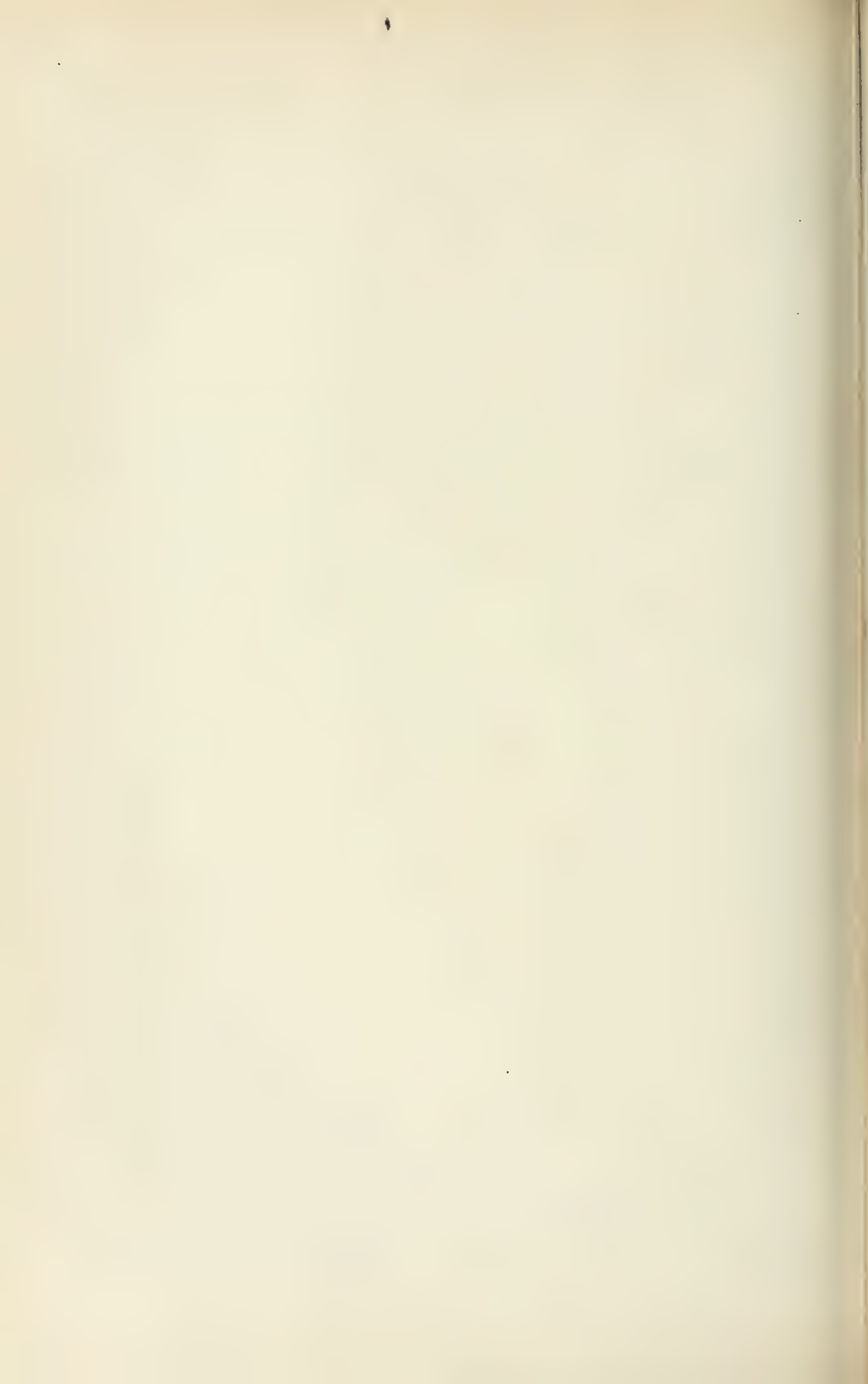
¹ The chronology of this period is very confused in respect to religious events. Socrates (ii. 20), Sozomenus (iii. 12), and, following them, Tillemont, Fleury, and the *Art de vérifier les dates*, place in 347 the Council of Sardica, which Hefele and the *Duc de Broglie* place four years earlier. In my judgment 344 is the true date, drawing this inference from the motive assigned by the Eusebians for their departure from Sardica. They were recalled, they said, by Constantius to attend the celebration of his triumph over the Persians: now this solemnity, which the Emperor wished to render brilliant, must have been in honor of the victory at Singara (see p. 65, note 4). The date 344 agrees, moreover, with the *Chronicle* of Saint Jerome, who places the return of Athanasius to Alexandria in 346, and it is well known that this return took place two years after the council. The learned Archbishop Mansi of Lucca, in his *Supplém. ad collect. concil.* 1748, also adopts this date.

² Constantius II. (FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS PIVS FELIX AVG.). Silver medallion.



CONSTANTIUS IN IMPERIAL COSTUME, AND HOLDING A VICTORY.

(Copy of a miniature by Kondakoff, in a Russian "History of Byzantine Miniature-painting.")



the Church, felt more intensely than their predecessors had done, the need of a head, and they gathered more closely around him who, occupying the most eminent see, appeared most authorized to support the principle of unity. In every age peril from without has increased in the bosom of the Church the spirit of discipline and the concentration of strength. In a letter addressed to the Pope, the Fathers of Sardica communicated to him what they had done, "because," they said, "it is fitting that the bishops make report to the chair of Saint Peter:" namely, that since the Emperors have permitted new examination to be made, they have gone over the case of Athanasius, justifying him, and of the partisans of Arius, condemning them; and in conclusion, they beg the Pope to make written communication of what they have done to the Churches of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia. Another letter was, according to usage, sent directly to the absent bishops, to the end that all who should give in their adhesion to the decisions of the council should be "in fellowship" with the Fathers of Sardica. Thus was constituted that great body, the Orthodox Church.

Three points are to be considered in the letter to the Pope,—the right still recognized of the civil power to authorize, and consequently to limit, the deliberations of the council; the special jurisdiction of the Pope over the suburban Churches contained in the Roman vicariat; thirdly, the deference of the Fathers towards the Roman see, where appeals of bishops condemned in their own provinces might, "in honor of Peter's memory," be brought and examined by new judges, if the Pope so directed.¹ In recommending to bishops dissatisfied with the decision of their co-provincial colleagues this recourse to the Roman see, the council did no more than attribute to the Pope the voluntary jurisdiction granted by Constantine to bishops in their dioceses;² but this canon was the corner-stone of that vast edifice whence in all coming time the Pope was to rule with supreme authority over Roman Catholic Christendom.

The Eastern bishops had also prepared a circular letter, in which they related and explained their proceedings. We shall refer only to their doctrine in the matter of councils, and their

¹ Letter to the Pope, and Canons 3, 4, 5, and 10 of the Council of Sardica: Latin text.

² See Vol. VII. pp. 519-511.

opposition to the part which the Papacy was striving to assume. In the excommunication of Pope Julius they had struck at the head of this Western Church, which appeared to them so ready to accept a master; and in rejecting the decision of the Fathers of Sardica they proposed to maintain the authority of their own councils, the only spiritual rule to which they were willing to submit. The Western Churches accepted indeed the same principle; but among the councils they held that some were legitimate, and others were not so.—the councils of their adversaries being naturally of the latter character. “They have judged our judges,” said the Oriental bishops, “and reconsidered the decisions of those who are now with the Lord. That which legally assembled councils have decreed must remain fixed; the Church cannot alter it. She has received from God no such power.” To refuse to the Church the right of reconsidering her own decrees was equivalent to denying that revelation was continued in her by the Holy Spirit, and it was to deprive her of that principle which was her strength against the civil power.

It is said that Constantius, after the Council of Philippopolis, continued the persecution of the Orthodox.¹ Many bishops were deposed and banished; and it could hardly have been otherwise. The eighty bishops who had separated from the Council of Sardica could not in their provinces do otherwise than break with those who sympathized with the Western Churches; and the Emperor expelled from their sees all to whom his bishops refused the kiss of peace. If we judge from what occurred in Hadrianople, we may suppose that here and there riots broke out, inevitable in the midst of passions over-stimulated by the religious crisis of the time. When the Eusebians, returning from their synod, arrived in the capital of Thrace, the bishop of that city refused them fellowship, and the people, taking sides with their clergy, made a riot, wherein ten money-changers were the victims; and their death in this way has entered them on the Church’s list of martyrs. As for the bishop, he was sent into exile with chains upon his wrists. A contemporary, Saint Cyrillus of Jerusalem, exclaims sadly: “Bishops rise up against bishops, priests against priests, communi-

¹ Socrates makes no mention of any such persecution, but Sozomenus and Athanasius speak of it at great length.

ties against each other; and bloodshed follows."¹ But he reminds himself that among the disciples one was a traitor, and is consoled in thinking that the discords in the Church were prophesied in Holy Scripture.²

Constantius had taken great precautions to prevent Athanasius from returning to Alexandria; but urgent letters, followed by threats, from his brother shook the resolution of a man in whom courage was not the dominant quality. "Receive Paul and Athanasius," Constans wrote, "and punish those who without cause have molested them: otherwise I shall go myself to reinstate them."³ Lest he should have on his hands two wars at once, — that with the Persians, which was just now breaking out anew, and that which his brother threatened, — the Emperor of the East, taking advantage of the opportune death of Gregorius, gave permission for Athanasius to return to Alexandria (346).

III. — THE ORTHODOX PERSECUTED: ATHANASIUS; LUCIFER; HILARY.

RENDERED pacific by the fear which the protector of the Orthodox caused them, the Eusebians dropped the religious question for a time, and the Empire had five years of tranquillity. But on the death of Constans the war broke out again. During the winter which preceded the battle of Mursa (350–351) twenty-four bishops who had followed the court, meeting in council at

¹ . . . μέχρις αἱμάτων (*Instructions upon Religion*, xv. 7).

² Socrates (ii. 23) says that all the Eastern bishops justified by the Council of Sardica were restored to their sees, that Lucius returned to Hadrianople, and that in Constantinople Paul and Macedonius divided the city between them, each having his own church and his own assemblies. The Arian clergy of Alexandria also preserved their immunities.

³ Socrates, ii. 22. Cf. Tillemont, *Mém. ecclés.* viii. 693. Constantius and his courtiers accused Athanasius of having instigated Constans against his brother, and after the death of the Emperor of the West the Bishop of Alexandria was accused of coming to an understanding with Magnentius. Athanasius in his *Apology* stigmatizes these rumors as calumnies. But the fact that they were current at the court of Constantius shows that at Antioch it was feared lest the Orthodox of the East should enter into relations with the subjects of the Western Emperor. In his letter, Constans urges his brother to make investigation into the crimes of Stephen, bishop of Antioch, and his partisans. This interference must have been extremely displeasing to Constantius, and revealed to him dangerous adversaries in those who directed his brother's policy.

Sirmium, accused the bishop of that city of denying all distinction among the persons of the Trinity, and condemned him as guilty of the Sabellian heresy. This was a blow skilfully aimed at the Orthodox, who, with their doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, seemed to incline towards Sabellianism and to cast doubt upon the true humanity of Jesus. Magnentius being de-



A COUNCIL.¹

feated, and the Emperor of their choice having become master of the West, the Eastern bishops, with singular persistence in their animosity, again took up the endless quarrel against their great enemy. Besides the former accusations, of which they averred that Athanasius was in no degree acquitted, they accused him of throwing all Egypt into disorder and of performing ordinations outside of his own diocese.² Con-

stantius, at this time in the city of Arles, assembled a council there, and Athanasius was again condemned (353). Saint Paulinus of Trèves, refusing to subscribe to this sentence, was banished to Asia Minor. But there remained refractory persons. The Emperor, resolved to put an end to the religious war, as he had ended the civil war, summoned to Milan more than three hundred bishops, almost all from the Western provinces, with the determination to oblige them to sign the act of deposition (355). He succeeded in doing this, but only after very sharp controversies. The gospels recommend submission to the temporal power; but the Old Testament often counsels revolt, and its books were read in all the Christian assemblies. Orators ani-

¹ Martigny, *Dict. les Antiquités chrétiennes*, from a very ancient painting.

² Socrates, ii. 24 and 26.

mated with the spirit of the old prophets of Israel gave utterance to very independent language. When they were bidden to remember the right of the sovereign whom Heaven had consecrated by sheltering him with its constant protection, they made mention of kings whose wickedness Jehovah had for a time endured, that they might be hurled down to a more conspicuous destruction. One of the assembly, Lucifer of Cagliari, scoffing at the pretended theological knowledge of Constantius, went so far as to say aloud the word which the Orthodox were all whispering to themselves: "He is as was his father, one of those Arians who are the precursors of Antichrist."¹ The Gaul, Hilary of Poitiers, repeated the same language, with an Oriental eloquence full² of vivacity, but also of anger; he calls Constantius a dog, a ravening wolf, an unclean beast. But his words are sometimes beautiful. Reproaching the Emperor for the many creeds prepared by the Eastern bishops, he says: "You are like ignorant architects who are never content with their own work; you are continually building and pulling down. But the Catholic Church, when first it assembled, made an immortal structure, and gave in the Nicene Creed so clear an expression of the truth that we have only to repeat it, and Arianism is eternally condemned."³

The bishops of Milan and Vercelli had been almost as harsh as Lucifer, and the imperious requirements of the Bishop of Tripoli in the case of the Empress Eugenia show how haughtily these priests spoke to the successors of the men who had been accustomed to regard themselves as the undisputed masters of the world.⁴ Here we have the tribunes of the people, forgotten for nearly five centuries, reappearing, and threatening the oppressor not with any powerless human anger, but with the wrath of God.—a new method of inciting revolutions; and in fact a riot came near break-

¹ See Lucifer Calaritanus, *Duo Libri pro Athan. ad Const. imper.*, his *Moriendum esse pro Filio Dei*, and the *De non parcendo delinquentibus in Deum* (edit. of Venice, 1778), in which he says to Constantius: "We know what obedience we owe to you and to all who are in authority, but we owe it in good works only." But what are good works? The bishops set themselves up as judges of the civil law and of measures adopted by the temporal power. Tertullian had already used similar language, and later we shall see how Athanasius and Gregory will speak.

² Hilary, *Contra Constant. imper.* 5 and 11, and *passim*: Benedictine edit., 1693.

³ Bossuet, in his preface to the *History of Variations*.

⁴ Fleury, *Hist. ecclési.* iii. 445, 451, 531; Tillemont, iv. 381.

ing out in Milan. Constantius had listened to the debates of the Council, sheltering his imperial majesty behind a curtain; and when he heard the language used by Lucifer, he appeared in person upon the scene, and replied to the haughty words of the Christian priest: "You are to regard my will as your rule.¹ My bishops in Syria accept it, and God is with me; for he has put the whole Roman world under my authority. Those who do not obey me shall be sent into exile." And accordingly, Hosius of Cordova, Paulinus of Trèves, Dionysius of Milan, Eusebius of Vercelli, Lucifer of Cagliari, and a number of priests were exiled, and with them Liberius, the successor of Pope Julius, who, brought forcibly to Milan, did not bend before the sovereign will. When the Emperor reproached him with standing alone in the defence of a great criminal, and refusing to restore peace to the Empire, he replied: "Three Israelitish youths resisted the most powerful monarch of the East, and against them the fiery furnace had no power."² The Church loved this symbol of faith triumphant over kings and their cruelties, and it is found among the paintings in the catacombs.³

Constantius, so ready to strike an isolated individual, regained his prudence when he had reason to fear that the execution of a sentence might occasion a popular outbreak. He wished that Athanasius would depart voluntarily into exile; but the bishop did not do this, being determined to yield to force only. Saint Anthony and his monks came down from their mountains to attest the

¹ ὅπερ ἐγὼ βούλομαι τοῦτο κανὼν, ἔλεγε, νομιζέσθω (Athanasius, *History of the Arians written for the Monks*, i. 33).

² Theodoret, ii. 16; Sozomenus, iv. 11. Amm. Marcellinus, who served in the body-guards (*protectores*), and was then at Milan, speaks of this conference between the Pope and the Emperor, and the ardent desire of the latter to have the Pope accept the deposition of Athanasius: . . . *auctoritate qua potiores aeternae urbis episcopi* (xv. 2). These words in his mouth should not surprise us. When the pagans understood the episcopal organization of the Church, they always regarded, reasoning from their own history, the Bishop of Rome as superior to the others in dignity.

³ The sentence, "We ought to obey God rather than men," has been the everlasting cry of all religious minorities, as political minorities have often made insurrection "the most sacred of duties." Origen (*Contra Cels.* v. 37) endeavored to give Saint Peter's language (*Acts* v. 29), which so many bishops have repeated, a rational basis, contrasting the law of Nature, which comes from God, with the written law, which comes from men. Doubtless human law is not always in accordance with reason and conscience; but unless it be admitted that this law must be obeyed until we have succeeded by peaceful endeavors in having it changed, society is at an end; and society is divinely ordered, for it springs from the law of Nature.

purity of the doctrines of Athanasius, and the bishop went on tranquilly fulfilling his episcopal functions at Alexandria, while those who had fought for him at Milan, being taken unawares, far from their churches and their friends, were scattered in different places of exile.

After crafty attempts to induce Athanasius to leave the city,

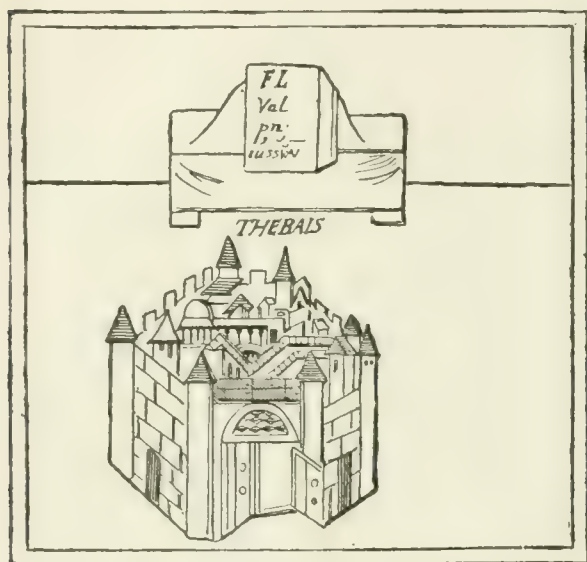


THE THREE YOUNG MEN IN THE FURNACE.¹

the duke Syrianus had recourse to military violence; and again men were wounded and killed in the quarrel. Athanasius, "fleeing like David before the ministers of Saul," escaped to the monasteries of the Thebaïd, where the monks of Antony and Pachomius were a safer guard for him than the imperial *protectores* were for their master. George of Cappadocia was installed in the Alexandrian see. The Orthodox, expelled from the churches which the Arians now filled, sought to hold meetings in the suburbs and outside the walls; and the soldiery dispersed them, killing and wounding as usual. Sixteen bishops were deposed, and thirty took

¹ Montfaucon, *Antiquité expliquée; supplément*, vol. iii. pl. xviii.

flight, hiding themselves in caverns and in ancient tombs.¹ According to the ecclesiastical authors, Diocletian's persecution was less cruel. Athanasius, whose letters were current everywhere, called Constantius the murderer of his family, the tyrant of the State, and for the Church the image of Antichrist.² Lucifer of Cagliari,



INSIGNIA OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE THEBAID.³

detained in Palestine, addressed a letter of the bitterest reproach to the Emperor, wherein Constantius read these words: "If thou hadst fallen into the hands of Mattathias or of Phineas, thou hadst perished by the sword; and thou sayest that I do thee wrong because I wound with my words thy soul dipped in the blood of Christians. Emperor, why takest thou not vengeance on

me? Why dost thou not smite this mendicant who dares insult thee? . . . Thou wouldst gladly do so, but hast not received power from Him who permits me to reproach thee for thy crimes. Thinkest thou that we shall respect thy diadem, thy earrings, thy bracelets, and thy costly garments in contempt of the Creator? Like the fool, thou saidst: I am shamefully insulted by a wretch — I who am Emperor; and didst not say rather, — by a bishop who sees that I am a ravening wolf!" And Constantius, intimidated by "Christ's beggar," dared not strike.⁴ At Constantinople a riot broke out; at

¹ Cf. Athanasius, *Apology*, and *Concerning his Flight*: Theodoret, ii. 14; Tillemont, *Mém. ecclési.* vol. vii. *passim*.

² In his *Letter to those who lead a Solitary Life*.

³ *Notitia dignitatum*, Boecking, p. 112.

⁴ The works of Lucifer of Cagliari contain the richest vocabulary of insult that was ever addressed to a sovereign. (See in the *Index* to the Venetian edition, 1778, under the word "Constantius.") Athanasius, Hilary of Poitiers, and Gregory Nazianzen show no greater respect for Emperors. Naturally, heretics are handled even more roughly. A famous book of Athanasius, the *History of the Arians*, is, says the learned biographer of the saint, only

Rome and at Naples the bishops who held the sees of the exiles were abandoned by a part of their clergy; in Gaul, Hilary of Poitiers rejected from the Church the accusers of Athanasius, and the latter obtained against him a sentence of exile. "Hell was unchained."¹ Men murdered each other in the name of religion at that time, and for many subsequent centuries; later, the motive became political, but the result was the same. If man, as is asserted, is an improved animal, he has yet much to gain before becoming a humane animal.

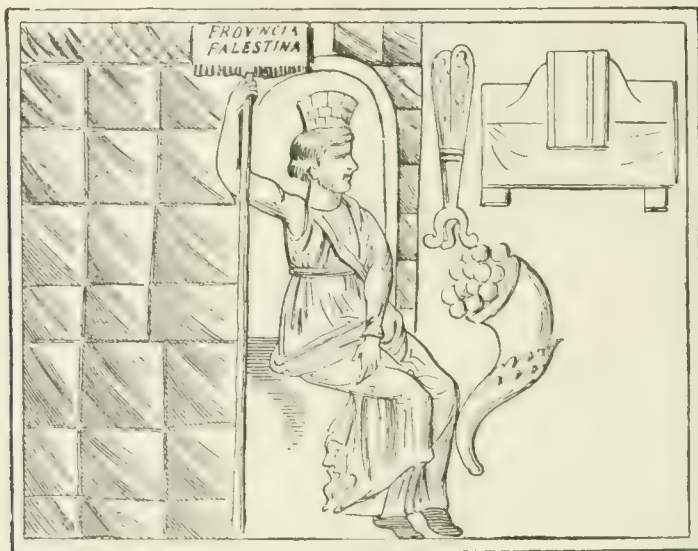
When Constantius visited Rome after the Council of Milan (357), certain matrons begged from him the recall of Liberius. He replied that he would consent to it if the exile would agree to share his functions with Felix, who had been appointed his successor, in such manner that each of the two bishops should govern his congregation in peace.² Thus Macedonius and Paul had done at Constantinople: at Alexandria, even in the presence of Athanasius, an Arian clergy had held its ground. At the death of Constantius, Antioch had no fewer than three bishops, each surrounded by his own followers, who were respectively heretics in each other's eyes. It is probable that in many of the cities rival Christian communities existed. The Orthodox at Rome, better disciplined, refused the proposed partition. But Liberius gave way, worn out by the fatigues of exile; he wrote a submissive letter to the Emperor, and gave his adherence to a formula of belief which did

"an oratorical lampoon" [*pamphlet oratoire*] (Fialon, *Saint Athanase*, p. 207). But the bishops and doctors do not even spare each other. Jerome utters biting words against Ambrose (see Canon Hermant, *Vie de Saint Ambroise*, pp. 128, 129), Athanasius against all his adversaries, Gregory Nazianzen against the Fathers of the Council of Constantinople, whom he calls a flock of jays and a swarm of buzzing wasps. Elsewhere Gregory reproaches Basil, who had appointed him to the bishopric of the small town of Sasima, with giving him this very undesirable residence so that he might keep guard, in the interests of Basil, over the mountain roads by which dues were brought in to the episcopal residence of Caesarea. (See his *Carmen de Vit. sua*, lines 400 *et seq.*) In his *Letter 49* he says: "To interchange insults is to act as a bishop" (*ἐπισκοπικῶς κινούμεθα*). That we refer to these facts is not due to any desire to degrade great men, or for the sad pleasure of finding vile dross in the gold, but because this tone in polemics became habitual, and this violence of language in theological discussions led the way to violence of action in repressing heresy and in the religious wars.

¹ Bossuet, *Discours sur l'Hist. univ.* 2d part, chap. xx.

² Theodoret, ii. 17. It appears from this singular proposition how far the Emperor was from the idea which the Western bishops had adopted, of the importance of the Roman see, and its work in making the Church a unit. Sozomenus (*Hist. eccl.* iv. 15) says that Liberius and Felix did in fact govern conjointly the Roman Church.

not contain the crucial word "consubstantiality." The great Hosius did the same. The Councils of Rimini and Seleucia, held in 359, by order of the Emperor, under the supervision of his counts, appeared to insure the success of the religious policy of Constantius. "The world," says Saint Jerome, "with amazement found itself Arian;"¹ and a contemporary exclaims: "While the released



CONSULAR PALESTINE PERSONIFIED.²

Barabbas triumphs, Jesus is crucified afresh." But the union and peace infused by the civil power were only superficial; and although the faith, Orthodox or Arian, continued to extend,—since in this very year, 359, Junius Bassus, the prefect of Rome, received baptism on his death-bed,—confusion was greater than ever in men's minds, and disorder in the churches.³ Meletius, consecrated bishop of Antioch, was, a month after his election, deprived of his see by a council which promulgated a new confession of faith,—the sixteenth since that of Nicaea. Still another became necessary; for after the heretics in respect to the Son, came those in respect to the Holy Spirit,⁴ who were not finally subdued till at the

¹ *Ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est* (Saint Jerome, *Adv. Luciferianos*).

² *Notitia dignitatum*, Bocking, p. 110.

³ *Socrates*, ii. 37 *ad fin.*

⁴ Tillemont (*Mém. ecclés.* vi. 477) enumerates eighteen creeds.

Œcumenical Council of 381. And now bloodshed began. Paul, the Orthodox bishop of Constantinople, four times dispossessed of his see, had been dragged in chains to the foot of the Taurus, shut up in prison, and put to death. His rival, the semi-Arian Macedonius, had savagely attacked the Orthodox and the Novatians (a rigid sect, who made the way to heaven very narrow);¹ he had destroyed their churches and deposed their bishops. Socrates relates of him acts of atrocious cruelty which it would be difficult to believe, did we not know that of all social hatreds, religious animosities have long been the most violent. Macedonius was in turn deposed, after a sharp encounter had deluged with blood the courts of the church of the Holy Apostles (360).²

When, on the second day of August, 358, Liberius re-entered Rome, a popular outbreak drove Felix from the city. Shortly, his partisans, clerical and lay, recalled him; another riot again obliged him to escape from the city, leaving many dead behind him.³ In Alexandria like scenes of violence took place; against the bishop who now occupied his see, Athanasius casts the accusations of rapine, theft, and simony, with which the Arians had loaded him.⁴ Thus, while the truly Christian believers, those who had received into their souls the Master's great lesson, *beati pacifici*, lived in retirement, in silence and prayer, seeking God and finding Him in charity and self-sacrifice, the disputations and quarrelsome carried their angry arguments everywhere, and for a word, whose obscure depths only a few could fathom, men took each other's lives. But this word was, in the opinion of the Orthodox theologians, the capital point of doctrine: in the eyes of the Arian theologians it was of no importance at all; to the philosopher it appeared an impertinence towards the Creator, whose essential nature these men presumed to understand; and the crowd, led by the crafty or the violent, added to the theological arguments sedition and murder. It was because the word served as a rallying cry to the different parties, which in this new society disputed with each

¹ At Nicæa, Constantine, after hearing one of their leaders, Acesias, is reported to have said to him: "Take a ladder and go up into heaven by yourself alone" (Sozomenus, i. 22).

² Socrates, ii. 38, 42.

³ Socrates, ii. 42.

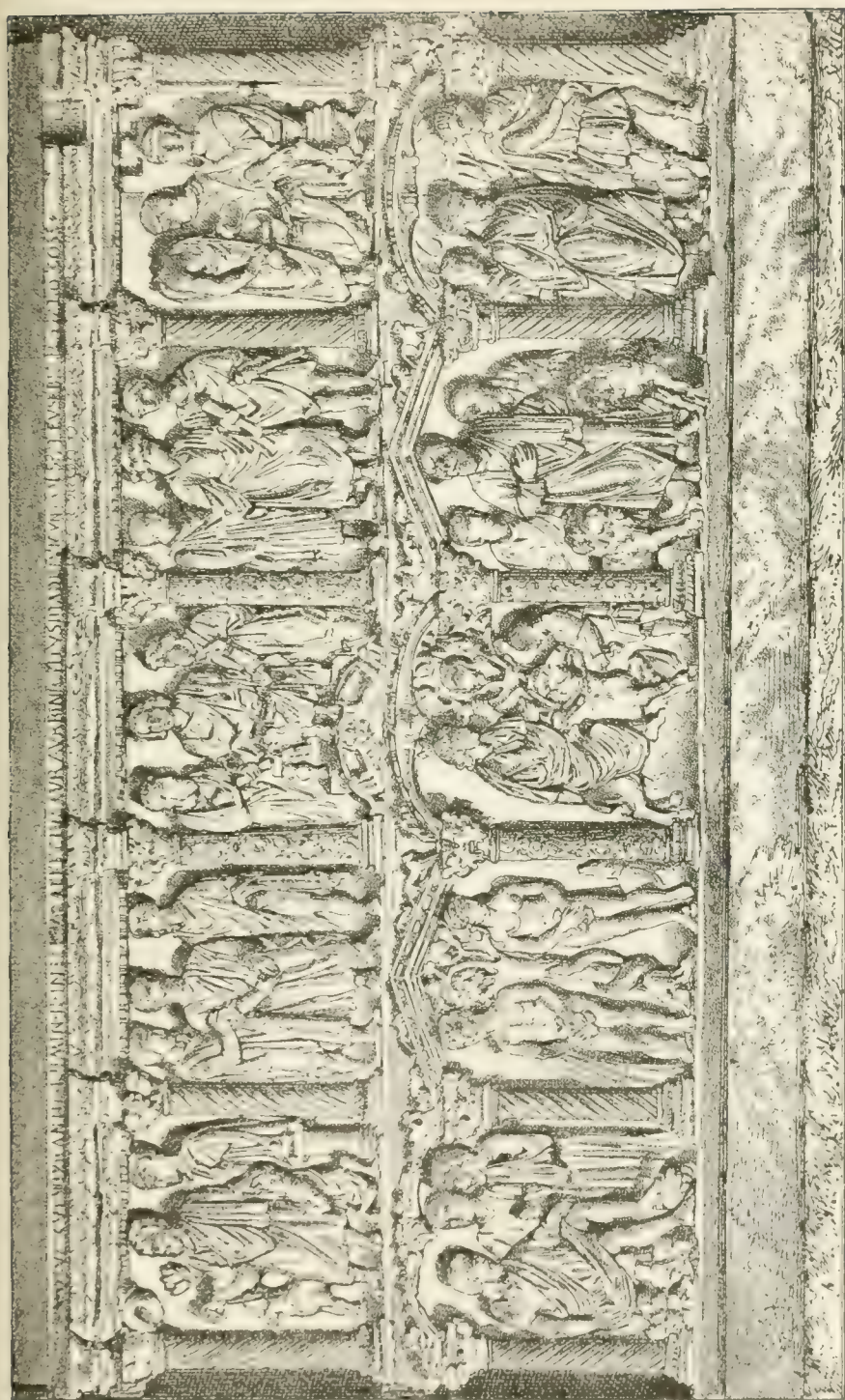
⁴ Athanasius, *History of Arianism*, etc., p. 75; Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxxvi. 1 (edit. of 1622, vol. i. p. 913).

other for the honors and emoluments of the Church and for the right of leading the laity to heaven by roads definitely marked out. This right to rule — the supreme ambition of so many men — which, for the benefit of the State, had been hitherto reserved to the civil power, was now seized by the Church in the name of Heaven and given by her to her ministers. A determined or an unconscious ambition was united, in the case of some, with the most selfish designs, in the case of others, with the sincerest faith; so that Earth and Heaven united to stimulate the passions which strove for this new power over the souls of men, this second empire established within the first.¹

At Constantinople, at Rome, and at Alexandria there was a strongly organized police system, and yet murders went on with impunity; what must it then have been in cities where no armed force protected the public peace? "Under Constantius," writes Julian, "citizens were imprisoned, persecuted, and banished. At Cyzicus, at Samosata, crowds of men said to be heretics were murdered; in Paphlagonia, in Bithynia, and in the country of the Galatae, whole cities were ravaged and destroyed." An ecclesiastical writer speaks of a battle in some religious war, where four thousand soldiers were killed, — which would lead us to suppose that the slaughter on the other side was also great. Amm. Marcellinus, laying aside his habitual moderation, exclaims: "Wild beasts are not more fierce towards man than most Christians are to each other;" and Gregory Nazianzen laments that the kingdom of heaven should be a chaos in which all the passions of the lower regions strive with each other.² The virtues hidden in many Christian homes were not conspicuous to the eyes of all. All men, on the other hand, witnessed the interested conversions of public officials, and the distractions produced by

¹ It was inevitable that in this ecclesiastical body, now become so numerous and already so rich, quarrels of ambition should be mingled with quarrels of doctrine, and that there should be great rivalry for the possession of lucrative positions. Gregory Nazianzen (vol. i. pp. 5 and 335, edit. of the Abbé de Billy) complains of "men without virtue, who throw themselves upon the altar to obtain their support from the table of the Lord;" and Saint Basil (*Letter* 51) speaks of those who become priests to avoid a military life. These discreditable acts belong to all periods.

² Julian, *Letter* 52; Socrates, ii. 38; Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 5: . . . *Nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi feroces plerique christianorum*. To these disturbances in the provinces of the East we must add those in Africa, where the fanaticism and crimes of the *circumcelliones* continued. See Vol. VII. p. 556.



SARCOPHAGUS OF THE ROMAN PREFECT BASSUS JUNIUS (CRYPT OF THE VATICAN).

the sharp disputes of theologians, and riots caused by heretics or by Orthodox believers. We are justified therefore in believing that Julian's pagan fervor was increased at the sight of this widespread disorder and at the vast claims of the Church, which, already placing the bishop above the emperor, threatened to overthrow both the religion of the Empire and its political institutions.

At the same time, if this episcopal ambition was an evil thing, the contrary theory of the subordination of the Church to the State was no better. When Constantine and his son made their bishops obedient functionaries, they developed that Eastern Church, subservient to the civil power, whose share in the general work of civilization has been so small. And though it is true that the Roman Church, becoming sovereign over nations and kings, caused the shedding of much blood, and for centuries restrained the free action of the human mind, she at least made amends for that tyranny by magnificent achievements in art and literature, by useful institutions and acts of heroic self-sacrifice. In the middle of the fourth century what she claimed was liberty, and she did not as yet aspire to the authority that circumstances should one day place in her hands.¹ Accordingly, we are the partisans of Athanasius and his free Church against the Eusebians and their clergy, the docile instrument of autocratic power, as later we shall be against those who seek to make the Church only the arm of the State. Antiquity lived—without suffering from it except in times of persecutions—by that adulterous union of politics and religion which made the strength of the ancient states. The Middle Ages lived by it also, and in their turn were persecutors. Modern societies desire to give liberty to each of the two adversaries. When this is done, we reach the end of one great stage of human progress. To be just, we should add that in the fourth century neither prince nor priest could foresee the possibility of the independence of these two mighty social forces; but they strove so violently with each other that “this age of theologic splendor was the prelude to the Dark Ages.”²

In the preceding narratives we have read of angry words and

¹ In his *History of the Arians*, which is solely an attack on Constantius, all that Athanasius claims is liberty; Ambrose went much farther.

² Villemain, *L'Éloquence chrétienne au quatrième siècle*, p. 513.

deeds of violence; it is the story of the Church militant: the religious convictions of some find satisfaction therein; the political convictions of others are wounded by it. If we have shown what usually is concealed, and if we pass silently over private virtues which it is usual to extol and which we also honor, it is because our task is the study of the public life of the Roman people, and an investigation of the causes which ruined the state. Let the hagiographers set forth as a compensation for the woes of the Empire the pure and charitable lives of pious bishops, of holy men, and of noble matrons: for ourselves, who have so long lived with this nation and now are witnessing its death-scenes, we must pass sadly through this fourth century, in which the noise of religious altercations prevents men from hearing the approaching footsteps of the Barbarians,—an age in which many men, from self-interested motives, worshipped God, but no man worshipped his country.

¹ On the base are these unintelligible words: ΙΔΙΗΧΩΥΟΙΗ ΙΤΘΕ ΑΙ ΧΧΧΣΕΘΘΦ. Gnostic stone on saphirine chalcedony, 29 millim. by 16 (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2,183).



MYSTIC SPARROWHAWK ON THE HEAD OF A GENIUS HOLDING A SERPENT.¹

CHAPTER CVII.

JULIAN (NOV. 3, 361, TO JUNE 26, 363).¹

I. — THE PAGAN REACTION.

JULIAN was not the philosopher who, master of himself, keeps his mind free from superstitious fears and dangerous or idle curiosity; he was a devotee, and all the more sincere as such. in that he had reasoned out his faith, and that his religion was a system. In constructing it he began by putting aside the contradictions of the masters of human thought² and the fables of a too charming mythology; then, from the confused mass of instruction given in books, in schools, and in the mysteries, he derived, for his own use, a sort of revelation, which may be called Hellenism, and was regarded by him as contrary to the revelation of the Jewish Scriptures. Did not pagan wisdom also come from the gods and from men who were their interpreters? Later we shall examine his theology; here, we need mention only his firm faith that the gods, intervening in human affairs, sent to men divine inspirations to direct them in life, for this faith determined his political conduct. "What motive," he wrote, "brought me from Gaul after the death of Constantius? A command from the gods, who



JULIAN AUGUSTUS.³

¹ A list of ancient and modern works relative to the Emperor Julian will be found in G. H. Rendall's work, *The Emperor Julian, Paganism, and Christianity*, pp. 291 *et seq.* Cambridge, 1879. Two interesting articles on the same subject are those of MM. Boissier and Martha, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. M. Talbot has made a good [French] translation of Julian's works.

² He did not grant to the materialists and the sceptics, to Epicurus and Pyrrho, the honor of including them among philosophers. He calls the sceptical Oenomaos, the author of *The Charlatans unveiled*, "a bestial soul" (*Discourses* v. and vii.).

³ D. N. FL. CL. IVLIANVS, P. F. AVG. Diademed bust; on the reverse, Isis suckling Horus, with the legend, VOTA PVBLICA. (Medium bronze.)

promised me safety if I obeyed.”¹ Accordingly, the religious question was the chief concern of his reign; the rest is by way of episode, and will be related in a few words, after which we shall be more at liberty to examine the pagan reaction which he attempted.

In politics, as well as in religion, Julian is a man of the past. He does well to renounce the servile ceremonial of the court, to refuse the titles of Master and Lord, and to believe that in the transmission of the imperial authority the principle of adoption is better than that of hereditary succession; but it is a mistake for him to copy and exaggerate the conduct of the Antonines towards the Senate, for this is to misconceive both the men and the times in which he lives. We have explained what were the motives of the respect shown by those Emperors for this last relic of the old Republic, which, though no longer formidable, might still be useful. In the fourth century these motives had ceased to exist, and an affected deference towards the humble assembly now gathered at Constantinople was in contradiction with the new phase of the government, of the court, and of public manners. When Julian takes his seat in the curia as a mere senator with the others, or conducts the consuls thither, walking on foot beside their state-chariot;² when in the circus he holds his imperial majesty in the shade, that he may let the consular dignity have its due splendor; when, lastly, having through inadvertence himself enfranchised the slaves whom the consuls on their day of taking office were about to set free, he condemns himself to a fine of ten pounds of gold for thus taking what he chose to regard as undue precedence of those magistrates,—all this is trivial and unworthy, a policy of outward shows; we should indeed say a hypocritical policy, if Julian, the literary man, the scholar, who had more memory than imagination, did not show himself manifestly sincere in his attempts to call back the past. On one occasion, when a vindication of Christianity had been offered him, he wrote underneath it: “I read, I understood, I condemned.” The words of Caesar which he imitated had expressed an heroic fact;

¹ *Letter 13*. The gods had already forbidden him, when he was at Milan, to send to Eusebia his refusal to accept the title of Caesar (*Letter to the Athenians*, sect. 7). “A god suggested the idea to me,” he wrote to Themistius. Amm. Marcellinus (xxx. 4) says of him: *Superstitiosus magis quam sacrorum legitimus observator*.

² . . . *Quod quidam ut adfectatum et vile carpebant* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 7).



JULIAN. STATUE OF GREEK MARBLE (PARIS, PALAIS DES THERMES;
FORMERLY IN THE LOUVRE).

Julian's were but a pedantic reminiscence. His last utterances were of the same nature. On the banks of the Tigris he died, as did Socrates in Athens, repeating a page of the *Phædo*.

The first man whom he appointed consul was a rhetorician, Mamertinus; and the new functionary thanked the Emperor in a sonorous and empty harangue, wherein he said: "Philosophy, of late suspected and judged guilty, but to-day clad in purple and crowned with gold and pearls, is now seated upon the imperial throne."¹ She was not always thus sumptuously apparelled. While certain sophists, whom the Emperor had gathered around him, displayed, thanks to his liberality, an insolent ostentation,² he himself went poorly clad, and his frugality would have made a Cynic discontented. This affectation of simplicity, good in ancient Sparta, but ridiculous upon the Byzantine throne, reveals in this amiable and lofty mind and this honest heart the weakness of a child. The Emperor's contempt for official display at least saved an innocent man, who under Constantius would have been a criminal punished with death. A person was accused of entertaining ambitious designs because he had a purple robe. Julian's reply to this information was to charge the informer to carry to the supposed offender, to complete his costume, a pair of shoes of the same imperial hue.

These eccentricities, however, did not prevent him from keeping intact the plenitude of imperial power, and in Gaul he had learned how to use it. Notwithstanding his philosophy, or perhaps by reason of it, he held the highest ideas of the duty of the sovereign, "who should expel from his mind whatever is unworthy, must rise above other men, and become a sort of divine being. . . . That the ruler may be better than the ruled, it must needs be that the law, the emanation of pure reason, reign alone, and not the arbitrary will of man, who may be but a wild beast

¹ *Pan. vet. in Jul., ad fin.*

² Eunapius, *Maximus*, and Amm. Marcellinus, xx. 12, 13. Julian wrote two treatises against the false Cynics who sought to derive profit from his philosophy and austerity. Saint John Chrysostom, in his *Babylas against the Gentiles*, represents this Emperor as surrounded by magicians, enchanters, and men and women of the most degraded character. Saint Gregory Nazianzen confirms this. It is strange to see to what depth of hate and injustice zeal for a good cause will sink even very noble minds. Julian doubtless had about him far too many pagan priests, diviners, augurs, and thaumaturgi (see Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 12): but his palace was forever closed to men of evil life and to shameless women.

in a palace.”¹ These ideas are noble, but difficult to put in practice. Julian, however, sought to approach to this ideal. A page of Marcellinus on this Emperor’s spirit of justice does him great



JULIAN.²

honor, coming from a writer who was an honest man, a patriot, a soldier, and never a courtier; who loved Julian, yet censures certain of his acts; who, though a pagan, had no unwise zeal for paganism, shows himself just towards the Christians, and in religious matters would have every man left to follow the dictates of his own conscience. “Instead of yielding to temptations,” he says, “Julian applied all the powers of his mind to doing justice, to repressing dishonesty, and to protecting the right. In no case did the religion of the person concerned

have any influence upon his decisions. A judge should take into account only the right and wrong; and Julian no more forgot to observe this rule than the sailor forgets to be mindful of the shoals in the seas.”³

He began by bestowing favors upon Constantinople, where he was born, and whose inhabitants delighted to call him “the child of the city.”⁴ He increased the privileges of its senate and improved its harbor; also he built a portico and a library, and made to the latter a gift of books. For the Empire he remitted the arrearages of contributions, reduced the taxes, and announced that

¹ *Letter to Themistius*. Julian says: “Train three or four philosophers, and you will have done more service to humanity than many kings would do.” There was an interchange of flatteries between the Emperor and the orator which we must not take too literally.

² Intaglio, No. 161 of the De Luynes Collection, in the *Cabinet de France*. Cornelian, 16 millim. by 14.

³ *Amm. Marcellinus*, xxii. 10.

⁴ *Zosimus*, iii. 11 : . . . *τρόφιμον ἐαυτῶν*. Julian himself called Constantinople his home.

the heavy tax of coronary gold should henceforth be voluntary. This was his "gift of happy accession."¹

Amm. Marcellinus calls the court of the late Emperor a sink of all vices; and we have seen what exactions, rapines, and cruelties were there committed. From the time of his arrival in Constantinople Julian was assailed with complaints and accusations against those "savage beasts."² He refused to inaugurate his reign by summary executions, but he established at Chalcedon a tribunal composed of the highest personages in the Empire to make pillagers disgorge, and to judge those ministers of Constantius who had sent so many innocent men to punishment for imaginary crimes. It was one of those political tribunals which are always bad, because, under the cover of justice, hatred, cupidity, and all evil passions combine against the vanquished, who are already punished by their defeat. Many persons really guilty were exiled or put to death, but also many who had done no more than obey Constantius.³ These condemnations have been regarded as a persecution of the Christians: they were, however, nothing more than a reaction against the last reign: but Julian should have arrested its excesses sooner than he did. The praetorian prefect had already condemned to be burned the commander of the legions at Aquileia, and had caused two curiales of that city to be decapitated, guilty of having remained faithful to their Emperor until

¹ Themistius wrote, in 367, in his eighth discourse (edit. Hardouin, p. 113) that within the last forty years—that is to say, under Constantine and his sons—the taxes had been doubled. The government, however, was none the richer for that. Julian shows the treasury empty, and the cities and provinces impoverished: and he holds responsible for this destitution those who had bought with gold peace from the Barbarians.—*principes auro quieti a barbaris redempti* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxiv. 3). This system of subsidies had been carried so far that the meanest enemies, like the Saracens, received them (*Ibid.* xxv. 6).

² Julian, *Letter* 23.

³ Most of the condemned were sent into exile; but there were also death-penalties. Amm. Marcellinus says that Justice wept at the death of Ursulus. This person had insulted the army by reproaching it with having exhausted the Empire by its demands, while it did nothing for the public protection. His remarks, says Amm. Marcellinus (xx. 2), occasioned his death at Chalcedon. He adds (xxii. 7) that Julian refused to listen to two informers who knew where Florentinus, his personal enemy above all others who were condemned at this time, was hid. Julian, announcing to Hermogenes (*Letter* 23) the formation of this tribunal, which he would not have held its sessions at Constantinople, lest he should be accused of dictating its sentences, writes: "I will not have these savage beasts, who made Constantius cruel, suffer the least injustice, by Jupiter I will not! But as they have many accusers, we have given them judges." Rendall (*op. cit.* p. 124) says in this connection: "Julian may be acquitted without reserve from the odium of wilful persecution."

they heard of his death. Such was the harshness of the times that the honest Marcellinus regards the sentence as legitimate.

We have seen what a crowd of useless servitors and hungry courtiers infested the palace, which had become a gulf in which the larger part of the imperial revenues were swallowed up; Julian dismissed all this gilded train, and sold the eunuchs, "who were more numerous than flies on a summer day."¹

The exactions and venality of officials of every grade were harmful at once to the tax-payers and to the treasury; immunities made the city burdens very heavy, and the prodigality of permits granted for free travel ruined the imperial post.² Julian strove to render the administration honest, and reduced the class of privileged persons who lived as parasites at the country's expense. All governors were required to pay into the treasury within thirty days the sums received for taxes, on penalty of a fine of ten pounds of gold in their own case, and twenty pounds from their employers, who, thus rendered responsible together with their chief, found it for their interest not to lend themselves to culpable indulgences in making out their accounts. Any false record involved the penalty of torture, and, that the evidence against such offender could be given without danger to him who testified, all officials were to be suspended from their office for twelve months out of every five years, — a precaution no less singular than the preceding, and, like it, a sure index of the intensity of the evil.³ He reduced the number of those who enjoyed municipal immunities. For this, Amm. Marcellinus blames him, and that historian finds his reform of the palace too severe; we, on the contrary, praise him for it, and also applaud the decree which limited to public functionaries travelling for the service of the State the use of the *cursus publicus*.⁴ He relieved, as he had done in Gaul, the provinces that were too heavily taxed,⁵ and restored to the cities the revenues of which they had been deprived, at the same time

¹ *Misopogon*, 11.

² See above, p. 144, n. 2.

³ *Code Théod.* xi. 30, 31, and viii. 1, 6-8.

⁴ *Ibid.* xii. 1, 48, 50-54; viii. 5, 12-15.

⁵ . . . φερῶν ἀνείας (Gregory Nazianzen, *Disc.* iv. sect. 75). Gregory recognized also that Julian was prompt in the pursuit of robbers (κλοπῶν ἐπιτίμῃς). Eutropius (x. 16) bears him witness that he was *in provinciales justissimus et tributorum, quatenus posset, oppressor, civilis in cunctis, mediocrem habens avaritiæ curam*.

maintaining the severity of the laws against the *curiales* who deserted their office. We have seen for what reason the prosperity of the town was the condition of the Empire's prosperity. The *curiosi* were like the police in so many countries, regarded with aversion by a part of the population; he reduced their number, — which might well be necessary after the enormous system of espionage organized by Constantius.¹ Libanius asserts that he abolished the office completely.² This would have been a foolish attempt to gain popularity, a simple-minded and quite too philosophical confidence in the respect of the subjects for their Emperor and for the law.

But to heal the maladies from which the Empire suffered, time was needed, and this Julian had not. He believed, moreover, in the efficacy of quite a different remedy; namely, the regeneration of the Empire by the return of the Roman world to the worship of the old gods.

On his return from Gaul, Julian had opened the temples which he found closed all along his road, and he made amends for the long indifference which he had been obliged to manifest towards the gods, by sacrificing victims to them daily. His letter to the Athenians, of which a copy was addressed to other cities of the Empire,³ announced to the world that a pagan Emperor had succeeded to two generations of Christian Emperors. The long-suspected change did not appear to be a revolution. Amm. Marcellinus attaches no importance to it: and many like himself, men of calm reason, much more preoccupied with the too-certain perils of the Empire than with disputes upon the unknown, aspired to that domestic peace which was disturbed by so many vain words,

SMALL BRONZE.⁴

¹ Constantius himself was obliged to moderate their zeal (*Codex Theod.* vi. 29; cf. *Codex Just.* title 23).

² This author was mistaken: for at Caesarea in Cappadocia the clergy, as a punishment for a riot, were enrolled as police (Sozomenus, v. 4; Saint Basil, *Letter* 20).

³ Zosimus says (iii. 1) that he wrote to the Athenians, the Lacedaemonians, the Corinthians, and through them to all the Greeks, *τὰς αἰτίας τῆς σφετέρως ἐμφαίνων ἀπίστως*.

⁴ Coin of Julian, bearing the effigy of the Pharian Isis. ISIS FARIA holding the *sistrum*, with a lotus-flower on the head. On the reverse is Harpocrates, his right hand raised to his mouth and holding a cornucopia. The legend is VOTA PVBLICA. Many coins have these Egyptian types, especially the head of Serapis, personification of the Sun and the supreme divinity. Julian sometimes is represented as Serapis, and Helena as Isis. See above, p. 89.

noisy councils, and episcopal seditions. As Julian appeared desirous of allowing to others the religious liberty which he took for



BRONZE.¹

himself, the Orthodox saw in his accession only the close of the Arian persecution, and Saint Jerome wrote: "At last the Lord awakes; the beast is dead, and tranquillity returns." If the adversaries of Orthodoxy regretted Constantius, they believed themselves strong enough in the East, of which they had held possession for thirty years, to do without the support of the government, from whose interference they themselves had more than once suffered. As to the world of functionaries, they, with their usual servility, bent the knee to the new master; and the crowd, wherein the lukewarm and indifferent always compose the majority, passes so easily from one faith to another that Julian could write, even before the death of Constantius: "We adore the gods publicly, and all the army that is with me is devoted to their worship."² The ancient symbols replaced the Christian monogram upon the standards, and pagan types reappeared upon the coins, which were refused by no one. "Authority," says Themistius, "has great powers of persuasion; in changing religion we are more mobile than the waves of the Euripus."³

In these first moments of liberty and of power, Julian, by words and conduct, personally endeavored to spread his own views; but he never did this in any violent way. It is even to a Christian that he proposes the work of writing a history of the recent events. "If you intend to set forth," he says, "the causes of my return, and write its history, I will acquaint you with everything, and transmit to you the original letters and other authentic evidence."⁴ Another instance of moderation is related of him in regard to the funeral rites of Constantius. When the body arrived from Asia in the harbor of Constantinople, Julian went to receive it with uncrowned head, in sign of mourning, and accompanied it to the Church of the Holy Apostles.

¹ Julian as Serapis. Small bronze.

² Julian, *Letter 38, to the philosopher Maximus*. The day of the distribution of the *donativum* a few soldiers, impelled, after carousing, by their companions' railery, who reproached them for accepting pagan coins, made a little disturbance; but Julian contented himself with sending them away into other corps.

³ In *Discourse V.*, p. 67 of the Hardouin edition.

⁴ *Letter 2, To the rhetorician Protercius*.

where the Christian ceremony took place. The pagans, on their part, offered funeral sacrifices in the temples, in which the Emperor participated, pouring the usual libations.¹ "He congratulated those who had followed him," says Libanius, "and advised others to imitate them, but exercised constraint towards none." Putting this toleration into practice, he recalled all who had been exiled by Constantius, — Orthodox, Arians, Novatians, Donatists; but he did not, however, dispossess those who had been installed in the episcopal sees vacated by banishment of the former holders.² He restored confiscated property,³ and forbade that any injury should be done to the Christians. "These persons," he says, "are religious after their own manner; for the God whom they worship is the same good and powerful Being to whom we address our prayers under other names."⁴ "He ordered the priests of the different Christian sects, with the adherents of each sect, to be admitted into the palace, and expressed his wish that, their dissensions being appeased, each, without any hindrance, might fearlessly follow the religion he preferred. . . . And he often used to say: 'Listen to me, to whom the Franks and the Alemanni have listened.'"⁵ With extreme good sense, he sought for a cessation of these interminable feuds; for, he says, "we should rather pity than hate those who in the most important concerns act ill; and as piety is the greatest of blessings, impiety is certainly the greatest of evils." In the same letter,⁶ which was written nine months after his accession, he thus expresses his policy towards the Christians: "They who had been banished are allowed to return; and to those whose goods had been confiscated, all have been re-

¹ In respect to this ceremony we have two accounts, — one from Gregory Nazianzen (*Disc.* v. 16-17, edit. of 1840), who does not say that Julian entered the church; the other from Libanius (*Disc.* x. 289, edit. of 1627), who represents the Emperor as "inaugurating at Constantinople the worship of the gods."

² Julian, *Letter* 31.

³ *Id.*, *Letter* 52.

⁴ *Id.*, *Letters* 7 and 63.

⁵ Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 5: . . . *Monebat civilius ut discordiis consopitis quisque, nullo retinente, religioni suae serviret, intrepidus.* Ammianus adds that in reality Julian desired by indulgence to increase the mutual hostility of the theologians, for the purpose of augmenting the confusion in the Churches. But this interpretation is contrary to the Emperor's words quoted by the historian, of which the sincerity is attested by many of Julian's letters. We have seen, moreover, that in that religious caldron, the Christian East, there was no need of crafty incitement to occasion the bursting forth of quarrels.

⁶ *Letter* 52, to the people of Bostra.

stored. . . . We suffer none to be dragged to the altars against their will. We also publicly declare that if any are desirous to partake of our lustrations and libations, they must first offer sacrifices of expiation, and supplicate the gods, the averters of evil. So far are we from wishing to admit any of the irreligious to our sacred rites before they have purified their souls by prayers to the gods, and their bodies by legal ablutions. . . . It is my pleasure to declare to all the people that . . . they may assemble together if they please, and offer up such prayers as they have established for themselves; but if the clergy endeavor to persuade them to foment disturbances, let them by no means concur, on pain of punishment. . . . For the future, let the people agree among themselves; let no one be at variance, or do an injury to another, — neither you who are in error to those who worship the gods rightly and justly in the mode transmitted to us from the most ancient times, nor let the worshippers of the gods destroy or plunder the houses of those who, rather by ignorance than choice, are led astray. Men should be taught and persuaded by reason, not by blows, invectives, and corporal punishment.”

While making no attack, he still proposed to defend himself, and he did this by reactionary measures. Constantine and the Christians had been the radicals of their time; Julian was a conservative. Although he put a somewhat free interpretation upon past events, it was his desire that the words *mos majorum*, which had been so forceful to the old Romans, should remain the rule of conduct for both Emperor and people. “The nation,” he said, “ought to keep the same gods which have been handed down to it from the remotest antiquity, and the citizen ought not to abandon his country’s religion.”¹ In his mind paganism was a principle of conservation. What, however, should this paganism be? That of Rome or of Greece, of Egypt or of Syria? On this point the conservative became, in his turn, an innovator. He accepted freely from Plato and the Alexandrians, — kindred thinkers,² — from the solar myths of Asia Minor, and even from Christianity, whose discipline was agreeable to his moral ideas and his instincts

¹ Naville, *Julien l'Apostat*, p. 77.

² Saint Augustine, who is a pupil of Plato as much as he is a disciple of Christ, who rises towards God by philosophy as well as by faith and love, and finds in the Platonic school many ideas in conformity with his own, regards Plotinus as a second Plato (*Works*, i. 294).

of government. His *Discourse in Honor of the Sun-King* was the gospel of the new official cult: and as a religion requires the mysterious, he gave to his the dark marvels of theurgy. Aedesius, the successor of Iamblichus in the school of Neo-Platonism, was believed to have intercourse with the gods. Julian had besought this philosopher to reveal to him the divine science; but Aedesius replied that he himself was an old man and very near to death, and that the Emperor must question his sons.¹ These sons of the philosopher's soul were Maximus and Priscus, and both became the trusted friends and counsellors of Julian, continuing with the Emperor until his death.

THE SUN.²

In Julian's theology³ three worlds are recognized: the Cosmic, wherein matter appears with all its imperfections; the Intelligible (τὸ νοητόν), which is filled with pure immaterial being, or, in other words, the Intelligible Gods, who possess in the highest degree all the attributes of beauty, eternity, absoluteness, and spirituality; and between absolute immateriality and matter, between that which is immutable and that which changes incessantly, — in brief, between these two worlds, so remote that one could not have issued from the other, there exists the Intellectual World (τὸ νοερόν), the faint copy of the one, the model of the other. The visible world, therefore, is only the image of an image, — that of the absolute world, — as its visible gods correspond, but reduced in power and dignity to the Intelligible Gods of the highest world. Each of these worlds has its Sun: the Sun of the highest world frequently entitled King of the Universe, chief among the Intelligible Gods; the Sun of the lowest, that heavenly body which we see; the Sun of the Intellectual World, a divinity

¹ Eunapius, *Life of Aedesius*.

² The Sun, wearing the radiate crown, and holding a whip in his hand. Intaglio, agate of three layers, 10 millim. high and 5 wide (*Cabinet de France*, No. 1,478).

³ On Julian's theology, see Naville, *Julien l'Apostat et sa philosophie du polythéisme*; Boissier, *L'Empereur Julien*; and G. H. Rendall, *The Emperor Julian, Paganism, and Philosophy*.

whom we do not see, but whose power in this secondary sphere is universal and beneficent. This is the King-Sun of Julian's system; he is considered the source of being, the central principle, ruling all by his wisdom. This is the Logos of Plato, possibly the Word of God of the Nicene Council,¹ and certainly the dream of a dream.

It matters little whether Julian in his theogony has done nothing more than follow the Alexandrians, or whether, well informed as he was in Christian doctrines, he proposed to establish a relation between the Second Person of the Trinity and the most popular of pagan divinities. What he actually did was to take up the Platonic thesis of a mediator; and Porphyry, Iamblichus, all the thaumaturgists, who had destroyed philosophy by mingling superstition with it,² taught the worshipper of King Sun to put himself in communication with the gods by fasting, which prepared for visions, and by ecstasy, which caused them to appear. It was a so-called science, having its rules and a name, — theurgy. By these mysteries the pagan priests supplied the place of the inspiration, the divine afflatus, that they no longer found among men; and they believed that in this way the divine will was made known to them also, and with it, the conditions of salvation. The two faiths, therefore, claimed to possess the same weapons. But Julian's heaven is very dark, notwithstanding its three suns. And his cloudy theology, which substitutes for Homer's gods, dazzling with life and beauty, these subtle abstractions which we can with difficulty comprehend, these strange sounds heard in the depths of sanctuaries, these statues which are seen to move in the darkness,³ these apparitions which men in a condition of ecstasy thought they beheld, — all these things had effect upon only a small number of adepts and illuminati. Only a narrow sect could believe in things like these, and not a multitude; for in theurgy all was personal and secret. How different from the Church, which recognized divine

¹ Lamé (*Julien l'Apostat*, p. 235) and Naville (*Julien l'Apostat*, etc., p. 104) entertain this idea; but Rendall (*The Emperor Julian*, etc., p. 93) rejects it, and rightly, as I think. See, Vol. VI. pp. 401 *et seq.*, how familiar to philosophers was the theory of the λόγος θεῖος.

² See, in Eunapius, *The Life of Iamblichus, and the Miracles done by him*. J. Simon (*Hist. de l'École d'Alexandrie*, ii. 266) says: "Maximus, Cleanthes, and Julian are, through Aedesius, the descendants of Iamblichus."

³ Eunapius, in his *Life of Maximus*, asserts that this thaumaturgist could give life to statues by his spells.

inspiration only in the decisions of its bishops assembled in council, where all was done openly and with free discussions!

Julian seems to have been no more successful with his clergy than with his system of dogmas. This adventurous theologian was a man of lofty morality. Plato had bidden men strive to resemble God. — *ἐξομοίωσις τῷ θεῷ*. Jesus had said: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." And the Church repeated the sentiment of Saint Basil: "The rich man is God's steward sent to relieve the poor." Many in the pagan world sought to approach this ideal, and Julian was of the number.¹ He used his authority as pontifex maximus to require from his priests virtues which cannot be assumed by order. In time he might have been able to introduce more discipline into his Church, more morality into the lives of his priests, more institutions of benevolence into the community: these things are useful to the state. He has at least the honor of having attempted them. "The office of a priest," he writes, in a kind of encyclical letter of which a fragment has been preserved, "being necessarily more worthy of respect than that of any other citizen, may be proper for me now to consider that, and to teach you its obligations. . . . In the first place, above all things cultivate philanthropy, as this is attended by many other blessings, and particularly by that which is the greatest and most excellent of all, — the favor of the gods. . . . Of philanthropy there are various kinds: one is the punishing offenders sparingly, and that for the good of the punished, as masters correct their scholars; another is the relieving the wants of the poor. . . . especially when any of them are in morals irreproachable. . . . Who was ever impoverished by what he gave to others? I for my part, as often as I have been liberal to the poor, have been abundantly rewarded by the gods. . . . I will add, though it may seem paradoxical, that it is a duty to give clothing and food to our enemies, for we give it to

NOTE. — The diptych of Anastasius, consul in 571, represents in its lower portion scenes of the amphitheatre. The richness of the costumes shows the Oriental luxury of the Byzantine court. This diptych, long preserved in the Cathedral of Bourges, is now in the National Library (Paris).

¹ Another pagan, Macrobius, who was *præfectus cubiculi* to the younger Theodosius, wrote in the fifth century: "We ought to speak to men as if the gods heard us, and to the gods as if all men could hear" (*Saturn*, i. 7).

their nature, and not to their conduct. And therefore I think that those who are imprisoned in dungeons are also worthy of this attention, since this humanity by no means interferes with justice. . . . Above all, it is indispensable that the priests be active in works of piety, that they may approach the gods with religious awe, and that they may not say or hear or read anything that is shameful. Far, therefore, from us be all licentious jests and all scurrilous discourse. . . . I am of opinion that a priest should in every respect be immaculate. . . . The hymns of the gods should be learned, which are many and beautiful, composed both by ancients and moderns; and chiefly those which are sung in the temples. . . . These deserve to be studied; and the gods should frequently be addressed in private as well as in public,—generally, three times a day, or at least in the dawn and the evening; . . . for as the dawn is the beginning of the day, so is the evening of the night, and therefore it is reasonable to offer the first-fruits, as it were, of both these intervals to the gods. . . . Let no admittance be given to the doctrine of Epicurus, nor to that of Pyrrho. The gods indeed have wisely abolished them, many of their writings being lost; but it cannot be improper to mention them, for the sake of example, to show what kind of books the priests ought chiefly to shun. . . . Be assured that the gods have given us great hopes after death, and on them we may with confidence rely, as they are incapable of deceiving not only in such matters, but in any of the concerns of human life. If by their excellent power they can correct all the disturbances and monstrous abuses that happen in this life, how much more in the other—where the contending parts are disunited, the soul being separated and the body dead—will they be able to perform all the promises they have made to mankind! . . . It becomes us, therefore, to minister to them, as supposing them present, and seeing us—though we see not them—with a sight superior to every kind of splendor, penetrating our most secret thoughts. . . .

“Let me add that I think it becoming for the priests to wear in the temple, during their ministration, a most magnificent habit, but out of it a common plain dress. . . . But for us to wear the habit and not lead the lives of priests, is in itself a summary of every transgression, and the greatest contempt of the gods. . . .



COURT COSTUMES OF BYZANTIUM, AND SCENES OF THE AMPHITHEATRE.

“Let the priests be chosen from among persons of the best character in every city. . . . And let no distinction be made between the noble and the man of low condition. . . . Though a man be poor, or a plebeian, if he have these two endowments, love towards the gods, and love towards men, let him be elected into the priesthood.”

Julian proposes to have these precepts followed by his priests. One of them has beaten a colleague; the Emperor suspends him from his priestly functions for three months, counsels him to repent, and ends the reproof in these words: “And knowing that the priests are the ministers of our prayers, I join my hopes and prayers to yours, that by many and earnest entreaties you may obtain the pardon of the gods.”

Maximin, the colleague of Galerius and Licinius, had established in each province a pontifex who was to exercise superintendence over the doctrine and life of the inferior priests, as the metropolitan of the Christian Church was the spiritual guardian of the bishops in his province. This institution Julian strengthened still further. “The commission which I now give you,” he writes to Theodore, appointing him pontifex of the province of Asia, “is the superintendence of all the priests in Asia, both in the cities and in the country, with full powers to treat every one according to his deserts.”¹ In a letter addressed to Arsacius, pontifex in Galatia, he writes:—

“That Hellenism does not yet succeed as we wish, is owing to its professors. The gifts of the gods are indeed great and splendid, superior to all our hopes, to all our wishes. . . . But why should we be satisfied with this, and not rather attend to the means by which this impiety [the Christian Church] has increased; namely, humanity to strangers, care in burying the dead, and pretended sanctity of life? All these I think should be really practised by us. It is not sufficient for you only to be blameless; entreat or compel all the priests that are in Galatia to be also virtuous. If they do not, with their wives, children, and servants, attend the worship of the gods, expel them from the priestly function. . . . Admonish also every priest not to frequent the theatre, nor to drink in taverns, nor to exercise any trade or employment that is

¹ *Letter 63.*

mean or disgraceful. Those who obey you, honor; and those who disobey you, expel. Erect also hospitals in every city, that strangers may partake our benevolence; and not only those of our own religion, but, if they are indigent, others also.

"How these expenses are to be defrayed, must now be considered. I have ordered Galatia to supply you with thirty thousand bushels of wheat every year, of which the fifth part is to be given to the poor who attend on the priests, and the remainder to be distributed among strangers and our own beggars. For when none of the Jews beg, and the impious Galileans relieve both their own poor and ours, it is shameful that ours should be destitute of our assistance.¹ . . . Let us not suffer others to emulate our good actions, while we ourselves are disgraced by sloth; lest by negligence we lose our reverence for the gods. If I hear that you practise this, I shall overflow with joy."²

Pagan priests there were who practised all these virtuous lessons. Read the noble letters written, fifty years later, to the Bishop of Hippo by the philosopher Maximus of Madaura, the pontiff Longinianus, and the honest pagan Nectarius, and you will find in them many worthy thoughts.—those which philosophy, aside from any creed, has made the patrimony of the whole human race.

Preaching is a powerful agent in spreading a religion; we have seen that it was employed with ardor by the philosophers of the second century, and Saint Augustine recognizes their success in it. In the centuries that followed, the Christians had taken the place of the philosophers. To dispute it with them, Julian proposed to establish in the temples that moral and religious instruction which paganism had always lacked: we know from Libanius that this enterprise was begun, and from the Bishop of Hippo that it continued up to his time.³

¹ In referring to these attempts made by Julian, Gregory Nazianzen (vol. i. p. 101) calls him "the ape of Christianity." But an ape like this is a very worthy person. Does not all social progress arise out of imitation of what is good? Are we able to say that Christianity has borrowed nothing?

² Letter 63.

³ In one of his letters Libanius congratulates the rhetorician Acacius — concerning whom Eunapius writes (*Acac.* p. 497) that had he not died young, he would have surpassed Libanius himself — upon a "sermon" on Aesculapius, delivered in a recently reopened temple. "We now have," says Saint Augustine, "for the public who gather in the

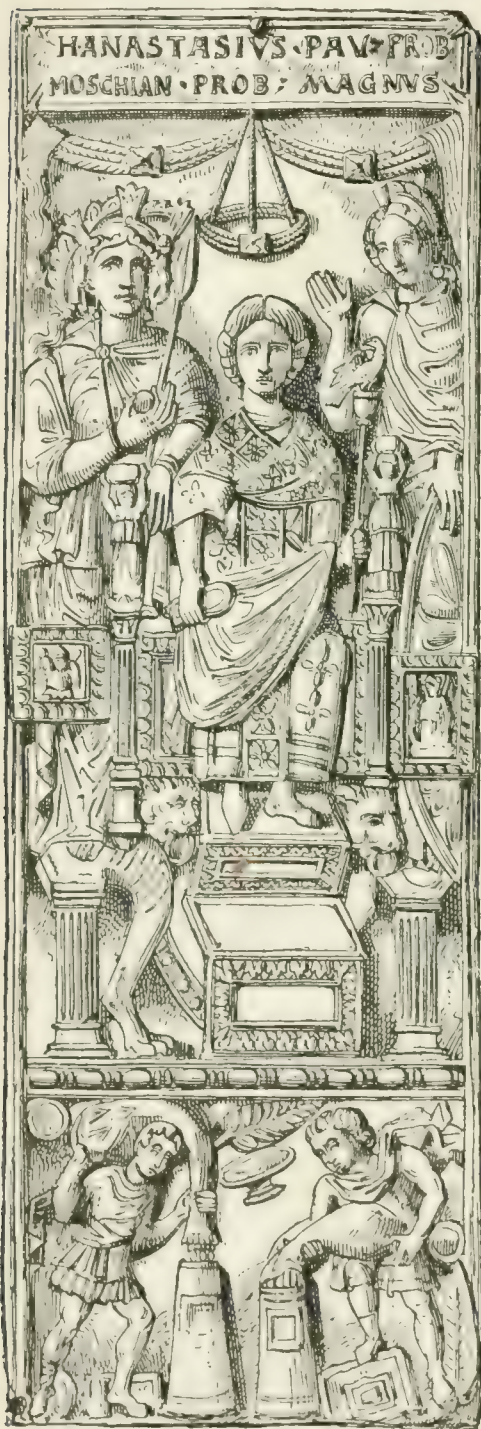
II. — THE GREAT BISHOPS AND THE MONKS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

THE rapid progress thus far made by Christianity had been due to its love for the poor, and to the definiteness of its promises concerning the future life. Julian, who had certainly read and pondered the two treatises of Plutarch *Concerning Superstition* and *On the Delays of Divine Justice*,¹ did not leave to "the Galileans" alone this sanction of religious and moral duties, at once a blessing and a terror to the mortal life. Plato's imperial pupil had not his master's hesitation in respect to the nature of the soul, or at least the permanent character of human personality. At the beginning of his reign he celebrated King-Sun in a hymn of

temples, very useful interpretations of the history of the gods; yesterday, or the day before, we heard some of them" (*Works*, ii. 278). "Julian intended," says Gregory Nazianzen, "to establish schools and professorships in all the cities, lectures on Greek doctrines, explanations of Nature, in order to form habits of virtue, . . . and reprimands appropriate to different classes of sinners. He also wished to found asylums, hospitals, monasteries, houses for virgins, and places of devotion" (*Invective I.* p. 138, edit. 1842. Cf. Naville, *Julien l'Apostat*, p. 163). Christianity was a law of inner improvement, and this law made men saints; it was not a cause of social renovation, — hence it neither saved the state nor improved the public morals. But the basis of this religion being love, while theologians carried on long and subtle discussions on doctrines, pious hearts employed the time in establishing these charitable institutions which do honor to the Christian spirit. Justinian (*Codez Just.* i. 2, 19) speaks of donations made . . . *in sanctam ecclesiam, vel in xenodochium, vel in nosocomium, vel in orphanotrophium, vel in ptochotrophium, vel in gerontocomium, vel in brephotrophium, vel in ipsos pauperes*; and he recalls the fact that these gifts were regulated by ancient laws, *ex veteris legibus* (cf. *Ibid.* law 22, and title 3). I do not, however, believe that any one of these words occurs in the Theodosian Code, which was compiled in 438. But it is certain that the Church very early favored institutions of benevolence. Saint Basil, who died in 379, had constructed at Caesarea, for sick travellers, a hospital to which were attached physicians and nurses, where there were work-rooms, beasts of burden, and guides for the service of the house (*Letter 94*). It will be remembered, however, that the pagan cities had long possessed *ξενον*, or caravansaries, to receive travellers, that they had furnished medicine gratuitously to the poor, that the philosophers had taught benevolence, and mighty monarchs had practised it when they founded alimentary institutions. Pliny had already said: "To do good to men is to be as God." Charity was not unknown in the ancient world, for it is a sentiment which is found in the human heart; but it had its chief development only under Christianity, which greatly enhances its force by making of this natural sentiment one of the conditions of salvation.

¹ Vol. VI. p. 413.

ardent devotion,¹ which he ends with these words: "I implore the Sun, king of all beings, to



CHARITY BESTOWED ON THE POOR.²

¹ Addressed to his friend Sallust, whom he had appointed prefect of the Gallic provinces. He says, in closing, that it had been his wish in composing this hymn to manifest his gratitude towards the god. To Plato, the immortality of the soul was a hope to be cherished as the delight of a man's life; but he did not attempt to prove the point of chief importance, — namely, that in the future life the individual would preserve his personal existence.

² *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,265. Half of a consular diptych of the consul H. (probably for FL., by an error of the engraver) ANASTASIVS PAVL[us] PROB[us] MOSCHIAN[us] PROB[us] MAGN[us] (size, 38 centim. by 13). The gifts are represented, in the lower part of the diptych, by the two slaves who are pouring out pieces of money from sacks. Magnus is represented as a beardless youth. Rome and Constantinople personified stand one on each side of his curule chair, which is supported by lions and has its arms ornamented with statuettes of Victory. It will be observed, as in the diptych represented on an earlier page, that the consul's robe is loaded with embroideries. Asterius, bishop of Amasia about the close of the fourth century, has left us in one of his homilies (Photius, *Cod.* 271) a sarcastic description of these costumes, some of which contain as many as six hundred figures: "When men thus attired appear in the streets," he says, "the passers-by look at them as at painted walls. Their garments are pictures which children call each other to behold. There are lions, panthers, and bears. There are rocks, woods, and hunters. The more devout have pictures of the Christ, his disciples and his miracles: here is the marriage of Cana, and the vessels full of wine; there, the man sick with the palsy taking up his bed, or the woman who was a sinner, at the feet of Jesus, or Lazarus restored to life. . . ." Herr Grauf, of Vienna, has a very curious collection of these materials, broché, embroidered, or woven after the manner of tapestry, which have recently been collected in Egypt. One of the most

respond to my devotion by his favor, to grant me a pure life, the knowledge of divine things, and, when the fatal hour shall come, a tranquil end and a swift flight to him, and, if it be possible, an eternal abode in him."¹ This nearly resembles the idea of Malebranche: "God is the place of spirits, as space is the place of bodies." But this dogma of an immortal Existence in an arid sky, whose gods are formless and lifeless, had no attractions in comparison with the hope of the heavenly blessedness which the Christians believed themselves called to enjoy amid celestial splendors and the music of golden harps and sacred songs intoned by choirs of angels, of virgins, and of triumphant martyrs at the foot of the throne of the Almighty, whose Divine Wisdom would make all things known to the elect.

Julian had attempted to seize upon the two great forces of Christianity, — charity, and the hope of a future life. His ambition was a worthy one, and we cannot censure the acts by which he strove to fulfil it, so long as he carried on the struggle by word only, and by meritorious acts. It was a return to the wise policy of the edict of Milan. But was he to be able to hold to this policy more consistently than its original author had done? This was to become difficult for him, for he had a sectary's enthusiasm; and when he recognized the vanity of his efforts in opposing to Christianity a religion which he had based on mouldering foundations, he became irritated at his own powerlessness. His honest nature counselled him to toleration; his pagan fervor

interesting is the angusticlave of a Roman knight of the fourth century. It represents an Emperor seated on his throne, with two Persian prisoners kneeling before him.

¹ In his second treatise against the Cynics, he again speaks of "hidden retreats where dwells the Supreme God, the absolute Good, with whom our souls desire to be united;" and he represents the Sun and Minerva as saying: "Remember that thou hast an immortal soul, and that if thou followest our counsels thou shalt be a god as we are, and shalt enjoy the sight of our Father." He repeats nearly these words in the form of a prayer at the close of his treatise on Cybele: "Mother of gods and men, . . . grant unto the Roman people first of all to wipe off the stain of atheism, . . . and to mine own self vouchsafe, as the fruit of my services towards thee, truth in all my views concerning the gods, perfectness in theurgic art, and in all things, to whatsoever tasks of peace and war I lay my hand, virtue and success, and to the end of this life peace within and a fair name without, with a good hope for the journey that shall bring me to the gods" (*Disc. V.*). This faith was a Vedic doctrine. The Vedas assign to souls as their final dwelling the sky or the sun (Bergaigne, *La Religion védique*, i. 74, iii. 111-120). The old doctrine naturally reappeared with Jesus, and in the time of Julian all men, whether pagan or Christian, believed in this ascent of souls.

at last drove him to anger against those whom he could not overcome,¹ and who anathematize him, and in whom he barely avoids seeing rebellious subjects. Then he resorted to measures of hostility against the Christians, and believed these measures legitimate, since he gave only orders which he believed to be just, but which were not so, by reason of their inevitable consequences.

Already some of the measures mentioned above appeared to be the beginning of what has been called Julian's persecution, although they were only acts of justice and wise administration. The persons whom he had expelled from the palace or sent to the tribunal at Chalcedon had called themselves Christians without deserving to be so considered. Those whom he had deprived of lucrative privileges, too liberally granted by preceding Emperors, were also Christians, but they had no right to complain of being subjected to the general law; and when he recognized the claims of those who had suffered spoliation from the Christians, it is equally true that religion had not allowed the robbery.

His policy showed itself more clearly when he deprived the bishops of voluntary jurisdiction, and the Church of the right of receiving legacies. These rescripts were not included in the Theodosian Code, and could not be; but we have proof that they were promulgated in the following words of Julian in his letter to the Bostrenians. "The clergy . . . are no longer permitted to act as judges, or make wills, or embezzle the estates of others and appropriate everything to themselves." He seemed to restore the former order and justice in annulling recent privileges. But in giving back criminals to the jurisdiction of the ordinary magistrates, and their patrimony to families, it was in reality the whole work of the first Christian Emperor that he sought to destroy.

Constantine had very early returned to the old Roman doctrine of a state religion. Julian did the same with a contrary result: in his eyes polytheism was the national cult, and throughout his reign the indulgence of the government was towards the pagans, and its severity towards the Christians. The decree concerning restitu-

¹ See, in the *Misopogon*, in what a sad condition he found the pagan cult at Daphne, whose pitiful celebrant perhaps suggested to Bouilhet the idea of his fine lines upon the old priest bringing the last sacrifice to the last altar. Repeatedly Julian complains of the lukewarmness of pagan zeal (*Letters* 4, 27, and 63). In *Letter* 49, however, he congratulates himself on a success which has surpassed his hopes.

tions presented this double character of being in appearance an act of justice, and in reality one of those reactionary measures which exasperate the present, and do not bring the past to life. Temples were, like the banks of modern times, places of deposit for private property, and in the passage of centuries the devout had accumulated rich offerings there.¹ To obtain, by a change of religion, the right to lay hands upon these treasures, with the aid of a pious sedition followed by pillage, had been an irresistible temptation; and we know too well the character of revolutions not to be certain that, in the confused state of religious affairs, guilty excesses were committed. We have ample testimony that among the sincere iconoclasts of the time there were not a few marauders who pillaged systematically.² When the government changed, claims came in; cities complained that the treasures had been stolen from their temples, that the temples themselves had been destroyed, the land on which they stood confiscated, and that the jewels and rich stuffs with which Christian churches were ornamented were thefts from the shrines of the ancient gods. Julian, while prohibiting acts of violence against persons, directed that the possessions of which the cities had been deprived by the late Emperors should be restored. To despoil the churches, the Christians clamored, was nothing less than to authorize sacrilege. But who had begun it? In the eyes of the pagan populations, was it not also a sacrilegious iniquity to despoil the temples, and also a wrong towards those who had enriched the temples with their gifts? Spoliations of this kind had taken place in cities whose inhabitants were largely pagan. At Heliopolis, for instance, there were still but a small number of Christians half a century after the sanctuary of Venus had been destroyed there. Unfortunately, to authorize these claims for redress and direct recapture of the spoils taken

¹ See, in Vol. VI. p. 556, a law of Septimius Severus on this subject, and on the same question many papers of the French School at Athens. Lucian, in his *Syrian Goddess*, 10, mentions rich offerings which were continually arriving at the temple of Heliopolis from all the countries situated between the Tigris and the Mediterranean.

² Amm. Marcellinus shows the palace of Constantius full of persons who had enriched themselves with the spoils of the temples: . . . *posti templarum spoliis* (xxii. 1); according to Libanius, this Emperor gave away a temple as he would have given a dog, a horse, or a slave; and Eunapius, in his *Life of Aedesius*, *ad fin.*, relates the sack of the Serapeum, where the assailants divided the offerings according to the order established in the case of spoils taken from the enemy. In certain places lands belonging to the temples had been sold and honestly paid for by the purchasers. Cf. Libanius, *Letter* 636.

from paganism, instead of empowering the state to proceed itself in the matter, with compensations acceptable to both parties,¹ was to prepare the way for local or individual acts of violence. The decree of Julian might have set the whole Empire in a blaze; for it was a weapon of war striking full at the Church, and she would have sought to break it, had she not already become so strong that in very many places the order established by her had been accepted by the populations. The edict did not cause a complete overthrow, but it produced tumults which we shall now see,—a condition of disorder which should never have been brought on by those who had the charge of the public peace.

This measure—in appearance, at least—was one of reparation; another was manifestly an iniquity. Julian forbade Christian instructors to deliver lectures on the Greek authors in the public schools, on the ground that since these authors constantly refer to the gods, it is not suitable that men who are hostile to these divinities should speak falsely concerning them, or should belie their own consciences by giving true accounts of the same.² When the Emperor said: “Men ought not to turn our own arrows against ourselves, and arm themselves with our books in order to fight with us,” he denied the chief rights of religious criticism; and when he added: “Let them expound Matthew and Luke; . . . and though it might be proper to cure them by force, as if they were afflicted with madness, yet let all be indulged with that disease,”³ he insulted while he smote them,—an unprincipled act; but in this letter he many times forgets the empe-

¹ Under like circumstances Constantine had made a more equitable decision. See Vol. VII. p. 521.

² We have not this document in the form of an edict inserted in the Code, for the Christian Emperors naturally did not place it there: it is a long letter (No. 42), and seems to concern only the official professors in the public schools, those receiving salaries from the state, or from the cities after passing an examination before the municipal council,—a class of instructors not very numerous, for Antoninus allowed but ten of them in the largest cities. (See Vol. V. pp. 442.) Julian concerned himself with them for the purpose of conferring the privileges granted them by his predecessors (*Code Théod.* xiii. 3, 3-5). The Empire had not an academic organization, by means of which it could control what went on in the independent schools, and render everywhere effective the prohibition which could easily be enforced in the public schools. In ancient times such a question would never have arisen, when public affairs and religion were the same; but now there were two religions in the Empire, and Julian wished to put the instruction of youth at the service of the religion which he preferred. This ambition has been shared by nearly all governments since his time.

³ Letter 42. To heal them he would, if he could, have burned their books (*Letter to Ecdicius*).

ror. A pagan author who respects him refers to this decree as an act of intolerance which it would be well to bury in eternal oblivion.¹ The measure was without effect, being continued in force only for a few months. Moreover, like the Hebrews spoil-

THE EVANGELISTS.²

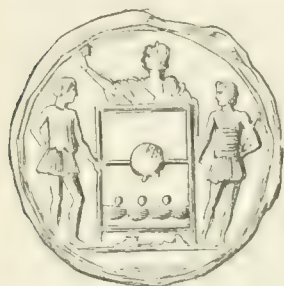
ing the Egyptians, the Christians had already stolen the gold of Greece, and were to adorn with it a new world.

Julian, who expelled Christian instructors from the public schools, also closed to "the Galilaeans" the public offices. "It

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xlii. 10, *ad fin.* Victorinus at Rome, and Prohaeresius at Athens, closed their schools, and Musonius was obliged to leave his . . . ἐδόκει γὰρ εἶναι χριστιανός (Saint Jerome, *Chron.*; Eunapius, *Prohaer.*). Orosius (vii. 30) speaks of numerous dismissals. It has been said — but this is an error — that he prohibited Christian children from attending the public schools. On the contrary, he would have persuaded them to it, if he had been able, since in these schools instruction was now given by pagan professors. It was, however, only instruction in the higher grades. The private and elementary schools were numerous.

² Bas-relief of the fourth century: fragment of a great sarcophagus in the Museum of the Louvre, which, in its principal carvings, represents Jesus near a great city and surrounded by his twelve disciples. Here the evangelists are represented clad in Roman costume, except the third, perhaps Saint Luke, who was a Syrian by birth.

is better," he wrote, "to prefer the pious." In revolutionary epochs all governments have followed the same course. But ancient though the practice is, it is not the less unjust, nor the less impolitic; for it makes malecontents or else hypocrites, and in either



CONTORNATE MEDALLION.¹

case the community suffers. These men, whether sincerely or officially "pious," whom Julian seeks for and promotes, will manifest a compromising zeal for paganism. They will make the Emperor appear a persecutor when his firm resolve is to persecute no man. Fortunately, from words to acts the distance is great. Christians are seen to fill the highest offices, even those

which imply the Emperor's full confidence.—like the positions held by Valentinian and Valens, two future Emperors, and by Jovian, who succeeded Julian after serving him as principal lieutenant in the Persian expedition. We therefore have the right to suppose that many other Christians had remained in the administration and in the army, their departure from which would have caused a complete disorganization.²



GROOM OF THE CIRCUS.³

These edicts of Julian had been called forth by a violent attack from Athanasius. When the Alexandrian bishop saw paganism upon the throne, he resolved to abandon the concessions made

¹ Champions in the circus drawing their places by lot. Cf. Charles Robert, *Étude sur les Médaillons contorniates*, 1882, p. 51. See, page 7, the same scene, on the second part of the bas-relief found at Constantinople.

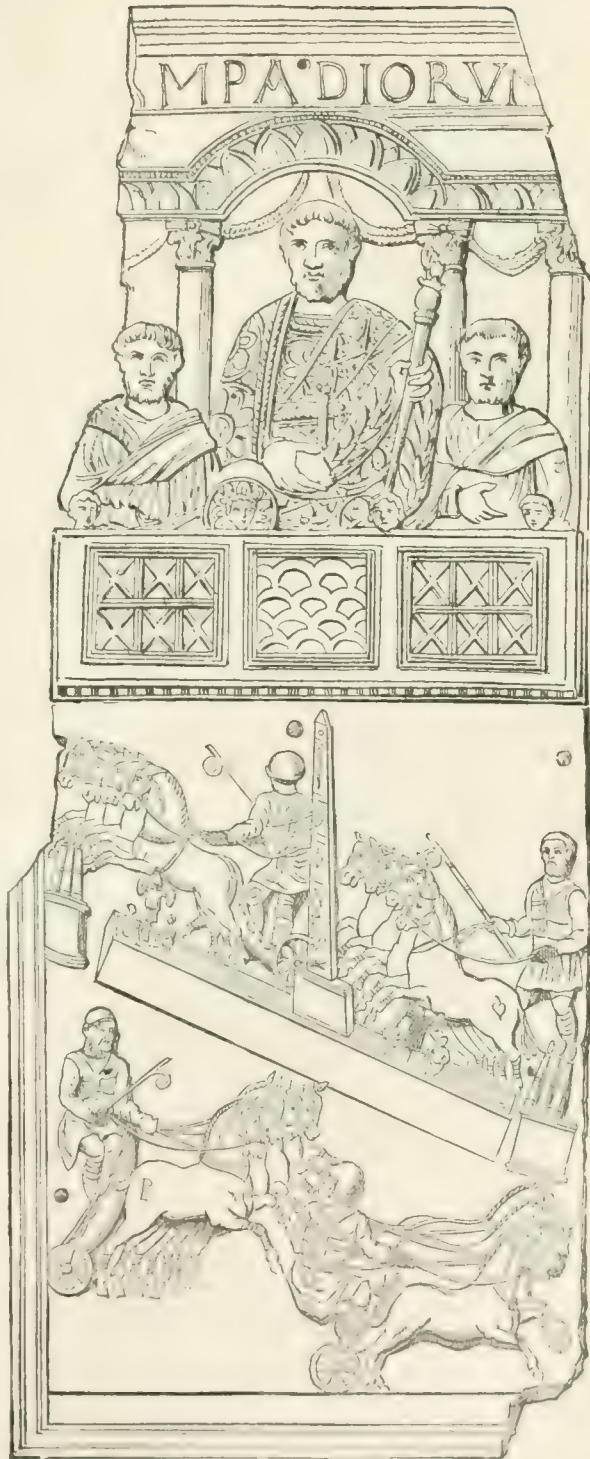
² The ecclesiastical writers mention a disgrace of Valentinian on account of religion; but the candid Tillemont doubts this. Socrates (iv. 1) says in effect the contrary; and his testimony is confirmed by Zosimus (iii. 35, and iv. 2), who tells us that Valentinian was sent by Jovian to announce Julian's death to the legions in Pannonia and Gaul. — whence it is to be inferred that the former was still with the army, and not in exile in Egypt or at Melitene, on the frontiers of Armenia. The first care of a new Emperor was always to make this announcement in all haste to the provinces; and there can be no doubt that Jovian took a messenger who was close at hand. When emperor, Valentinian manifested no very ardent zeal, and his wife, Justina, an Arian, lived on friendly terms with the pagans.

³ Groom of the circus driving four horses. From Agostini, *Genoua*, pl. 193.

by the councils of Elvira and Arles,¹ and to enforce again the old disciplinary laws of the Church which for a half century had fallen into neglect. In 362 he called together an Egyptian council, which reasserted the Nicene creed as the one rule of faith; and to raise an impassable barrier between Christians and pagans, prohibited the former from being present at games in the circus, hunts in the amphitheatre, and scenic representations of any kind, also from taking part in Gentile feasts or even entering public inns, and from taking the oath required by Roman law in courts of justice. As if he sought to make all Christians one great community of monks, Athanasius declared excommunicate *ipso facto* those who served in the army or in the administration.

¹ See Vol. VII. p. 530.

² Games of the circus upon the dyptich of Brescia. Gori, *Thesaur. Vet. dyptichorum*.



GAMES OF THE CIRCUS.

those who should communicate with a soldier, a governor, a trader, or a publican. It was a challenge, and Julian accepted it.¹

This Emperor fights with both hands: as monarch he decrees, as philosopher he argues. His great work against Christianity is placed by Libanius above that of Porphyry, and certain of his arguments have been used again by modern criticism or sarcasm. But while the Emperor was writing this book, say the Church historians, he whom Julian called the carpenter's son was putting together the coffin in which this unbeliever and his gods were to be interred together.²

The measures, the words and writings of Julian naturally had the effect of uniting against him all the Christian sects lately so hostile towards each other, and of making the pagans—who since the reign of Constantine had not dared to defend themselves—feel that the time for reprisals had come. Had he lived longer, there can be no doubt that great tumults would have occurred, although he himself taught toleration to those about him, as on the occasion when, at the altar of his gods and in the midst of a sacrifice, he suffered himself to be insulted with impunity by an aged bishop. His officers sought to gratify him by using the influence of the government in reawakening paganism, which was fast falling into decline. There were stately festivals, sacred hymns,³ processions of young girls marching to the temples flower-laden; but also there were legal proceedings, not always justified by equity or prudence,⁴ and on the part of certain governors a guilty toleration of popular seditions.⁵ In Syria fermented countless germs of trouble. There lived side by side all races, all religions, all sects, with their mortal hatreds; and between the cities existed animosities centuries old. The inhabitants of Gaza, for example,

¹ See, in the *Archives des missions*, 1877, pp. 468 *et seqq.*, the report of M. Revillout in respect to a mission for the study of Coptic manuscripts concerning the Council of Alexandria.

² Sozomenus, vi. 2; Theodoret, iii. 23.

³ See, in the *Misopogon*, sect. 23, the description of one of these pagan displays. In Egypt Julian organized what we should call a great school for sacred music. See his *Letter* 56.

⁴ See Libanius, *Letters* 622, 624, 680, 1,057, and that which he relates (*ibid.* 636) of Theodule, who had built a house on the site of a temple in Antioch, of Orion (*ibid.* 673 and 730), and of Basiliscus (*ibid.*, 669), who had taken part in the pillage of temples.

⁵ Socrates (iii. 14) says: "The governors, wishing to profit by the Emperor's superstition, did more harm to the Christians than had been ordered; they demanded from them greater sums of money than they ought, and used violence towards certain."

never forgave Majuma for the favors which she had received from Constantine.¹ They destroyed her chapels, killed three of her citizens in a riot, and received no punishment for these crimes. In Palestine the Jews made common cause with the pagans in burning churches and destroying the tombs of martyrs; many of the Christians perished in these riots. Those who relate these things had an interest and satisfaction in exaggerating the importance of them; but Amm. Marcellinus says nothing on the subject which authorizes us in the belief that they were less serious than has been asserted, or that they were readily arrested. In the city of Edessa, Arians and Valentinians had come to blows, and the former had pillaged the church of the latter. Julian reconciled them by distributing to the soldiers the stolen treasure, and confiscating the property of the Arian church. "As they are taught," says the Emperor, "in their wonderful law that poverty is the easiest method of entering into the kingdom of heaven, we, for this purpose co-operating with them, have ordered all the wealth of the church of the Edessenes to be confiscated and given to our soldiers, and the lands to be annexed to our domains. Thus being poor, they may become wise, and not fail of that heavenly kingdom to which they aspire."² This irony was out of place on the part of a sovereign and in a rescript which ended with a menace of death for the chief magistrate of the city in case these seditions should occur again. At Damascus, Berytus, Epiphania, and Emesa, churches were burned or transformed into temples. The Bishop of Arethusa, refusing to rebuild a pagan sanctuary destroyed by the Christians, or to furnish the sum necessary for its reconstruction, was shamefully ill-treated; at Heliopolis many Christians perished, at Bostra there were riots,³ at Cappadocian Caesarea executions. The Christians in this latter city had destroyed, as a direct insult to the Emperor, the last temple in which their pagan fellow-citizens could worship;⁴ others, in Phrygia, had broken, in a consecrated place, the statues of the gods. In all three cases the offenders were pun-

¹ See Vol. VII. p. 502.

² Letter 43.

³ In his letter on this subject, Julian advises the populace to expel the bishop from the city as an accuser of the people to the Emperor. The bishop had said that the Christians were restrained only by his exhortations from becoming tumultuous.

⁴ Sozomenus, v. 4.

ished with death.¹ The Christians represented these rioters as martyrs, and such they were; but the pagans could see in them only criminals justly punished.² The Christian sects which had suffered under Constantius—the Donatists in Africa, the Novatians in Asia Minor—attempted to regain possession of their churches as the pagans again obtained their temples.³ These rival competitions augmented the general disorder, and we can only wonder that it was not greater, amidst the violent excitements produced by so many contending creeds.

Springing up suddenly, as popular emotions are so apt to do, these outbreaks could not be prevented, owing to the inefficiency of the local authorities. Julian, who in all his writings attests his desire for peace,⁴ was their involuntary author. He wished gently to restore that past which never can be restored; but scenes took place which remind one of the sad occurrences of which certain of the provinces of France were the theatre less than seventy years ago. The government, by the very fact that it had again become pagan, appeared to authorize corresponding acts of violence with those which Christian Emperors had permitted or ordered; and the pagans, in those cities where they were conscious of being the stronger party, avenged themselves for their long humiliations: it is the inevitable law of historic reactions. It was not, therefore, a persecution, but a series of imprudent measures and angry words, in which too-zealous subordinates saw an encouragement to let go on what it suited them to regard as a legitimate expiation.⁵

¹ Socrates, iii. 15.

² See Vol. IV. p. 465, the explanation of the *crimen majestatis*.

³ See in Socrates (iii. 11) and in Sozomenus (v. 5) the disturbances in Cyzicus, where the Orthodox had destroyed the church of the Novatians.

⁴ In the *Misopogon*, sect. 22, he says that the anger let loose against the impious (the Christians) raged much more fiercely than he had himself wished; and in sect. 27, enumerating the favors he had granted the city of Antioch, he says: "In that which concerns one Christ, I have made you all the concessions which you could expect from a ruler who desires only the good of all men." Sozomenus, however, accuses him of blaming the governor for wishing to punish the ringleaders in a riot; and we shall see later that he himself did not punish the murder of Bishop George at Alexandria.

⁵ G. H. Rendall, who has examined one by one the facts called by ecclesiastical writers acts of persecution, concludes this investigation with the following words: "On judicial survey of the whole evidence in array, it is just to conclude: 1. That no organized or wide-spread persecution prevailed during Julian's reign; 2. that the sporadic instances which occurred were in almost every case provoked, and in part excused, by aggressive acts of Christians;

The Western provinces seem to have been forgotten in this religious strife; at least we hear of no agitation in that quarter, except it be the disturbance made in Gaul by Hilary of Poitiers to secure the acceptance of the Nicene Creed rather than that of Rimini. The East, where the question of Arianism had been so hotly contested, appeared to Julian the great Christian fortress, and he believed that when that had fallen, all the rest would go with it.

The opponents whom Julian attacked were his superiors in strength, for already the mighty theologians were at work, or were preparing for their task, who overthrew the ancient world and began to build a new social edifice,—Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome, and Augustine. The great men of this period were inevitably drawn to the side of Christianity; the pupils of Plato and Porphyry found in the Gospels a living God, who explained for them the Alexandrian abstractions, and permitted them to pass beyond the hypostases of philosophy into the contemplations of faith. The history of the great theologians of the fourth century shows the influence that the Church exercised, even amid high social conditions, by its doctrine of detachment from the world. Saint Ambrose lays down a great civil office to accept the episcopate; Paulinus, a man of consular rank, allows himself to be consecrated bishop of Nola; Chrysostom, son of a general in the army, flees to the desert to escape the worldly distinction which his birth promised him; Basil, who also was in a position to aspire to the highest honors, sells his possessions and distributes the money among the poor and embraces a monastic life, draw-

3. that, while culpably condoning some pagan excesses, the Emperor steadily set his face against persecution; 4. that he never authorized any execution on the ground of religion; that, where his conduct amounted to persecution, he did not abjure, but set a strained interpretation on the laws of toleration which he professed" (*The Emperor Julian, Paganism, and Christianity*, p. 202). A. Naville (*Julien l'Apostat et sa philosophie du polythéisme*) shares this opinion: "We ought to recognize the fact that this reign is one of those in which religious liberty was most respected." Saint Jerome says, in his *Chronicle: Blanda persecutio ceteris magis quam impellens ad sacrificandum*. Another ecclesiastical writer, Socrates, says distinctly (*Hist. eccl.* iii. 12) that Julian forbore to impose tortures and punishments upon the Christians, and Gregory Nazianzen, that this persecution was a short and feeble attack of the devil; Saint Chrysostom speaks only of teachers of schools prohibited from the exercise of their profession, and physicians and soldiers discharged; and Bossuet esteems Julian's government equitable (*Disc. sur l'Hist. univ.*, 1st part, chap. xi.).

ing up for it a code of regulations still in force in the monasteries of the East. Gregory, son of a bishop and the successor to the paternal dignity, persuades his brother, Julian's physician and much trusted by the Emperor, to refuse the senatorial rank and fortune rather than abandon his faith. What mattered to these noble minds, inheritors of all the grace of the Greek genius, the edict withdrawing from Christians the right to teach? The Emperor may close the schools; the letters, the discourses, and the poems of these men are a new literature, read everywhere, full of life and splendor, which has quite another charm than the endless commentaries of the rhetoricians upon the ancient Homer, — faded flowers now, without perfume or color. The Church begins to assume the moral government of the world, and Julian, with his superannuated philosophy and his gods icy with the chill of the tomb, cannot dispute it with her.

“We have the eloquence and the arts of Greece,” he said: “you have ignorance and rusticity.” And Gregory Nazianzen replies to him: “Wealth, honor, authority, — all these earthly advantages, which vanish like a dream, we abandon to you; but we keep the gift of eloquence.” And they did keep it. Listen to Saint Basil describing the retreat where his poetic genius lived with Nature and with God: “My dwelling is upon a hill-top, which is covered with a thick forest where many streamlets rise, and, falling over the rocks in cascades, unite to form a considerable brook, of which the fish furnish me with abundant food at all times. I look down over the valley which lies beneath me, more beautiful than ever was Calypso's island, and full of flowers and the singing of birds. Here I enjoy tranquillity, that greatest of all blessings. I am not disturbed by the noise of cities, and I hear only the sounds made by the hunters who come into the forest; for we have also wild animals, not bears and wolves as upon your mountains, but deer, hares, and wild goats. Here I would gladly remain, as Alcmaeon tarried when at last he had found the Echinades.”¹ From this cheerful landscape his eyes are lifted to Him who made it. He loves to contemplate the stars, — “the flowers which God's hand has scattered through infinite space;” and he exclaims: “If the things that are seen are

¹ In 360 Gregory visited his friend in this delightful retreat.

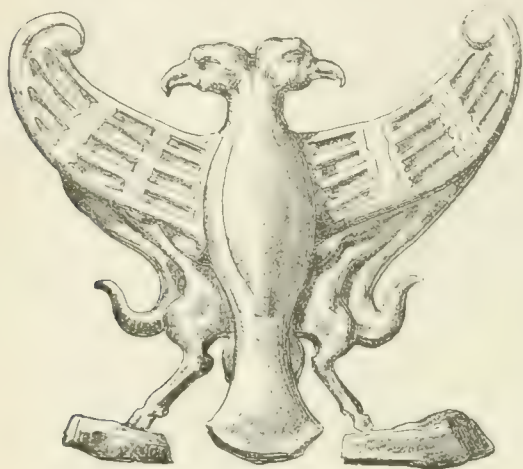
so beautiful, what must the unseen be! If the perishable sun brightens all with its light, what must be the Sun of Divine Righteousness!" In his *Hexameron* — an explanation of the six days of Genesis — and in his *Homilies* upon the Psalms, the Greek inspiration mingles with that which descends from the hills of Galilee, and some of his letters have a truly Attic grace. "Everything comes in its season," he writes to a friend, — "the flowers in spring, the ripe corn in summer, fruit in autumn; the winter fruits are conversations with one's friends."¹

Basil, the first in date of the great Christian orators, was poetical in his eloquence; in many of the innumerable verses² of his friend Gregory Nazianzen we find a pensive sadness not at all native to that violent and passionate age. "My soul," Gregory exclaims, "whence comest thou? Who has bidden thee to carry about a corpse? To-day a man, to-morrow I shall be but dust. If thou art indeed a celestial being, O my soul! teach it to me. One man weeps for his country desolated by war; another, for his house burned by fire from heaven; the maid in her bridal attire laments over the dead body of him who should have been her husband; the mother, who has lost her son now grown to manhood, suffers keener pangs than those of childbirth. And thou, my soul, what lamentation shall be fitting for thy loss! I shall lose the fame of eloquence, the pride of station, pleasures, wealth; I shall leave behind the light of the sun and the stars. — brilliant crown of the earth! — and, an icy corpse, with fillets wrapped about my head, I shall be stretched upon a bed; and after that, under the stone of the tomb, awaiting destruction. But it is not for this that my soul is filled with anxiety; I tremble only before the justice of God." And he goes on in this strain. Finally, he cannot endure his uncertainties: he turns away from them, and hope springs up again in his heart. "Now there is darkness; soon there will be the truth; then, contemplating God, thou shalt

¹ Letter 13.

² More than thirty thousand lines, — which indicates that there is much more prose in them than poetry. The Greek Fathers of the fourth century, sometimes so eloquent, have the endless fluency of their race. Usually pupils of Libanius or Himerius, they retained from the teaching of the rhetoricians the excessive use of comparisons and figures, together with something of Oriental emphasis. But being sustained, as they were, by a mighty reality, their rhetoric, although too highly colored, was often the brilliant decoration of lofty and severe ideas.

know all things.”¹ Like brave soldiers who have gained possession of their adversaries’ weapons, and use them to better advantage, Gregory and Basil captivated by the charm of their language even the most famous pagan rhetorician of the time, Libanius, who had been one of their masters,² and now remained their friend.



DOUBLE-HEADED EAGLE.⁴

Basil, when he became archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia in 369, was still accustomed to send pupils from that province to Libanius, and he wrote thus to him: “I have read your oration, O most learned of men! and I admire it. O muses! O eloquence! O Athens! what gifts ye bestow on those who love you!”³ These Christian disciples of Plato and Homer took pos-

session of half of the domain of art, and their writings, which probably contributed to save from destruction a portion of the classic literature, continue to defend that which remains to us of it against those who would be blinded by excess of light.

These fragments present but one side of their genius, the side to which we call attention to show that a new source of poetry had been opened, and to demonstrate that Julian’s decree as to the schools was doubly a mistake.—first, as being unjust; secondly, as being ineffectual.

¹ Villemain, *L’Éloquence chrétienne au quatrième siècle*; De Broglie, *op. laud.* (book v.), of which an entire chapter (the second) is devoted to Saint Basil; Fialon, *Étude sur Saint Basile*.

² Socrates, iv. 26.

³ Basil, *Letter* 353.

⁴ Bas-relief found in Cappadocia. Texier, *Voy. en Asie Mineure*, pl. 78. The Mohammedan legends seem to have made the double-headed eagle, the Hanca, the emblem of omnipotence, “for he carries off the elephant and the buffalo as the kite carries off a mouse.” The Turks placed this ancient Persian symbol on their standards; the Turcomans of Palestine, on their coins; and later the German Emperors, in their armorial bearings. By a singular freak of fortune the Turkish race saw itself, at Belgrade, at Lepanto, and at Peterwaradin, debarred entrance into the West by that very eagle which had led it to victory on the banks of the Euphrates and the shores of the Bosphorus (De Longpérier, *Œuvres*, i. 102).

We have no occasion to speak of the works which have given to Gregory the surname of the Theologian (Θεόλογος); but we ought to add that this bishop—a restless and dissatisfied mind, a poetic nature delicate and nervous—suffered more than others from the armed resurrection of the enemy whom the Christians had believed destroyed, and that his passionate *Invectives* against Julian, and his poem against the Fathers of the Council of Constantinople, have a character of irascibility which religious polemics early assumed and have retained to this day.

Saint Ephraem was a friend of Basil; but there is nothing Greek either in his language or his ideas, he is entirely Biblical and Oriental. He wrote and spoke in the Syrian language, like one of the old prophets, except that in him mercy and charity take the place of wrath and denunciation. He has the fruitful, inexhaustible imagination of the Oriental story-tellers, and the subtle forms of Arab poetry. His verses were repeated all the way from the Mediterranean seashore to the mountains of Persia; long after his time they continued to be sung, and it is possible are at this day recited in the valleys of the Lebanon on occasion of funeral rites.¹ Saint Ephraem represents the popular poetry, completing with dramatic or tender imagination the severe work of the theologian, and employing the two great Christian forces, love and charity, in uniting souls which disputes of doctors and of synods tend to separate.² This Syrian enthusiast, this poet who knew not Athens, extols, however, like Basil and Gregory, profane learning. “O man!” he says, “read carefully books, that thou mayst obtain wisdom from them. Knowledge weaves a crown for those who love her, and makes them sit upon a kingly throne.”

Synesius, that eccentric bishop, the devoted friend of Hypatia,

¹ A long and very beautiful *Lamentation* by this author is translated by M. Dabas in his *Mémoire sur quelques poésies de S. Ephrem*. The account that Ephraem gives of his first meeting with Saint Basil shows him as the clairvoyant, in modern parlance, whose recollections take the form of voices that he has heard, and apparitions that he has seen. “When I was in Cappadocia a voice said to me: ‘Rise, Ephraem; go and eat thoughts!’ I said, ‘Where shall I find them, Lord?’ And the voice replied: ‘Go to my house; thou wilt there see a royal vase (*βασιλεῖον*, a play upon the word Basil) full of the food that thou requirest.’” Ephraem obeyed, and went to the church; from the porch he perceived a priest addressing the people; on the shoulder of the priest a dove whispered in his ear the words that he should speak, etc. (*De Broglie, op. laud.* v. 182).

² Gregory Nazianzen was not in favor of too-frequent synods; he believed that discussions give birth to heresies.

and so ardent a lover of pagan culture, also composed much poetry ; but he belongs to the subsequent generation.

He who was to take the first rank, the greatest of all the Greek Fathers of the fourth century, by his melodious speech and his often angry eloquence, Saint John Chrysostom, was at this time a boy,¹ who had as yet written nothing. He would, however, already have devoted himself to a monastic life had he not been dissuaded by his mother, Anthusa, who, left a widow at the age of twenty, had been unwilling to remarry, devoting her life exclusively to her son. "My son," she says, "my only consolation has been to see in your face the likeness of him whom I have lost. I ask this favor of you: do not make me a second time a widow; wait until I shall be dead. When you have buried me, laying my remains beside those of your father, then do what pleases you, travel in remote lands and upon any sea; but while I live, endure my presence."² Gentle and tender words are these of a mother who, like many Christian women of the time, exercised a religious influence over her son; but this woman believed that salvation was not irreconcilable with the fulfilment of the duties of family life.

A religion whose Christ was born of a virgin, and among whose earliest believers were holy women who hung upon the Lord's words, who followed him to Calvary, who announced his resurrection, — was sure to appeal to those whom Nature has made to love. In times of persecution they furnished martyrs to the faith, and now they were its apostles. Macrina, sister of Saint Basil, herself an ardent believer, snatched their brother, Gregory Nyssen, from Plato and led him to Christ. The mother of Gregory Nazianzen, Nonna, to convert her husband, by day related to him the Gospel narratives, and at night lulled his sleep with sacred sing-

¹ His birth is said to have occurred on Jan. 14, 347. He was, like Basil and Gregory, the pupil of Libanius, who on his death-bed is reported to have said: "I should have left my school to John had not the Christians stolen him from us" (Sozomenus, viii. 2). Later it was said of him: "It were better the sun should lose his rays than Chrysostom his words." The surname applied to him signifies the Golden-mouthed.

² In his treatise *περὶ Ἱερωσύνης*, i. 2, in vol. i. of the edition of Montfaucon. Chrysostom, like Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory Nyssen, had a disturbed episcopate (398-403). His violent language caused him to be deposed from the see of Constantinople and exiled into a severe climate, where he met his death. He suffered, however, in a just cause; he had refused to condemn the writings of Origen, and was full of gentleness towards heretics, asserting that we should strive against doctrines, and not against persons.

ing, that she might lead his mind to pious visions. And how remarkable was the zeal of Monica, the mother of Saint Augustine; of Fabiola, who employed her wealth in founding a hospital; of Marcella and Felicitas, the correspondents of Saint Jerome; of Demetrias, the richest heiress in Rome, who entered a convent in Carthage; of the devout Eustochia and her mother Paula, "that daughter of the Scipios and the Gracchi, who, preferring Bethlehem to Rome, exchanged the gold of her adornments for a cabin in Judaea!"¹

Other laborers wrought for the spread of the Christian faith. The new religion, which called the flesh accursed, condemned life to be but a preparation for death. This doctrine made men monks.² While the leaders were organizing Christendom into a body, powerful through unity of dogma and discipline, many of those to whom it was taught that the flesh is the soul's prison, and the contemplative life the ideal of perfection, had fled into solitude, there to hasten by macerations, both of body and spirit, their reunion with God. Daily the devout listened to maledictions of the flesh and praise of the ascetic life. All the Fathers of the fourth century urged men into this path: Basil, Ephraem, and Jerome by their instructions and example; Gregory Nazianzen by his poems and sermons; Ambrose and Saint Jerome by their books and their letters on the merits of virginity; Athanasius by the important part he assigned to the monks in his struggle with three Emperors.³ To him the anchorites of the Thebaid were the

¹ It is Saint Jerome who gives Paula this illustrious ancestry; but as he also calls her *Agamemnonis inclita proles*, we may regard the other statement with doubt. Convents at this time were becoming numerous. Saint Ambrose wrote in 377 his three books on *Virginity*; his sister, like the daughter of Paula, consecrated herself to the Lord.

² In respect to pagan and Jewish monks and hermits, see the monograph of M. Brunet de Presles on the *Sérapiéon de Memphis*. Ancient Egypt had also its holy virgins. Plutarch dedicates his treatise on *Isis and Osiris* to a consecrated virgin. A hieroglyphic inscription in the Louvre mentions an abbess of the recluses of Ammon, and a fortunate accident has preserved to us the anathemas pronounced by a pious Egyptian woman against her son who had become a Christian (Revillout, *Cours de langue démotique*, p. 31). Paganism had also its literary women, who honored philosophy and followed its precepts. Of these the most famous are Hypatia of Alexandria, Aselepigenia of Athens, her rival, Aedesia (Suidas, s. v. *Damascius*), Sosipatra, of whom Eumapius says that she was learned, rich, and beautiful (edit. Didot, p. 461), etc. In respect to the monks of Egypt and their miracles, see Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 23.

³ At the same time this ardent friend of the monks is not unaware of the peculiar egotism which is sometimes at the bottom of this solitary devotion. "What answer will you

true people of God. When he contemplates their monasteries scattered along the mountain side, he is seized with Balaam's enthusiasm, and exclaims: "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel!"¹

Hilary of Poitiers goes even further; he sacrifices his own daughter to the new faith. In order to deter her from a marriage which unites all worldly advantages, he writes her a letter in which paternal affection conceals under a flowery garb the bishop's severity. He would have for Abra only the Divine Spouse, "that Youth of marvellous beauty, richer than all the rich of this world, who promises his bride a wonderful robe which renders sickness and old age and death unknown." Saint Jerome cannot allow a mother's heart to his penitents. Paula abandons her children for seclusion from the world; on news that one of them is dead, she weeps because she had deserted the girl, and Saint Jerome says to her with severity: "This grief saddens the heart of Jesus." And he gives her as an example Saint Melanie, who, losing her husband and two children on the same day, sheds not a tear, but says, smiling: "Henceforth I shall be more free to serve the Lord." It is a fierce and ardent faith, which, while it merits heaven, loses earth.

As early as the reign of Aurelian, Anthony had withdrawn into the desert: he was merely a hermit: Hilario, Pachomius, Macarius, Saint Basil, and others organized the cenobitic life, and Martin, a legionary in the time of Constantius, founded in Gaul the first monastery.² Other religions had known this spirit

make," he writes to one of them who refused the duties of the episcopate, "if you leave the people without the bread of life upon which you yourself are feeding? When the Lord cometh, what can you say to him in your own justification?" (*Letter to Dracontius*.) His *Life of Saint Anthony* has made the legendary reputation of this singular personage, who was extremely ignorant, but had the second sight which accompanies hallucination. Athanasius dares not in his own person relate the marvellous and terrible things which took place in the cell of the anchorite, but he makes Saint Anthony himself recite to the assembled monks the story of his conflicts with Satan, or of his too fascinating visions.

¹ [Numbers, xxiv. 24.] Athanasius, *Life of Saint Anthony*, 44. Upon the religious condition of Egypt at this time, see the curious biography of Senuti the Prophet, analyzed from a Coptic manuscript by M. Revillout in the *Revue de l'Histoire des religions*, vol. viii. No. 4, pp. 401 *et seqq.*

² Saint Basil greatly preferred for the monks a life in common rather than that of the hermits. His rule divides the time among prayer, manual labor, and study. His monks aided the secular clergy in preaching, and in their houses the traveller and the poor could always find help.

of self-renunciation, but Christianity alone made it an element of power. In the monasteries her most useful soldiers were trained, — that body of men who so often did her vast service, and also at certain epochs were pioneers of civilization and of scholarship, and in every age offered asylums where noble hearts felt themselves nearer God, and where others found a living grave wherein to hide their griefs and their despair. Before the close of the fourth century Egypt alone had seven or eight hundred monks. How many others there were in Palestine, in Syria, in Asia Minor, Armenia, and Africa! "The cities were depopulated to fill the deserts."¹ These monks had austere virtues, sometimes vices, with which Saint Ephraem reproaches them, and eccentricities of costume, language, and conduct which offended Saint Jerome.² But were held by the people as marks of sanctity. Voluntary poverty, like that of the Buddhists or of the Franciscan friars, has often won the hearts of the multitude, who love this ostentatious contempt for the good things they themselves can never hope to possess; and the self-denial of the monks seemed a

¹ Saint Augustine, who by his preaching propagated the monastic order in Africa, shows in his treatise on the *Morals of the Church* the great number of religious communities which had been formed throughout the Roman world. The Emperors early took the alarm at this desertion from the social life: *Quidam ignaviae sectatores, desertis civitatum muneribus, captant solitudines ac secreta, et specie religionis, cum coetibus monazonton congregantur. Hos . . . erui e latebris . . . mandavimus . . .* (Codex Theod. xii. 1, 63, anno 365). See also the very curious canons of the Council of Gangres in 376, several of which are a condemnation of the excesses of the ascetic life and of the abandonment of family obligations.

² His *Letters* to Eustochius, to the monk Rusticus, and others, are severe upon the vices of the monks. — gluttony and lewdness; but in many other letters he extols the merits of the solitary life. The African Church was disturbed by discussions whether the monastic life should be one of idleness or of industry, and also in respect to the idleness of the wandering monks. Saint Augustine in his *De Opere monachorum*, and in his *Enarrationes in Psalmum CXXXII.*, blames this pious inactivity; at the request of the Bishop of Carthage, he writes against "those hypocrites who, in the dress of monks, wander about the provinces, carrying pretended relics, amulets, preservatives, and expecting alms to feed their lucrative poverty and recompense their pretended virtue." One of his correspondents, the tribune Marcellinus, makes the objection that Christianity, teaching that men should not resist the evil-doer, and, to him that taketh away the coat, should give the cloak also, were advancing a doctrine of morals contrary to the civil law. This was in advance the argument of Bayle, that sincere Christian believers could not found a state capable of enduring. It is true that an anchorite is not a citizen, and that he withdraws himself from the aims of society. But the human mind is, happily, illogical. Christians have been as good citizens and as brave soldiers as a state could wish to have; and counsels of abnegation are always useful, although the precept to turn the left cheek to him who smites the right, has no more put an end to war than the prohibition against usury has brought business to a stand.

testimony to the power within them of the Divine Spirit, and also an expiation of the crimes of the age which they could not prevent. Accordingly, they were extremely popular: for their superior officers, the bishops, they were discreet and valuable messengers; for the laity in stormy times they were ardent auxiliaries against pagans and heretics. "Without the monks," says Sozomenus,¹ "the East would have remained Arian. On one occasion five hundred of them, summoned to Egypt² by the archbishop, came very near killing the prefect." Fasting, ecstacy, visions taken for realities, gave them a robust credulity; and in their cells the Church again recovered that power of miracle-working which no longer was manifested among the secular clergy, now that they lived in the open light of day.

But of all these adversaries the most formidable were the new ideal — the hope of heaven, and love to one's fellow-men, which Christianity had substituted for the old ideal of absolute devotion to the earthly country — and that discipline of the Church which by means of the Christian sacraments held the believer at the most important moments of his life. When the cities had lost even the shadow of their old privileges, another liberty, the right of choosing their religious leaders and of discussing the points of their faith, sprang up in the Christian communities and the councils; religion restored a part of what political events had taken away, and the episcopal office gave back to certain of the great families the influence of which for a long time they had been entirely deprived.³ This further explains the power of the Church, democratic at its base, aristocratic at its summit, and thus gathering into its own hands all the strongest social forces.

Observe also that it was not at all distracted from its religious

¹ vi. 27. Eunapius (*Aedes*.) attributes the fall of paganism to the monks. Concerning their alleged miracles, see Socrates, iv. 24.

² Socrates, vii. 14.

³ Before being bishop, Ambrose had been a governor, Paulinus of Nola a consul, Nectarius a praetor, Synesius the richest citizen of the Cyrenaica, etc. The participation of the people in episcopal elections is constantly noticeable during the fourth century. Also, however, we observe the tendency of the great bishops to reduce as much as possible the popular franchise. Basil and Gregory Nazianzen seek to have the election made exclusively by the clergy, which would place it under the direction and influence of the metropolitan. "These are our affairs," said the elder Gregory to the governor of Caesarea; and Basil wrote: "It is God's right to designate those who shall represent him upon earth" (Gregory, i. 309, 310 (Billy); Basil, *Letters* 28 and 230).

work by the patriotic duties which had been the very life of the old Roman society. Saint Basil wrote: "The monks have shown me how a man can be a stranger to the concerns of this world, and live only in heaven;" and elsewhere: "Man must leave in his soul no earthly affection."¹ When the Empire seemed about to fall in ruins; when the Roman army had been destroyed, an Emperor burned alive, the provinces covered with slaughter and desolation, — this great bishop was absolutely unmindful of the public misfortunes; in his innumerable works there is not one word of patriotism. This conception of life was diametrically opposed to the ideas and sentiments which had made the greatness of Greece and Rome; but it left the mind free for religious propaganda and strifes concerning dogmas. Julian was not thus at liberty. He thought far too much about King-Sun, it is true; but he was compelled also to think about the Franks, the Goths, the Persians, and the administration of a vast empire. Hence he was unable to contend against a faith so ardent, with this paganism which he strove to reconstruct, while giving to it a character which, since it did not spring from the pagan principle, was incapable either of permanency or of growth.

III. JULIAN AT ANTIOCH (JULY, 362, TO MARCH, 363).

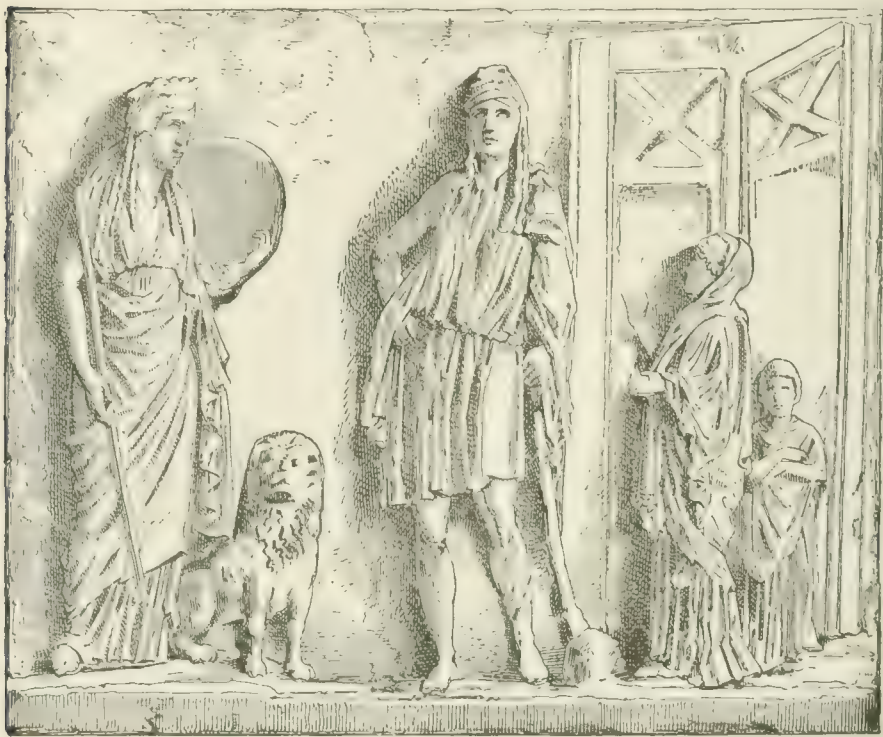
JULIAN remained at Constantinople² till June, 362, at which time he went into Asia to prepare for a great expedition against the Persians. He passed slowly through Asia Minor, bringing help to Nicomedeia, which had just suffered from an earthquake, visiting Pessinus (where he worshipped the Bona Dea, and wrote a treatise explaining the singular amours of Cybele and Atys), Ancyra, Cappadocian Caesarea³ (at the foot of Mount

¹ *Letter 223.*

² Zosimus (iii. 11) says he remained there ten months; but Amm. Marcellinus (xxii. 9) represents him as arriving in Antioch at the time of the festival of Adonis, which occurred in July.

³ At Caesarea had just taken place a tumultuous episcopal election, which displeased him, because the person selected was one of the most important citizens, who was thus withdrawn from the senate. Julian wished to annul the election. The old Bishop of Nazianzen,

Argæus, the highest peak of Asia Minor). and the city of Tarsus. the last stage of the journey before reaching Antioch. On the way he filled, as occasion required, the rôle of judge. and did it well. In Ancyra he caused a Christian, Basil by name, to undergo



CYBELE AND ATYS.¹

the punishment of the rod; but this man had insulted the imperial majesty with invocations of evil, which, according to law and to old religious ideas, was nothing less than treason. "Jesus Christ will quickly punish thee; thou shalt die in torments, and thy body, left without burial, shall be trodden under foot."² A

father of Gregory, remonstrated, and Julian let the matter drop (Gregory Nazianzen, i. 309. edit. of Billy).

¹ The Mother of the Gods and Atys, the divine shepherd, receiving the prayers of the devout. We have already remarked that to indicate divine personages it was usual to represent them of height superior to that of their worshippers. This was a Greek usage. Cf. *Bull. de corresp. hellén.* No. VII. p. 562. (Museum of Venice.)

² xxii. 10; Sozomenus, v. 12. These excesses of language were not unusual; the most saintly men authorized them by their example. Saint Jerome calls Julian "a mad dog;" and the two *Invectives* of Gregory Nazianzen are extremely violent. In the case of the *Acts* of Saint Basil of Ancyra, Tillemont (iv. 698) does not affirm their authenticity.

count, hoping to gain the Emperor's favor, put the zealot to death. Sozomenus declares that the act was not authorized; and we shall see later that Julian was resolved to have no martyrs.

MOUNT ARGÆUS.¹

considering such dead enemies much more dangerous than living ones. Formerly there had been but one master of the Empire whom it was necessary to respect in word and act; now there were two, and the Christians gave obedience to the second only, whenever the first displeased them.

¹ This mountain, over thirteen thousand feet high, is an extinct volcano; the scoriae which cover its sides show that it was once formidable. In the time of Strabo, and even in the fifth century of the Christian era, it was occasionally active. Caesarea (Kaisariëh), on the Kara-Sou, an affluent of the Kizil-Irmak, was at a height of 3,280 feet above the sea.

Julian entered Antioch on the day when the city was celebrating with great pomp the festival of Adonis. He showed him-

self unmindful of personal insults, refused to hear an accusation against one of the spies who had betrayed Gallus, and dismissed without a severe word a decurion who had asked of Constantius the head of the Gallic Caesar, that he might set it on the walls of his city as a trophy. The man was filled with terror. "Fear not!" the new Augustus said to him; "if I have enemies, I seek to diminish their number."¹ He had not, however, that foolish good-nature which blunts the sword of justice. Two conspirators were executed, and several hated agents of the cruelties of Constantius, — among these the notary



ADONIS AND APHRODITE.²

Gaudentius, the vicar Julianus, and the duke of Egypt, Artemius, who had been guilty of extortion, pillage, and murder. This duke appears to have had as an accomplice in some of his crimes, George the semi-Arian bishop of Alexandria.³ On learning that

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 14. See Julian's *Letter 59*.

² From a vase found at Corinth (Museum of Berlin). O. Rayet, *Mon. de l'art antique*.

³ Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 11: *Alexandrini . . . vipereis, ut ita dixerim, morsibus ab eo saepius appetiti*. The Catholics accused George of having required fees for baptisms, burials, and the like, and of having secured the monopoly of salt, papyrus, and saltpetre. The Arians had brought like complaints against Athanasius. These abuses perhaps had arisen out of certain innocent usages of the Alexandrian Church which were represented as monopolies unfavorable to the merchants of the city. There remains, however, the testimony of Amm. Marcellinus against Bishop George.

Artemius had been beheaded in Antioch, the pagan populace rushed upon the bishop, perhaps aided by some of the Catholic party, and tore him in pieces.¹ This sedition deserved punishment: but the victim was a bishop, and Julian contented himself with addressing a homily to the Alexandrians, in which were, however, threats against those who in future should violate the law. This indulgence was neither just nor wise.

George being dead, Athanasius returned to Alexandria and took possession of his see.² His presence was at once marked by new discussions, another council, and a twentieth creed, prepared this time in a manner to satisfy some of the Arian party, but offensive to the extremists like Lucifer of Cagliari. The pagans of the city were displeased, and complained to the Emperor, communicating to him the violent commentary that Athanasius had added to some of the acts of the council.³ Julian replied to them by the following edict: "One who had been banished by so many imperial decrees should have waited at least for one edict before he returned home, instead of contumeliously insulting the laws, as if there were none in being. For we have not allowed the Galilaeans who were banished by the divine Constantius to return to their churches, but only to their countries. Yet I hear that the most audacious Athanasius, with his usual insolence, has again usurped what they call the episcopal throne, and that this has not a little displeased the people of Alexandria. We therefore command him to depart from the city on the very day that he shall receive the letter of our clemency; and if he remain there, he may expect a much severer punishment."⁴ The Alexandrian Christians cried out against this fourth banishment of their bishop, and Julian addressed them a letter, in which he says: "If you will listen to my admonitions, my joy will be very great; but if you still persevere in that superstitious

¹ Amm. Marcellinus (*ibid.*) speaks only of pagans. Gregory Nazianzen (*Discourses*, xxi. 26) seems to say that the Catholics had a share in the tragedy. At this we cannot wonder, the hatred of the Orthodox against George, as the successor of Athanasius, was equal to that felt by the pagans for him as a Christian bishop.

² It is believed that he was the first to take the title of archbishop (*Art de vérifier les dates*, iii. 468).

³ See above, pp. 185, 186.

⁴ Letter 28.

institution of designing men, agree at least among yourselves, and do not desire Athanasius. There are many of his disciples who are abundantly able to please your itching ears, desirous as they are of such impious discourses. Any one whom you may select from the people, in what relates to expounding the Scriptures, will be by no means inferior to him. But if you are pleased with the shrewdness of Athanasius (for I hear the man is crafty), and therefore have petitioned, know that for this very reason he was banished. That such an intriguer should preside over the people is highly dangerous. I ordered him formerly to leave the city, but I now banish him from all Egypt;"¹ and Julian wrote to the prefect: "If that enemy of the gods does not leave Alexandria, or rather Egypt, before the kalends of December, the cohort that you command shall be fined a hundred pounds of gold."²

If the distinction made by Julian between the return of exiles into their cities and their restoration to their former positions, was contained in the letters of recall,—and we cannot doubt that it was, since the Emperor affirms it, and its reason is comprehensible,—Athanasius was in the wrong, and Julian might justly reproach him with a violation of the law.³

At Antioch the Emperor restored the temple of Apollo, which stood in the beautiful grove of Daphne, just outside the city.⁴ A fire—set by a flash of lightning, the Christians asserted; by an imprudent worshipper, says Amm. Marcellinus—destroyed it. Julian

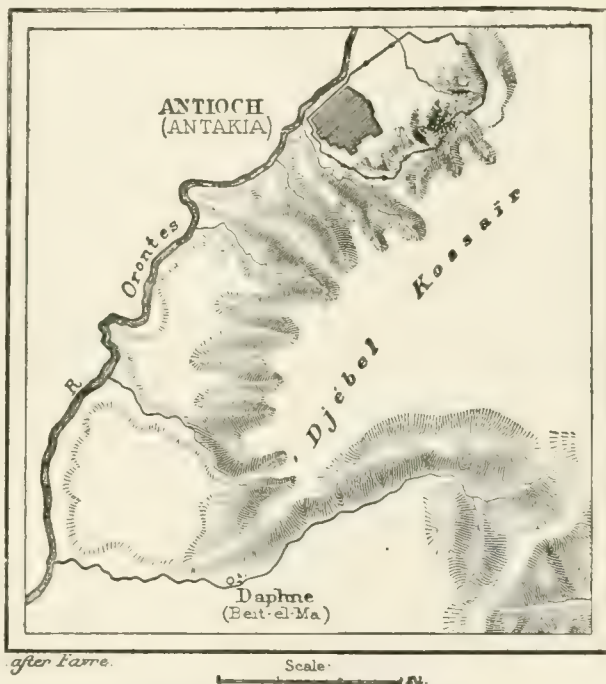
¹ Letter 51.

² Letter 6. I have already mentioned (page 10, note 2) this strange administrative method, the fine, which is the sole punishment of Barbaric times, and was so in the Middle Ages. Cf. the law of the Franks, and for the Middle Ages, Seignobos, *Le Régime féodal en Bourgogne*.

³ Another proof exists in the fact that Athanasius did not take advantage of the recall of the exiles to return to Alexandria so long as George lived; that is, while the episcopal chair was occupied. If Julian had designed to restore it to him in ending his time of exile, he would have begun by expelling George,—a measure quite after the manner of Constantius, but not characteristic of Julian. Moreover, Athanasius was a most unruly subject to any authority which did not please him. Being banished from Alexandria by Julian, he openly left his place of exile, say the historians (Socrates, iii. 14; Theodoret, iii. 8; Sozomenus, v. 15; Rufinus, i. 3, 4), returned by night to Alexandria, and concealed himself in the city. The Roman Church, which has profited by his perseverance, is justified in making him a hero and a saint; but may no state ever again know so turbulent a prelate!

⁴ Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 13; Libanius, *Upon the Temple of Apollo*; and Theodoret, iii. 11, 12. Daphne is supposed to have been the modern Beit-el-Mâ.

had no doubt that this destruction was, like that of the palace in Nicomedeia in Diocletian's reign, the work of "the Galilaeans," and certain devout authors maintain that he took his revenge by a cruel persecution. These writers depict the Orontes as filled with the dead bodies of the martyrs; in wells and cellars and in unfrequented recesses of the palace there are the remains of murdered Christians, skulls of children and maidens who had been offered in sacrifice. The pagans had long accused their adversaries of sacrificing children in nocturnal orgies; they were now in turn pursued by the same foolish accusation: it is the ordinary justice of partisans. But against these lying accusations the life of Julian



MAP OF ANTIOCH AND DAPHNE

and his whole moral nature protest,—an historic document also, and most precious in judging an emperor. By way of reprisals upon the destruction of the Daphnean temple, he closed the great Arian church of Antioch and confiscated its possessions,—in execution, perhaps, of the decree in respect to restitutions; and to discover the incendiaries he ordered a number of Christians to be put to torture. One of them, Theodoret, was executed: four soldiers had already undergone the same fate for insults offered to the gods, and probably also to the Emperor. Theodoret had called him a tyrant and the most contemptible of men.¹ Some refusal of military obedience from conscientious scruples, as we have seen in the time of Diocletian, had caused the death of the soldiers, and the words of Theodoret were

¹ Dom Ruinart, *Actes de Théodoret*.

treason; the ancient laws therefore authorized these unjust sentences. Julian had repeatedly declared that he would use no violence against the Christians, and yet one of the Christian clergy had just fallen by the sword. The Emperor was angry with the judge, who was his uncle. "What have you done?" he said. "Do you not know that I am displeased by these executions? What will they not say against me now that you have made a martyr?"¹ His friends regarded the matter in the same light that he did. Libanius deploras that by the tortures inflicted on Mark of Arethusa the latter had been raised to the rank of a demigod: and he wrote to the governor of Phoenicia: "Set Orion at liberty: do not make a saint of him."² This was the new policy: it was not destined to succeed any better than that of Diocletian, but it was milder. We find it at work in transferring the remains of the martyr Babylas, whose tomb was in the grove of Daphne. "Apollo," says Libanius, "not being able to endure the vicinity of this dead body, had quitted his temple, and the Castalian spring gave no more oracles."³ When Julian brought back into the sacred valley the old pomp of pagan worship, he purified the enclosure according to the rites employed by the Athenians at Delos,⁴ and ordered the removal of any dead bodies that had been interred there. Babylas in his turn quitted the grove; the Christians took up his body and carried it in solemn procession to a church in Antioch. The Emperor saw this funeral train and the angry eyes of the Christians; he heard the chanting of psalms, chosen designedly for their malediction of the impious man, but he did nothing to disturb this pious and hostile ceremony. As he found it advantageous not to increase the number of the martyrs, he did not interfere with those who did them honor; and this gives us the right to conclude that the relics of the Christian dead were profaned only in public outbreaks, without orders from the Emperor and contrary to his wishes. But he became anxious lest these funeral ceremonies might become to both parties an

¹ Some months after the death of this magistrate the Emperor again says of him, in the *Misopogon*, sect. 25, that "he did not manage the affairs of the city with the utmost prudence."

² *Letter* 1,657.

³ Libanius, *On the Temple of the Daphnean Apollo*.

⁴ . . . *Eo ritu quo Athenienses insulam purgaverant Delon* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 12).

opportunity to display their numerical strength and an occasion of conflicts: accordingly, a decree prohibited funerals by day.¹ His policy was much better than his philosophy; the latter had led him to say with Iamblichus: "It is not fitting to deal with those who deny the gods as one deals with men; we should strike them down like wild beasts." The experience of the ruler had mitigated the violence of the sectary; changes for the better, of a nature like these, are not without parallel in all ages.

Meantime he loaded Antioch with favors,—a remission of all arrearages of taxation: a diminution of one fifth in the assessment: a distribution among the poor citizens of three thousand lots of land (doubtless the common lands, by which the rich alone had hitherto profited); an increase of the senate by the addition of two hundred new curiales, so that municipal burdens, divided among a larger number, would be less heavy to each individual.² To remove the danger of a threatened famine, he obtained great quantities of corn from Egypt; and to restore order in the city's finances, he placed honest and capable men in charge of them. But in the hope of keeping down the ever-increasing prices of commodities, and what he calls the insatiable cupidity of proprietors, he fixed a *maximum*,—a bad measure, which interfered with the customary provisioning of the city, rendered food scarce, and raised the popular displeasure to the greatest height.³ In this sensual and frivolous city, whose real religion was pleasure, all, pagans and Christians, were about upon a level; all blamed the Emperor for the severity of the seasons. He had already offended them by his contempt for their favorite amusements, the circus and the theatre, by his affectation of coarse attire, his scrupulous piety, and, most of all, the austerity of his life. Soon he became an object of ridicule; he was called a bear, a hairy ape, and, in

¹ . . . *Per confertam populi frequentiam et per maximam insistentium densitatem* (*Codex Theod.* ix. 17, 5). The pretext given is not the same which we suggest; but the date of the decree (Feb. 12, 363) shows that the idea was connected with the public demonstration in the case of Babylas. The prohibition of funerals by day was a return to the custom of early days (Servius, *Ad Aen.* XI. 193), which had always prevailed in the case of the poor (Festus, s. v. *Vespae*; Suetonius, *Dom.* 17).

² *Codex Theod.* xii. i. 53. He had done this same thing at Constantinople (*Letter* 11), and in the case of arrearages in Thrace and Africa (*Misopogon* and *Letter* 47).

³ Julian, *Misop.* 13, 25, 28, 39. Antioch had distributions of "perpetual bread." Malalas, xii. 289.

allusion to his numerous sacrifices, a victim-killer.¹ For insults less than these, Licinius, it is said, caused two thousand inhabitants of Antioch to be put to death; Julian avenged himself by



BRONZE LAMP.²

a satire. But an Emperor should never take revenge, even in a way like this.

The *Misopogon*, or "The Enemy of the Beard,"³ of which the idea is ingenious, would be a charming production had it not a tiresome length, showing that Julian did not take time to be brief.

¹ He merited this appellation by the number of victims which he sacrificed. See Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 12 and 14. He shared in the processions, surrounded by devotees, *stipatus mulierculis* (*id. ib.*), — words which Gregory Nazianzen (*Disc. upon Saint Basil*, 14), as might have been expected, translates as meaning women of immoral lives.

² Bronze lamp found at Paris in 1863 in a sort of columbarium. This lamp (which perhaps is not really an antique) is now in the British Museum; but a reproduction of it may be seen in the Musée Carnavalet.

³ Written in January or February 363.

He wrote rapidly, and boasts of this, — a twofold conceit, which hindered him from writing well. "Archilochus and Alcaeus," he says, "alleviated the weight of their cares by railing at their enemies. The law, however, forbids me, as well as every one else, to reproach any one by name, even among those who, since I have in no respect injured them, are unjustly the aggressors. . . . But no law forbids my writing a panegyric or a satire upon myself, — though if I were desirous of praising myself I could not; but blame I can, in many cases. And first I will begin with my face. To this, formed by Nature not over beautiful, graceful, or becoming, my own perversity has added this long beard, — to punish it, as it were, for not being handsome. . . . Furthermore, my hair is rough and seldom combed, my nails are unpared, and my fingers are usually black with ink. . . . Not satisfied with such an uncomely person, I lead a very rigid life. I absent myself from the theatre through mere stupidity, nor do I allow a play at court, such a dolt am I, except on the kalends of the year, — when I resemble a poor farmer bringing his rent or taxes to a rapacious landlord; and when I am there, I seem as solemn as at a sacrifice. . . . To add something further, I have always hated horse-races as much as a debtor hates the forum. . . . As to domestic affairs, sleepless nights on straw, and food less than enough give a severity to my manners totally repugnant to a luxurious city, . . . — a city in which there are many dancers, many

STATUE FOUND AT PARIS.¹

¹ Statue found at Paris (Lutetia) in 1833, in the Rue des Fossés-Saint-Jacques (Museum of Cluny).

pipers, more players than citizens, and no respect for rulers. . . . All these are handsome, smooth, and beardless; all, both young and old, imitate the pleasures of the Phacacians, and prefer luxury and revelry to what is just and right. 'Do you think, Julian,' you say to me, 'that your rusticity, savageness, and moroseness are agreeable to us? Is your soul so foolish that you think it requires the ornaments and trappings of wisdom? First tell us, for we know not, what wisdom is. With the name only we are acquainted, but of its meaning we are ignorant. If it be that which you now practise, it consists in enforcing subordination to the gods and the laws, in teaching equals to bear with equals, in observing moderation, in preventing the poor from being oppressed by the rich, and for these purposes stifling resentment, encountering enmity, anger, and reproaches,—in short, supporting all these with firmness, without being provoked or giving way to passion, but keeping it as much as possible under due subjection. . . . If this be wisdom, you ruin yourself and would also ruin us. The very name of servitude, either to the gods or the laws, disgusts us. Liberty is sweet in all things. . . . You say that you are not Lord (*dominus*), and you cannot endure the name. You resent it so much that you have induced many to banish it from the empire as invidious; yet you oblige us to obey the magistrates and the laws. How much better would it be for us to call you Lord, and be allowed freedom in fact! O mild in appearance, but in deeds most cruel! how unmerciful it is to require moderation from the rich in the courts of justice, and to restrain the poor from slander! By abolishing the stage, the players, and the dancers, you have ruined our city, . . . but we have succeeded by our scurrility, transfixing you with sarcasms as with arrows. If you are thus intimidated by our taunts, how will you be able to sustain the darts of the Persians?'"

Julian then refers to the story that Seleucus, the founder of their city, resigned his wife, the beautiful Stratonice, to his son Antiochus, who was dying of a guilty passion for his young step-mother. "That his posterity should resemble their founder," the Emperor says, "is not blamable; for among men the manners of the descendants are likely to be similar to those of their ancestors. . . . I myself am descended from the Mysians, who are abso-

lutely inelegant, boorish, austere, uncivilized, and obstinately tenacious of their opinions, —all which are people of lamentable rusticity. . . . Let me turn your resentment against my governor, who when I was a boy inculcated those moral lessons. He is the cause of all your dislike to me, having fixed, or, as it were, carved upon my mind what I ought to shun. He exerted himself with the utmost earnestness, calling rusticity gravity, and stupidity temperance, saying that to resist the passions is fortitude, and that the gratification of them does not constitute happiness. He used to say to me: 'Do not suffer yourself to be attracted to the theatre by the crowd of your companions, nor be enamoured of such entertainments. Do you wish to see a chariot-race? It is elegantly described in Homer; open the book and read. Do you hear of pantomime-dances? Away with them! The Phæacian youths [whose dances are described in the *Odyssey*] are less effeminate. You have there the harper Phemius, and the singer Demodocus. His trees too are more delightful to the ear than ours to the eye; and the woody island of Calypso, and the groves of Circe, and the garden of Alcinoüs, be assured you will see nothing more enchanting.'

"Would you know the name and race of this governor? He was a Barbarian, a Scythian. . . . At seven years of age I was intrusted to his care. From that time he persuaded me that this was the only right way; and as he himself would not know nor would suffer me to pursue any other, he has exposed me to your resentment. . . . Whatever manners I have formed, whether gentle or boorish, it is impossible for me to alter or unlearn. Habit is said to be second nature; to oppose it is wearisome: but to counteract the study of more than thirty years is extremely difficult, especially when it has been imbibed so carefully." And he goes on at great length, turning into ridicule the effeminate and scandalous lives of the people of Antioch.

Possessed with a mania for arguing and writing, Julian at times forgot that he was the ruler. At Lutetia he did well to relieve the tedium of the inactivity forced upon him by Constantius by giving part of his time to study; but an Emperor should not have his fingers always ink-stained. We are not pleased to find him, at Constantinople, writing treatises upon King-Sun and upon the Cynics;

at Pessinus. an oration upon Cybele: at Antioch. the *Misopogon* and a work against the Christians which was employed by the infidels of the eighteenth century against the Bible and the dogmas



IVORY TABLETS.¹

of the Church; and lastly. we know not where, the *Cæsars* and quite a number of books now lost, which the Christians perhaps destroyed. as we know that they erased passages from those which remain to us. He says indeed that in this literary labor he

¹ Triumphant march of King-Sun and of the Moon giving light to the world. Ivory tablets of the fourth century used as a book-cover from the Library of Sens (Jules Labarte, *Hist. des Arts industriels*, vol. i. pl. xv.).

employed his nights only. But if these works, always moral, but often confused, — with the exception of the last-named, which is the best, — were written by night, they must have been meditated by day; and they give us reason to fear that in the idleness of the palace his mind — at once alert, satirical, and mystical — took pleasure in pointing sarcasms rather than in preparing decrees, and that public affairs were less attractive to him than were scrupulously performed devotions, Alexandrian reveries, or the investigation of the future in the entrails of sacrificed animals. He loves Plato, — a charming guide, though not always a safe one, — and Aristotle is to him the second column of the temple built by Hellenism to philosophy and pure religion;¹ but the firm intellect of the Stagyrte at times displeases the imperial dreamer. “Aristotle,” he says, “has made only feeble attempts to inquire as to what is beyond;”² and this search is the sum of Julian’s philosophy. His faith in oracles and omens is strong. After speaking of the miracle which signalized the entrance of Cybele into Rome, he adds: “Unbelievers may say that these are old women’s stories; but as for me, I confide more willingly in the popular testimony than in these subtle minds which see nothing as it really is.”³ This credulity, good for a devotee, is to be regretted in a ruler; for it makes it impossible for him to take a clear view of subjects. Matters of that time, so singularly confused, needed the keen inspection of a statesman, and not the subtle meditations of an Emperor whom his friends called “the great philosopher” (φιλοσοφώτατος).⁴

Among the lost works of Julian, the most important is his *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*, a refutation of the Gospels. All the copies of it that could be found were destroyed by order of the Emperor Theodosius II., and we have only a few extracts from the first three books which Saint Cyril preserves in his Reply. The principal historic interest attached to this work is that it doubtless suggested a design which made great stir in the world. The men of the Old Dispensation felt the bitterest hatred towards those of the New. This animosity of the Jews against the Christians gave the former importance in the eyes of Julian; and to do them a favor which would at the same time prove the inanity of the Gospels, he pro-

¹ Julian, *Letter* 55.² *Cybele*, 5.³ *Cybele*, 1.⁴ Theodoret, iii. 15.

posed to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem which had been condemned by Jesus.¹ The work began, but a miracle brought it to a stop. Balls of fire coming out of the ground dispersed the workmen. Amm. Marcellinus relates this; but the old soldier, whom we must believe when he tells us what he himself has seen, is naïvely credulous on the subject of omens and portents. Asia Minor and Syria were about that time, as often happened, shaken by earthquakes, which twice within a few years destroyed Nicomedeia. Many cities in Palestine, Libya, Sicily, and Greece suffered severely.² Alexandria narrowly escaped destruction by a tidal wave, and for many years preserved the memory of it in an "earthquake festival." Did Mount Moriah also feel the shock of these subterranean forces? It is possible. Shall we suppose that gases, formed by the decomposition of organic matter in recesses of the earth closed for centuries, took fire on contact with the oxygen of the air when the pickaxe of the laborer broke through the soil? This is at least probable. The Christians, eager to assert a fulfilment of the Gospels' prophecy against the temple, were likely to have added to the natural phenomena circumstances of marvel, whose story, spreading rapidly, reached the historian. The expedition against the Persians and Julian's death preventing the resumption of the work, the malediction which Christ pronounced against the temple of Jehovah seemed to have been fulfilled.

IV. THE PERSIAN WAR; DEATH OF JULIAN.³

MEANWHILE Julian had not forgotten that the conqueror of the Franks and the Alemanni had the long-continued insults of the Persians to avenge, and to prevent their repetition by over-

¹ The collections of Julian's works contain a letter to the Jews (No. 27) which has caused legitimate doubts to commentators. The idea of making Jerusalem his capital and of adoring the God of the Mosaic revelation, whom elsewhere he treats with such disdain, and who is the absolute negation of his polytheism, could never have entered Julian's mind.

² Cf. Libanius, who speaks of many earthquakes in Palestine in the time of Julian, and Amm. Marcellinus, xxii. 13, xxiii. 1. Constantinople was also shaken, and Nicaea nearly destroyed, on the fourth of the nones of December. It is noteworthy that Saint Jerome makes no mention of a miracle.

³ Libanius, *Letter* 1,186, and Amm. Marcellinus, books xxiii., xxiv., and xxv. 1-4.

throwing that warlike king who for a quarter of a century had made life so hard for the dwellers on the eastern frontier of the Empire. The West was now tranquil; Sallust kept watch over the Gallic provinces, and upon the Rhine and the Danube the Barbarians, who were audacious only when the Emperor was effeminate, dared not stir. Fame had carried far the name of the young conqueror who had become the dreaded chief of the Roman world. All the nations bordering on the frontiers had sent him embassies and presents. These had even come from India; and the tribes of independent Mauretania had sought to be received into the Empire. As soon as the Emperor arrived in Constantinople, his courtiers proposed to him an expedition against the Goths. "I shall go," he said, "against more formidable enemies. Let the slave-traders deal with those men." Along the Danube Julian renewed the defensive policy of Diocletian; in Thrace and on the river-banks he repaired all the fortresses, provisioned them amply, and supplied them with an abundance of weapons and clothing, and also secured to the soldiers their regular pay. "While this great monarch reigned," says Amm. Marcellinus, "not a Barbarian crossed the frontier."²

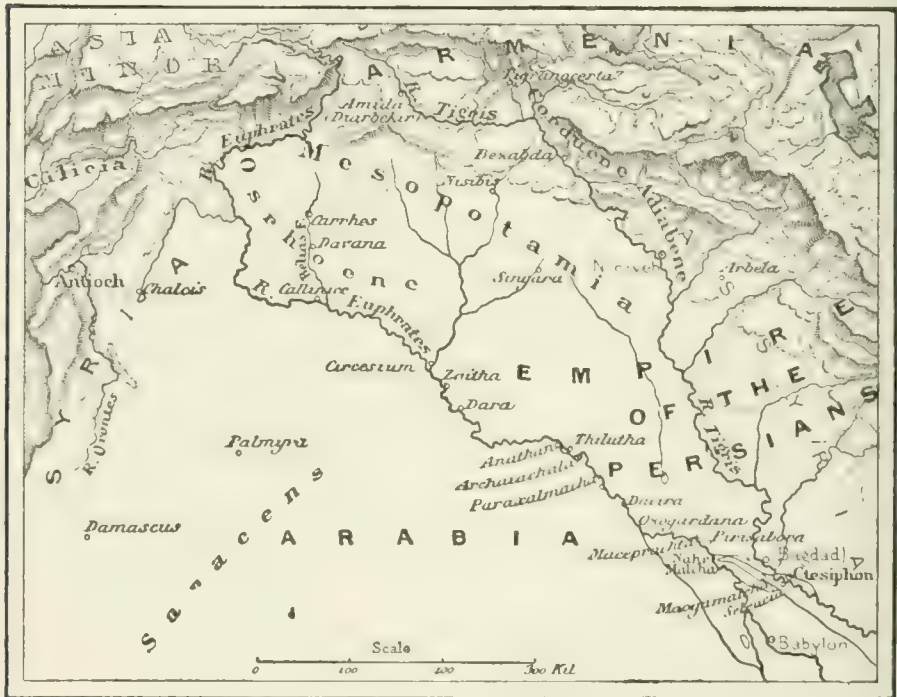
JULIAN.¹

During the winter of 362 the preparations for the Persian expedition were completed. Sixty thousand men were collected under the standards; more than a thousand transport vessels, fifty fighting galleys, and many barges for constructing bridges, had been assembled upon the Euphrates. On the 4th of March Julian left Antioch; but he did not leave behind him displeasure against the city, for he gave it for governor "a man of turbulent and fierce disposition, saying that he had indeed not deserved such a post, but that the Antiochans, being covetous and insolent, required such a governor." He set out on his journey accompanied by his habitual travelling companions, — certain books of Plato, which fed his mind with lofty thoughts and refreshing poetry. "The spring has returned," he writes to

¹ Julian in military costume and crowned by a Victory. Reverse of a silver coin (Cohen, vol. vi. pl. xi. No. 4).

² xxii. 7 and 9.

a friend: "the trees are again covered with leaves, the swallows appear, and they invite the soldier out of his winter-quarters, and send us over the frontiers." And to another: "I have taken a well-shaded road, where there are many brooks and springs of water. At noon we halt, and repose under the tall plane-trees and cypresses, and I read the *Phædrus*, or some other of Plato's dialogues."¹



MAP FOR JULIAN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PERSIANS.

He had appointed a rendezvous at the city of Carrhae, situated on the farther side of the Euphrates, upon the road to Nisibis, thus leaving the enemy uncertain as to the direction which the Romans might intend to take; and here he divided his troops into two armies. Eighteen thousand² men under Procopius, his kinsman, marched due east into Upper Mesopotamia, there to act upon the

¹ Letters 69 and 74.

² Amm. Marcellinus (xxiii. 3) says 30,000; Libanius (*Letter* 108), 20,000; Zosimus (iii. 12), 18,000; Magnus (*Fragm. Hist. Grecor.* iv. 4), 16,000, — a more probable number, since this corps accomplished nothing. Zosimus (iv. 4) says expressly that Procopius was to rejoin Julian.

left bank of the Tigris, and thence march southward towards Ctesiphon; and Arsaces, king of Armenia, received orders to join Procopius with his contingent. Julian, however, rejected the proposition of the Saracens, offering troops on condition that the former subsidies should be again paid them. "I have no gold," he said to them. "I have only iron;" and he sent them away.¹ With his main army and the fleet, he himself sailed down the Euphrates.² By way of the river he would come into a region not indeed the centre of the hostile kingdom, but through its agriculture the most fertile, and by its memories the most sacred, portion of Persia.

In this expedition Julian displayed all his military virtues,—the vigilance of an old general, the courage of a soldier (even to killing enemies with his own hand), bravery kept in check by prudence until the last day, and a temperance which allowed no man to murmur when provisions became scarce. Every encounter turned to the advantage of the Romans; the strongholds, battered down by powerful engines, were carried by assault or undermined. Great engineering works cleared and brought back water to the Naharmalcha,—a canal connecting the Euphrates with the Tigris, which the enemy had drained and filled with stones; and thus the fleet, which carried the army's supplies, its engines, and its sick and wounded, enabled it to traverse a country otherwise impassable. The Tigris near Ctesiphon³ is a broad and rapid river, and its eastern shore was defended by the troops of the Surena.

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xxv. 6: . . . *Ad similitudinem præteriti temporis.*

² Amm. Marcellinus indicates his route by the fortress of Davana upon the Belias, Callinicus on the Euphrates, and Circesium at the confluence of the Chaboras and the Euphrates. Beyond this city began the Persian frontier, defended by strong posts, — Ziatha, Dura, Anatha (on an island in the river), Thilutha (also an island), Achaicala, Paraxmaleha, Diacira, Ozogardana (which still preserved a tribunal of the Emperor Trajan), Macepraeta, Pirsabora (an island), and Maogamalcha, where the Emperor himself narrowly escaped falling into an ambush. At this point the Roman army was ninety stadia distant from Ctesiphon. I have followed Amm. Marcellinus in this list of names, of which Sievers (*Studien zur Geschichte der röm. Kaiser*, pp. 239–262) has made a particular study.

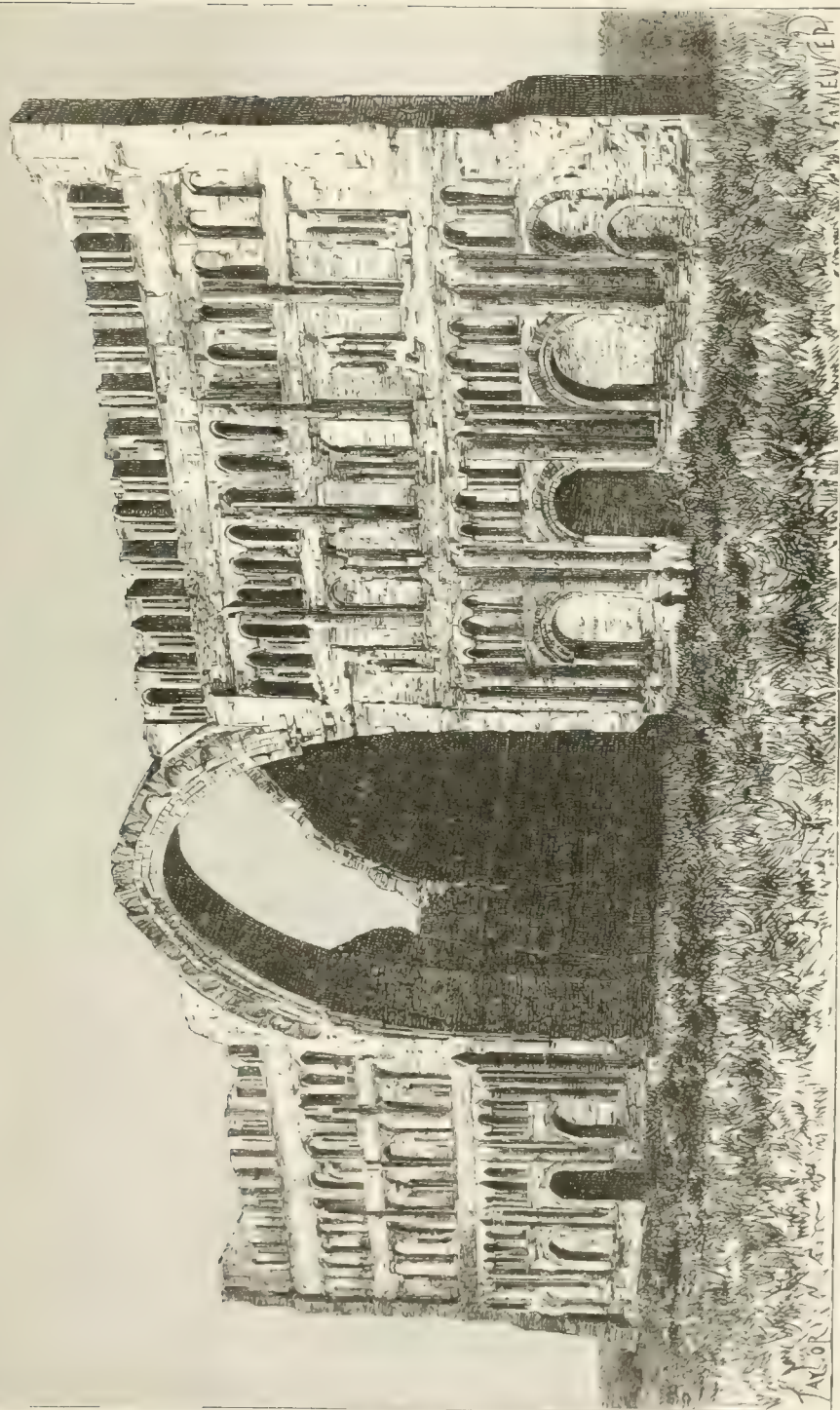
³ . . . *Civitas situ ipso inexpugnabilis defendebatur* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxiv. 7).—The engraving facing page 218 represents the Arch of Ctesiphon, which still stands. "This enormous structure, made of large baked bricks, has a facade 298 feet in length, 115 feet high, in the centre of which opens an arch of the same height with the structure, and 85 feet wide. This arch, which dates from the earliest centuries of the Christian era, reproduces one of the characteristic types of the most ancient Persian architecture." (Note by M. Dieulafoy, Engineer-in-Chief of Bridges and Highways.)

Against the judgment of all his officers, Julian ordered the army to cross the river. The passage was made with great gallantry; the Persian army, put to flight, took shelter behind the walls of Ctesiphon. The city was extremely strong, and the arrival of Sapor for its relief was expected at any hour. The council of war was averse to a siege; and "this opinion," says Amm. Marcellinus, "was the dictate of reason." Sieges in ancient times were often very much prolonged; and this one, even if successful, would not have ended the war, and would certainly have cost much precious



LEGIONARY ON A BOAT LADEN WITH BARRELS (COLUMN OF TRAJAN).

time. What advantage had Trajan or Severus obtained by entering Ctesiphon? And was it by sieges or by battles that Alexander made himself master of Asia? The most fruitful of all the Persian provinces had just been ravaged with impunity; the humiliation to Sapor was great, but his army remained intact and his courage unimpaired. Only a battle could crush him, and permit the Emperor to terminate the expedition, not by a conquest, — of which he had never dreamed. — but by re-establishing upon the Persian throne Hormisdas, who had accompanied the Roman Emperor on this expedition. This success Julian resolved to seek in the very heart of the hostile empire. Such had evidently been his plan from the first, for he had burned all the strongholds captured along the



ARCH OF CTESIPHON, CALLED ARCH OF CHOSROËS. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MADAME DIEULAFOY.)

Euphrates. Had he intended to take the same road on his return, and thence enter Assyria, he would have retained these fortresses, and would have left garrisons in them to make himself secure. Envoys from Sapor having come with overtures of peace, Julian was confirmed in his idea that his adversary could not resist him in the open country, and he refused to enter upon a negotiation which, under the circumstances, could have had for him no important results. He resolved to return northward, in the hope of finding on this route a second victory of Arbela; in this way also he would be approaching Procopius, who had orders to enter the valley of the Tigris, and so rejoin the Emperor. Greece and its history, always present to Julian's mind, showed him Xenophon, with his ten thousand Greeks, accomplishing after a defeat what he himself now, with a powerful army, undertook after a victory.¹ His march northward was not, therefore, a retreat; he was still acting on the offensive, but with different means. The fleet became useless for a campaign in the open country, and his galleys and heavy transport-vessels could not have ascended the Tigris, whose current, even when swollen by the melting of the snows of Armenia, has many shallows which render its navigation upward impossible.² Julian burned his vessels, after landing from them twenty thousand men, soldiers or marines, which by so much increased his army; he kept for the crossing of the streamlets only twenty-two light skiffs, and these were carried on wagons after the army. Amm. Marcellinus blames this course; Eutropius, who made the campaign, does not seem to regret it; Zosimus evidently approves it; and the circumstances of time and place appear to justify Julian's decision.³

As soon as the march towards the north became apparent to the enemy, parties of Persian horsemen appeared on the wings and in the rear, without coming to any serious engagement. It

¹ The younger Cyrus had, like Julian, descended the valley of the Euphrates until within two or three days' march of Babylon. Not to return along a route where all supplies had been exhausted, the Ten Thousand had retreated by way of the valley of the Tigris.

² An accomplished engineer who has lately passed fourteen months in Persia, M. Dieulafoy, tells me that it is usual to descend the river on rafts, but that it is impossible to ascend it any farther than Bagdad, on account of the shoals that fill its channel.

³ Zosimus, iii. 26. This author says, however (sect. 29), that later the army regretted the destruction of the vessels. But the soldiers forgot, as all historians appear to have forgotten, that the fleet could not have ascended the Tigris.

being now the middle of summer, the sun had dried up the fields, and the Persians set fire here and there to the withered herbage, so that the army had to guard against two enemies. — the flames devouring the necessary forage, and the scouting parties of the Persian king. None of the attacks made by the latter succeeded,¹ but one of them was fatal. Julian had just repulsed, near Tummara, a party of cataphracti, when word came to him of an attack at another point. Without stopping to put on his breast-plate, he snatched his shield and ran to the scene of danger. Two other attacks almost simultaneously threw the army into confusion, and Julian was seen wherever the danger was hottest. Suddenly a spear, flung at random, pierced his side. He sought to pull it out, but cut his hand severely with the double-edged point of the weapon; and falling to the ground, was borne with speed to his tent. After a few minutes, being somewhat relieved, he called for his horse, desiring to encourage his troops once more by his presence. But he was weakened by loss of blood, and soon became aware that death was near; upon which he called for his friends and distributed among them his private property, at the same time addressing to them words of heroic resignation. Anatolius, the *magister officiorum*, had been killed only a few moments after the Emperor had received his fatal wound. Julian asked for him; and receiving from Sallust² the reply that Anatolius was now happy, he understood that his friend was slain, and bitterly bewailed the other's death, though he had so proudly disregarded his own approaching fate. All who stood around the dying Emperor wept, seeing him thus torn from them in his youth; but Julian reproved them, saying that they should not mourn for an Emperor about to be united to heaven and the stars. Then calling for his two philosophers,³ Maximus and Priscus, he talked with them concerning the immortal destinies of the soul. He had no need of their counsels, for he felt the most absolute certainty that he was about to ascend into heaven, to dwell forever

¹ The most serious encounter took place on the 22d of June near Marana; the Persians held their ground but a moment, notwithstanding their archers, their elephants, and their cataphracti.

² This Sallust, praetorian prefect, is not Julian's old friend of the same name, for we learn from Amm. Marcellinus (xxiii. 5) that the Emperor received despatches from Sallust, the prefect of Gaul, as he was descending the Euphrates.

³ Concerning these spiritual advisers, see Vol. VI. p. 369.

among the stars.¹ During the conversation his breath became labored; he called for water, drank it, and expired quietly about midnight. It was a philosopher's death.

He had not completed the thirty-second year of his age, nor the twentieth month of his reign (June 26, 363); and before he had suffered the humiliation of a single reverse, he fell a victim to his own imprudent courage. If he had lived, there can be no doubt he would have brought his army home victorious,² and certainly he never would have signed the treaty made by Jovian.

Christian authors have called him "the Apostate," — an undeserved reproach, for those about him had taken shameful advantage of his youth and his misfortunes to enroll him by force in the Christian ranks; and they reckon him among the persecutors, — another great injustice, for he recommended and he always practised toleration towards all men.³ The indirect war which he made upon Christianity is not unlike that which Constantine made upon paganism. If Christians perished, they perished as victims of popular tumults or condemned for acts which the law pronounced criminal, such as the destruction of temples, the breaking of consecrated statues, refusal of obedience, or military mutiny. These acts were the inevitable consequence of the accession of a pagan Emperor, and the circumstances are to be blamed much more than Julian himself. But he must be held responsible for the moral persecution that he practised, and for his guilty toleration of pagan riots. This makes us severe towards the statesman who was a sectary, bending his fine intellect to an impossible, and consequently a dangerous, task. — one which would have been especially fatal to himself had he lived to pursue it many years. He went counter to the movement of the world, and so he failed; nor could it be otherwise. But history will love the man for his virtues, the general for his military qualities, this scholar by accident an Emperor, who had his

¹ . . . *Caelo sideribusque conciliatum*. These are the Emperor's own words a few moments before his death (Amm. Marcellinus, xxv. 3).

² An eye-witness, Entropius, who was one of his officers in this campaign, says: *Romeans victor, quum se inconsultus praeliis inserit* (x. 8); and Zosinus (iii. 29): οὐ πρόπω τῇν Περασῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπωλείας καταστίσας ἐσχάτης.

³ Entropius: *Religionis Christianae insectator, perinde tamen ut cruore abstineret*; and Saint Jerome, in his *Chronicle*: *Blanda persecutio fuit, illicitus, magis quam impellens, ad sacrificandum*.

ideal of perfection. Dreamers of this kind are rare among monarchs; therefore we do honor to this one!¹

This early death appealed to the imagination of contemporaries. The pagans related how, the night before his death, as Julian lay sleepless in his tent, he saw pass silently before him, in an attitude of mourning, his head covered with a funeral veil, the Genius of the Empire, who had promised royalty at Lutetia, and now deserted him. It was a classic reminiscence of the apparition which announced to the younger Brutus his approaching death.

The Christians gave currency to another legend. Struck with the mortal blow, Julian looked angrily up into the sky, crying: "Thou hast conquered, Galilean!" These words were never said, but there is truth in the idea: paganism had fought its last battle, had lost it, and was destined to die of its defeat.

¹ See the portrait of Julian drawn by Amm. Marcellinus (xxv. 4): *Vir profecto heroicis connumerandus ingeniis*; Saint Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, v. 21) says of him: . . . *egregia indoles*.

² Divinities of paganism on an engraved stone, furnished by M. de Witte. In the centre, the three divinities of the Capitol, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; at the right and left, the Dioscuri; around the edge, the seven divinities which preside over the days of the week. (See Vol. VII. p. 488.)



DIVINITIES OF PAGANISM.²

CHAPTER CVIII.

JOVIAN, VALENTINIAN I., AND VALENS (363-378).

I. — JOVIAN (363-364).

THE news of Julian's death spread rejoicing among the Christians. The pagan Libanius accuses them of suborning the assassin, which is absurd; and a historian of the Church comes very near claiming for one of them the honor of being himself the murderer, which is disgraceful.¹ Saint Gregory, more Scriptural, represents Julian as falling by the hand of an angel. His invectives against "the Apostate" begin and end with a sort of hymn which throbs with a fierce joy: "Ye people, hearken to my words, all ye who are to-day, and ye who shall be to-morrow; and may my voice reach the angelic choir who have made an end to the tyrant's life. . . . He whom their hands have just now slain . . . was the crooked serpent, the apostate, the scourge of Israel and of the world. . . . Awake, ashes of the great Constantine! If there be any consciousness in the grave, hear my voice! Come also, ye noble athletes, defenders of the truth, who have been unjustly banished from your earthly country, I bid you to share in our rejoicing. . . . O thou who didst forbid us to speak, how art thou fallen into eternal silence!"

How much more worthy are the simple words of a Christian poet, who says: "He was a very brave leader in battle, and a great law-maker. By his arms and his judgment he served the state well, but he did not serve religion. The worshipper of a thousand divinities, he had no faith in the true God: yet he did honor to the state."²

This death, which caused so much joy in the Church, was a disaster for the Empire; discouragement seized upon the hearts

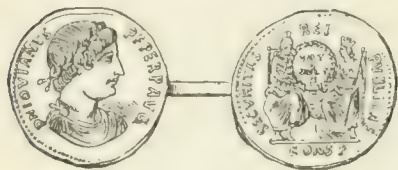
¹ Sozomenus, vi. 1. It was a revival of the old doctrine of tyrannicide.

² Prudentius, *Apotheosis*, 450-454.

of the soldiers, and insubordination broke out in the army,—a twofold presage of disaster.

On the morning of the 27th of June a great council was held in the imperial tent. The officers who had served under Constantius desired a man of their own party; the Gallic nobles, Nevitta and Dagalaiphus, sought for a man from their ranks. The purple was offered to Sallust, the praetorian prefect, who excused himself as too old a man; and the proposal was rejected — made perhaps by Amm. Marcellinus — to wait before proceeding to an election until the two armies of Julian and Procopius were united. While the chiefs deliberated, a few persons clamorously proclaimed Jovian,

the chief officer of the guards.¹ He was a native of Pannonia, as all the Emperors had been for a century, and was not yet thirty-three years of age. His father, count of the domestics, had made the son's way clear; and though the latter had only the amiable



COIN OF JOVIAN.²

virtues, and was a man without brilliancy or talent, timid, gluttonous, addicted to wine and to women, he had rapidly risen to the higher grades. As he made public profession of the Christian faith, it was doubtless the Christians who had precipitated his election; and the crowd, eager for a leader, applauded. The Gauls, deceived by the similarity of the names Julian and Jovian, at first believed that the acclamations saluted their Emperor restored to life. "But," says Amm. Marcellinus, "when the new Emperor, who was both taller and less upright, was seen, they perceived what had happened, and gave vent to tears and lamentations."

With an able emperor the situation of the army would not have been dangerous. The Persians had lost heavily in the late engagement. Their two best generals had fallen, fifty satraps, or men of note, a vast number of soldiers, and nearly all their elephants.³ But Julian's death had prevented the Romans from

¹ Amm. Marcellinus calls him *domesticorum ordinis primus*, — a rank which made him very conspicuous. Diocletian was *comes domesticorum* at the time when he was elected emperor.

² D. N. IOVIANVS. P. F. PERP. AVG. Diademed head. On the reverse, SECVRITAS REI PVBLICAE. Rome and Constantinople supporting a buckler. (Gold coin.)

³ . . . *Fœdus suorum strages et elephantos, quot nunquam rex ante memineral interfectos.*

making the most of their victory, the enemy was near, provisions were scarce, and Procopius was a hundred miles distant.¹ There was needed a resolute will to command, and a firm hand to secure obedience; Jovian had neither. The soldiers clamored that the army must cross the Tigris as quickly as possible; the gods became the accomplices of the soldiers' fears, or rather, they gave wise counsel: in the entrails of the sacrificed animals their priest found the presage that Jovian would be victorious if the army continued its march, but would ruin everything if he remained in the camp as he proposed.² Did the new Emperor retain a certain respect for revelations obtained from sacrifices, or did he merely yield to the wishes of the army and the advice of experienced leaders? This we know not: but he gave the order to cross the river. Unfortunately the movement was badly performed; two days were lost in constructing a bridge of boats which was immediately swept away by the current.

Sapor, meanwhile, having been informed by a deserter, a personal enemy of Jovian, of the great disorder prevailing in the Roman army, and of the incapacity of the new leader, resolved to prevent the junction of the two Roman armies — which would have greatly increased the dangers of his situation — by an attempt to gain from negotiating, that which he dared not await as the result of a battle. He proposed peace, with the condition that the two Empires should resume the limits which each had had before the famous treaty of 297. This was for the Romans the loss of the five provinces on the other side of the Tigris and of the brave cities of Nisibis and Singara, the two outposts of Mesopotamia, and the abandonment of Armenia, whose useful alliance Rome had secured by four centuries of effort. Jovian was anxious in respect to the intentions of Procopius, for whom, it was believed, Julian had destined the Empire.³

¹ Less than forty leagues. Amm. Marcellinus, who since the burning of the fleet has taken gloomy views, exaggerates the difficult situation of the army. As soon as they move away from Ctesiphon, he speaks of a scarcity of provisions; but it does not appear that the army lacked food, for in the treaty with Sapor there was no stipulation that the Persians should furnish provisions. His text has been altered, moreover, in this place. Zosimus, on the contrary, who seems to write from a journal kept on the march, speaks (iii. 27, 28) of cities, numerous in this fertile region, where the Romans found τροφήν ἀφθονον, and in such quantities that after taking all they needed, they destroyed the rest. The generals of Carus, after that Emperor's death, had led the army back by this same route, and without suffering from famine.

² Amm. Marcell., xvi. 6: . . . *Hostis pro Joviano ceterisque inspectis, pronuntiatum est omnia perditurum, si cetera ea non remansisset ut cogitabat, superiorem vero fore profectum.*

³ Jovian well understood his own incapacity, and the treaty with Sapor increased his

Personal interest rendered him regardless of the public welfare, and he accepted the shameful conditions of Sapor. The attempt has been made to excuse him by recalling Hadrian's relinquishment of the ephemeral conquests of Trajan, Aurelian's abandonment of Dacia, and Diocletian's withdrawal of Roman troops from the desert of the Blemmyes; but those Emperors took, at their own instance and with entire freedom of action, these important measures to give the Empire more solid frontiers. The treaty of Jovian was nothing less than a capitulation, and Sapor so understood it: "It is your



FRAGMENTS OF TERRA-COTTA FROM TARSUS (MUSEUM OF THE LOUVRE).

ransom" (*pro redemptione*), he said to this army which he had never once defeated. Vainly did the inhabitants of Nisibis offer alone to defend their city, which had so checked the advance of the Persians; they received the order to abandon it, under pain of death. Armenia, also sacrificed, was soon to lose several provinces; her king, Arsaces, was to be carried into captivity; and the great fortress which had protected Roman Asia remained in the power or under the influence of Rome's hereditary enemy.

At Nisibis, Jovian put to death his namesake Jovian, the chief of the *notarii*, who had received some votes for the Empire. Procopius was more dangerous; Jovian dared not strike him at the head of his army, but he took the command from him, giving him the duty of transporting to Tarsus, at the foot of the Taurus, the body of Julian, who had wished to be buried — far away from Constantine and Constantius — in a city where paganism still flourished, and where the Emperor Maximin,¹ a violent enemy of Christianity,

fears of seeing a competitor arise: *Quod magis metuebatur, si casus novi quidam exsurgere opponendum . . . extimescit æmulum potestatis* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxv. 8 and 9).

¹ The tomb was placed outside the city, on the road leading to the defiles of Mount



THE LAKE OF EVERDIR, IN THE TAURUS.

had been interred. If we may believe the Bishop of Nazianzen, the earth shuddered at the contact of the Apostate's body, and cast out the sacrilegious dust. To the pagans Julian's tomb was a temple. They engraved upon it this epitaph: "Here lies Julian, killed beyond the Tigris, a good emperor, a brave soldier."¹ The funeral being over, Procopius disappeared, and concealed himself from all eyes; he reappeared in 365, clothed with the purple.

Early in October Jovian arrived in Antioch, whose incorrigible population received him with sarcasms. Thence he went to Tarsus, where he ordered some decorations for the tomb of Julian;² then crossed the Taurus; and returning into Tyana in Cappadocia, received there the deputies from Gaul. The soldiers had refused to believe that Julian was dead, and an outbreak had cost the lives of two of the envoys of the Emperor, one of



FRAGMENTS OF TERRA-COTTA FROM TARSUS
(MUSEUM OF THE LOUVRE).

whom was his father-in-law, Lucilianus.³ But the general, Jovinus, had restored peace, and the deputation brought to the Emperor the oath of fidelity of the Gallic army. At Ancyra he assumed the consulship, taking as his colleague his infant son; and a few days later he ended in Dadastana, a village of Bithynia, his feeble and melancholy reign of seven months. He was found dead in his bed. After an abundant supper the preceding night, he had retired to rest in a room recently plastered, where, as a protection against the dampness, a fire of charcoal had been lighted, the gases of which had asphyxiated him (Feb. 16, 364).

We should mention to this Emperor's credit his moderation in religious matters. Although a Christian, he instigated no reaction against paganism, which, no longer held up by the Emperor's hand,

Taurus, and near the River Cydnus, — *gratissimus amnis et liquidus* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxiv. 10).

¹ Zosimus, iii. 34.

² Amm. Marcellinus, xxv. 10.

³ The third envoy, Valentinian, escaped death only by prompt flight. Jovian had appointed Malaric, the Frank, commander of the forces in Gaul, but the latter had refused the office (Amm. Marcellinus, xxv. 8 and 10).

sank never more to rise. Jovian restored to the Church the privileges which Constantine had granted it, reducing, however, by two thirds the annona granted to the clergy; and he recalled Athanasius, the great champion of Orthodoxy, who, with his habitual independence, had returned to Alexandria without



SMALL BRONZE.¹

waiting to receive the imperial letter. But the Emperor took no interest in the theological disputes which had seemed so important to Constantine, Constantius, and Julian. Themistius, who had the courage to remain the official orator of the new Emperor, after having served

his two predecessors in that capacity, said to him these just and noble words: "God, who has put the religious sentiment in the hearts of men, is willing to be worshipped in the way which each man prefers. The right of going to him as a man pleases cannot be destroyed by confiscations, tortures, or death. From the lacerated body the soul escapes, and carries with it a free conscience." Jovian promulgated a general law of toleration; that is to say, of liberty to all forms of worship.² The spirit of the edict of Milan, lost for half a century, reappeared; an Emperor of very ordinary intellect had found, in the simplicity of his heart, a truth which greater men had failed to recognize.

II. — VALENTINIAN (367-375).

WHILE the body of Jovian was on its way to Constantinople, to be buried near the two Emperors whose vicinity Julian had shunned, the army marched towards Nicæa, where the civil and military leaders were endeavoring to give the Empire a new master. Sallust again refused the purple for himself and for his

¹ Coin of Jovian, with the figure of Isis Faria, and the legend VOTA PVBLICA. Among the coins of Jovian there are some which, with the legend VOTA PVBLICA, have the same types with those of some of Julian's coins, — Isis suckling Horus, Isis and Anubis, or Anubis alone, Harpocrates, etc. It is evident that Jovian's Christianity was not of an uncompromising type. We have already mentioned the pagan sacrifices offered on his election (p. 225).

² This law is not in the *Code*, and could not have been inserted there by the juriconsults of Justinian; but Themistius, in his *Fifth Discourse*, from which we have quoted the words given in the text, attests its existence in a manner which admits of no doubt.

son; "I am too old," he said, "and he is too young." After long but peaceable discussion, the choice fell upon Valentinian, tribune of the second company of the *scutarii*, or imperial guards.¹ On the 26th of February, 364, the army was collected in a great plain, and Valentinian, ascending a tribune which had been built in the middle, was unanimously proclaimed Emperor, was invested with the imperial robe, and crowned. He then began to harangue the multitude in a premeditated speech, but was interrupted by a great clamor of the troops. Having probably been persuaded in advance by those for whose interest it was to have two courts, two sets of officers, and two *donativa*, the soldiery demanded a second Emperor; and the welfare of the Empire justified their demand. This division of power was indeed so necessary that, with one exception, for eighty years every Emperor had been forced to adopt it. Julian only, by reason of his military fame, which held the Barbarians in check, had been able during his reign — which was, moreover, so short — to dispense with a colleague at Milan or at Trèves. His friend the prefect Sallust watched over Gaul, and Gaul being well guarded, there was no disturbance in the West. His death, however, had shown the peril of leaving the succession uncertain, and the government exposed to an accident of war.

Valentinian accepted very unwillingly the injunction, at once selfish and patriotic, of the army; he promised to proceed to the decision as soon as he had maturely reflected. "O excellent Emperor," said Dagalaiphus, the master of the cavalry, to him, "if you love your own kindred, you have a brother; if you love the state, then seek the fittest man." Valentinian did not seek; his choice was made, but he did not declare it until the 28th of March at Constantinople, when he presented to the army his brother Valens, six or seven years his junior, and likely to prove a docile colleague. He had ended his first address to the troops with a promise of the customary gifts,² and the appointment of

¹ He was born in 321 at Cibalis, in Pannonia. The *scutarii* and the *protectores* had, like the body-guard of the early kings of France, the rank of officers. At the time of the disturbances in Africa caused by the negligence of the governor, Romanus, Valentinian sent a *notarius* for civil affairs, and a *scutarius* and a *protector* for military affairs, to re-establish order. The tribuneship of the *scutarii* was therefore a high rank.

² . . . *Ob inauguratorem augustam debita protinus acceptura* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxvi. 2).

Valens doubtless caused a second *donativum*. The Roman citizens took part in the elections of Emperors only by furnishing the gold which these elections cost.

The Emperors spent the spring and summer in establishing the two Empires; they divided the provinces, the army, and the civil and military administration. Valentinian took the West,—that is to say, the provinces where the Latin language was used; Valens the Eastern, or Greek-speaking provinces. Milan was to be the residence of the one, Constantinople of the other. The two Empires communicated through the defiles of the Haemus (Balkans), which led from Dacia Aureliana into Thrace by the pass of Succii on the road to Naïssus, and of Sardica at Philippopolis, and by that of Acontisma on the Egnatian Road through Macedon.² The common frontier therefore followed a part of the Haemus and the watershed of the Adriatic and the Aegæan. The Eastern Empire had only one praetorian prefect and three *magistri militum*; the West had two prefects, one for Gaul, the other for Illyria, Italy, and Africa, and three generals-in-chief. Valens accompanied his brother as far as Sirmium, where they parted in July, 364, never to meet again.



BRONZE COIN.¹

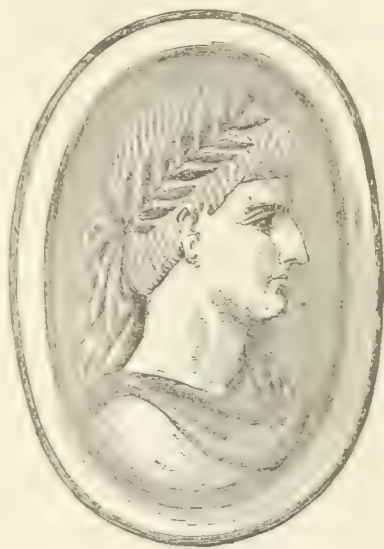
The Empire was irrevocably divided; for the unity established by Theodosius lasted but three months. We shall accordingly divide its history from this time forward.

Valentinian was a civilized Pannonian; he knew very little Greek, but he could write Latin verses, and model figurines in clay,—harmless tastes, which made him neither a poet nor an artist. He had virtues more suited to his new position, and vices which make the historian hesitate how to rank him in the imperial series. A brave soldier, without barrack-faults, and a vigilant officer, he loved discipline in the army and order in the state, and he had the good sense sometimes to listen to the honest statements

¹ Coin of Sardica or Serdica. Triptolemus, on a chariot drawn by dragons, the gift of Demeter, traverses the earth, diffusing everywhere a knowledge of agriculture. Legend: ΟΥΑΜΙΑC CΕΡΔΙΚΗC.

² The ruins of Sardica are to be seen near the great city Sophia, and Naïssus is now Nissa, or Nisch, on an affluent of the Morava. The *Succorum angustiae* correspond to the Szulu-Derbend, or the Demir-Kapi, and the Acontisma to the defile of Kavala.

of courageous subordinates. But he was irascible, violent, harsh even to cruelty: and the public misfortunes increased these natural tendencies, for he had to encounter three evils let loose upon the Empire,—insurrections in the provinces, attacks upon the frontiers, and robbery everywhere, from the magistrates in their offices to the brigands upon the highways.¹ He expended little for himself; but the expenses of the state were heavy, and as he justly subordinated private interests to the general security, he paid no attention to the extreme impoverishment of the provinces, and required the taxes to be rigorously levied.² Whoever did not succeed in bringing in his full share, ran great risks; decurions and duumvirs suffered death for negligences or delays in this service. On one occasion, having for some slight offence ordered the execution of three of the magistrates in each of

VALENTINIAN.³

¹ Amm. Marcellinus relates (xxviii. 2) that a brother-in-law of the Emperor was killed by bandits: and in the *Const. Theod.* ix. 39, l. 3, xv. 13, and *Codex Just.* xi. 40, anno 364, we find laws forbidding subjects to keep weapons and horses without permission from the Emperor: *Nemo, vel miles, vel civilis, quicunque sit a munus mercatorum capere tribuatur.* Laws such as these reveal a very sad condition of society, and they also explain why the provincials offered no resistance to the Barbarians. The evil was deep rooted, for this legislation was an *ex post facto* law, a *Lex Achaica* prohibiting the possession of weapons (*Dig.* xlviii. 6, 1). As to dishonest magistrates, we have often mentioned them before. It may be added that in the one year 380 Theodosius issued nine laws against them (cf. Godefroy, in the *Codex Theod.* vol. i. p. cviii), and that in his *Letter* 190, Saint Basil congratulates himself that he has obtained what he had occasion to ask of the magistrates, sometimes for nothing, more frequently at a reduced price; but he regards these miracles of unselfishness as expressly due to "the intervention of the Lord." Even in the Church, elections were bought; says Saint Athanasius: "The Church becomes a place of traffic and a market." Gregory Nazianzen speaks of bishops lovers of gold rather than of Christ, *μᾶλλον φιλόχρηστοι, ἢ φιλόχριστοι*, and quoting Isidore of Pelusium: "formerly the flock stood in awe of the shepherd; now the shepherd must reverence the flock" (Fialon, *S. Athanase*, p. 117). It was inevitable that prelates should be intriguers and worldly-minded, since the Church had become rich, and bishops were always at court.

² His legislative activity exhausted itself in the preparation of fiscal laws; a great number of his constitutions concern, either directly or indirectly, the levying of taxes in kind, services due by corporations, the responsibility of *curiales*, and the like. On his fiscal severities, see Zosimus, iv. 16.

³ Valentinian, with laurel-wreath and *paludamentum*. Cameo No. 257 of the *Cabinet de*

several cities, the prefect Florentinus asked him what should be done in case any one of the cities had not as many as three magistrates; the Emperor replied: "Let the execution of the sentence be delayed till the number is complete."¹ His very virtues became, by his ungovernable character, formidable faults, and through love of the public good he became a tyrant. To the soldier who brings civil society to the strict standard of the military law, all difference between a fault, a misdemeanor, and a crime disappears.² A page holding a large hound which had been brought out for hunting, let the animal loose before the appointed moment because it leaped up and bit him; upon which the boy perished under the rod. The master of a workshop brought the Emperor an offering, a breast-plate most exquisitely polished; but because there was less weight of steel than was usual, the man was ordered to execution. The master of the imperial stables having ventured to exchange a few horses, was stoned to death. A charioteer of the circus suffered some imprudent words to escape him, and perished at the stake. The governor of one province wished to change it for another. His request being brought to the Emperor, Valentinian replied roughly: "Let his head be changed instead." "And by this sentence," says Amm. Marcellinus, "a man of great eloquence perished only because, like many others, he wished for higher preferment. I fear," continues the historian, "lest I should appear to make a business of pointing out the vices of an Emperor who in other respects had many good qualities."³ But this one circumstance may not be passed over in silence, — that he kept two ferocious she-bears, who were used to eat men; and they had names, Golden Camel, and Innocence; and these beasts he took such care of that he had their dens close to his bed-chamber, and appointed over them trusty keepers who were bound to take

France: sardonix of three layers, 35 millim. in height, 27 in width. It is not certain that this cameo represents Valentinian.

¹ Amm. Marcellinus xxix. 3.

² *Delictis supplicia grandiora* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxviii. 1). He does not say all: the Code — an unexceptionable witness — gives other proofs of this severity. By the constitution of 371 (*Code Théod.* ix. 3, 5) he who has a prisoner in charge and allows him to escape, incurs the penalty the prisoner would have suffered.

³ Amm. Marcellinus, who seems to have retired from the service after the death of Julian, might indeed be suspected of exaggeration, did not other testimony coincide with his.

especial care that the odious fury of these monsters should never be checked. At last he had Innocence set free, after he had seen the burial of many corpses which she had torn to pieces, giving her the range of the forests as a reward for her services." A sultan in our own time used often to be present at the dinner of his lions, and has been known to require a courtier to enter the cage. Doubtless Valentinian allowed himself this Oriental diversion.

The servants imitated their master, — like that Leo, "by occupation originally a brigand, as savage as a wild beast, and insatiable of human blood;" or that Maximin, deputy-prefect of Rome, "like a serpent that glides underground," and on his tribunal "vociferating, in a tone like the roar of a wild beast, that no one could ever be acquitted unless he chose," who, under pretext of magic and adultery, filled Rome with blood, caused senators to be put to death, and — a thing which seemed still more dreadful — put them first to the torture, in violation of their ancient rights in this respect. This executioner was called to court and made praetorian prefect, "where he was as cruel as ever, having, indeed, greater power of inflicting injury." Maximin had rivals,¹ who, like himself and the Emperor, were Christians. — whence we may conclude that conversion had changed the faith but not the characters of these men. But should we multiply these tales of murder, we should finally believe that there was nothing good in the reign of Valentinian.

This formidable man was in certain phases of his government wiser than Constantine or Julian. He did two great things, — he created a new office of much utility, that of the *defensor civitatis*; and he respected the religious liberty of his subjects. From the very earliest days of his reign he recognized full liberty to all cults,² and the acts attesting his own Christian convictions had no irritating results towards the pagans. He replaced the cross upon the *labarum*.

¹ Read what Amm. Marcellinus says of Count Romanus, of Remigius, of Ursacius, of Palladius, and others, and what Synesius relates of the evil deeds of Andronicus, governor of the Cyrenaica forty years later.

² *Testes sunt leges a me in exordia imperii mei datae, quibus unicuique, quod animo indubisset colendi libera facultas tributa est (Codex Theod. ix. 16, 9, anno 371).* Only the Manichaeans and the Donatists were excluded from this general toleration. The former were suspected of disloyalty, and the latter created disturbances in Africa. Amm. Marcellinus says of Valentinian. *Inter religionum diversitates mediis stetit, nec quonquam inquietavit, neque, ut hoc celeretur, imperavit aut illud (xxx. 9).* Socrates (iv. 29) says the same.

prohibited the bringing of suits on Sunday against the Christians, authorized those who were imprisoned to come out on Easter Day in order to attend church,¹ and formally recognized the spiritual jurisdiction of the diocesan synods.² But he respected the old religion of Rome (*concessam a majoribus religionem*): he forbade confusing rites of the ancient cult, even divination, with magic, which remained a crime; and he condemned nocturnal sacrifices. He even allowed the Greeks to celebrate their mysteries,³ and refused to interfere in the theological disputes of the Christian sects. "This should be settled by the bishops," he said; "I am not their judge."⁴



VALENTINIAN I. HOLDING THE LABARUM.⁵

By this wise reserve he kept the priests at a distance, and allowed them to have no hold upon the government. He restrained the too forward zeal of Saint Martin in destroying pagan sanctuaries; he repudiated his first wife.

Severa, in order to marry the Arian Justina; and he had a priest beheaded who had concealed a proscribed person, — things not pleasing to the austere Christians, and the last of them an act of iniquity. In again depriving the pagan temples of the lands which the Christians — or rather the hangers-on of the palace — had seized in the time of Constantius, and Julian had restored to their former possessors, the Emperor gave these estates to the public treasury, and not to the churches; so that it was the state that finally profited by this twofold spoliation. He renewed the laws of Constantine which prohibited admission to the clerical office of persons possessed of property, and adjudged to the public treasury donations and legacies made to ecclesiastics, considering, as was later said by Valentinian III., that it was enough for

¹ *Codex Theod.* viii. 8, 1; ix. 38, 3 4. This permission was granted only to persons imprisoned for trivial offences.

² *Codex Theod.* xvi. 2, 23; cf. *ibid.* xvi. 11, 1. The clergy (*presbyterium*) of the bishopric formed the diocesan synod, over which the bishop presided. The chapter of the cathedral later took the place of the diocesan synod as the usual council of the bishop.

³ *Codex Theod.* ix. 16, 7, and 9; Zosimus, iv. 3.

⁴ Sozomenus, vi. 7; Ambrose, *Epist.* 13.

⁵ D. N. VALENTINIANVS. P. F. AVG., and the Emperor with a diadem. On the reverse, Valentinian laurelled, holding the *labarum*. (Silver medallion.)

them to be rich in piety.¹ The pagan pontiffs of the provinces, on the contrary, received important privileges, and even the rank of count.² In restoring the right of giving instruction to those who united talent with integrity of life, this annulling of the decree of Julian was useful to all, and did injury to none. The prohibition of intrusting to Christians the guardianship of a temple, and of condemning them to fight as gladiators, was in their case a measure of domestic discipline; and it was no more an insult to the worshippers of the gods than, on the other hand, was it such to their adversaries that the pagan Symmachus should be appointed prefect of Rome, and the counts Rumoredus and Bauto, both pagans, commanders of the army. Certain soldiers take possession of a synagogue; the Emperor drives them out because it is not proper that they should make their quarters in a house of prayer.³ And, lastly, we have explained that prosecutions against magic, which reappeared in this Emperor's reign, were the execution of old republican laws.⁴

¹ Constitution of the three Emperors, addressed in 370 to Pope Damasus (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 2, 20, and Vol. VII. of this work, p. 509). By these laws Saint Ambrose, when he was raised to the episcopate, was obliged to relinquish his great wealth, of which he gave the life-interest to his brother and sister, and the property itself to his church. But his brother died shortly after, and his sister embraced a religious life; he therefore remained very rich while yet having obeyed the law, since as bishop he had at his disposal the wealth which personally he no longer possessed. It had been the intention of Constantine to impose poverty upon all the clergy; but in authorizing the Church to receive legacies, he prepared the way for her immense ownership of land in the Middle Ages; and we see by the case of Milan that this was beginning at the period of which we speak (Saint Ambrose, *Homily* 21, in *I. Epist. ad Cor.*, and *Hier.* 35 and 37, *In Matth.*). Saint John Chrysostom already speaks of the vast wealth of the Church. In respect to the clergy, Saint Ambrose says, in his *Letter* 18, *anno* 384: "The legacy a Christian widow makes to the priests of the idols is valid; that which she makes to the ministers of God is not so." The difference is easily explained. The Christian clergy could attract to themselves legacies and donations by means which the pagan clergy had never possessed. The Emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries, seeing how rapidly the collective wealth of the churches increased, applied themselves with extreme tenacity to the task of preventing the clergy from the acquisition of personal fortunes. It would have been detrimental to the cities, from whose burdens the priests were completely exempted (see Vol. VII. p. 508); and we have seen what solicitude the Emperors manifested for that municipal prosperity upon which depended the prompt and full payment of the taxes. But the law which decreed that the clergy should receive nothing, could be easily evaded, and Saint Jerome tells us that it was evaded by fraudulent trusts (*Hieron. Opera*, iv. 260).

² A law of the year 371 grants under certain conditions to those who possess the *sacerdotium provinciarum* the privileges of the *honorati*, the dispensation from *munera civilia*, and the right to obtain *honorem ex comitibus*; *quem hi consequi solent qui fidem diligentiamque suam in administrandis rebus publicis approbarent* (*Codex Theod.* xii. 1, 75, and Godefroy's commentary *ad leg.* iv. 451).

³ *Codex Just.* i. 9, 4.

⁴ *Codex Theod.* ix. 16, 7.

Valentinian carried so far his firm resolve to remain outside of all clerical disputes that he did not interpose, either in the noisy debate between the Arian bishop of Milan, Auxentius, "the minister of Satan,"¹ and Saint Hilary of Poitiers, the Athanasius of the West, nor in the fierce rivalry of two bishops for the Roman see.

The popular intervention in episcopal elections still continued.² Most frequently it was useful, as in the election of Ambrose, Synesius, and many others. Sometimes, however, it was violent, capricious, or brought forward unworthy candidates, ready to sign any confession of faith that might be required of them, "the ink making no spot upon the soul."³ Gregory Nazianzen complains, in his Funeral Oration upon Saint Basil, that "grace is held to be conferred by the votes of an unreasoning crowd and a vile populace." Each community — Orthodox, Arian, or semi-Arian — appointing its leader, multiplied elections gave many bishops to a single city. Antioch had three at once, and Rome, in the presence of its popes, had a succession of Donatist and Luciferian bishops; hence arose quarrels. "Damasus and Ursinus," says Amm. Marcellinus,⁴ "being both immoderately eager to obtain the bishopric, formed parties and carried on the conflict with great asperity, the partisans of each carrying their violence to actual battle, in which many men were wounded and killed; and as the prefect of the city was unable to put an end to it, or even to mitigate these disorders, he was at last by their violence compelled to withdraw to the suburbs. Ultimately, Damasus got the best of the strife by the strenuous efforts of his partisans. It is certain that on one day a hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies were found in the basilica of Sicinius,⁵ which is a Christian

¹ *Satanæ angelus, restator perditus, etc.* (Hilary, *Contra Auxentius*, *passim*).

² See Synesius, *Letter* 123.

³ Gregory Nazianzen, *Funeral Oration upon his Father*.

⁴ xxvii. 3; also, Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 29.

⁵ This basilica is perhaps that of Santa Maria Maggiore. Pope Damasus is almost like one of the literary popes of the fifteenth century. He employed Saint Jerome to make from the Hebrew text a Latin translation of the Scriptures to replace the faulty versions that were in circulation, of which Saint Jerome says (*Prefatio in Evangelia ad Damasum papam*): "If any say that the Latin versions give authority, let him tell me which, for there are almost as many of them as there are copies." The work of Jerome is known to us as the Vulgate. Damasus built churches and decorated them with paintings; he

church; and the populace, having been thus roused to a state of ferocity, were with great difficulty restored to order." And although the worthy chronicler was not perhaps familiar with this sentence of the Gospel, "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister,"¹ he adds: "I do not deny, when I consider the ostentation that prevails at Rome, that those who desire such rank and power may be justified in laboring with all possible exertion and vehemence to obtain their wishes, since, after they have succeeded, they will be secure for the future, being enriched by offerings from matrons, riding in carriages, dressing splendidly, and feasting luxuriously, so that their entertainments surpass even royal banquets.² And they might be really happy if, despising the multitude of the city, which they excite against themselves by their vices, they were to live in imitation of some of the priests in the provinces, whom the most rigid abstinence in eating and drinking, and plainness of apparel, and eyes always downcast, recommend to the eternal Deity and his true worshippers as pure and sober-minded men." To put an end to this

repaired the Christian cemeteries (catacombs), and put metrical inscriptions on the tombs of the martyrs, some of which the Chevalier Rossi has collected or restored.

¹ *Matt.* xx. 25.

² These words of Amm. Marcellinus, who resided for several years at Rome, are confirmed by the saying of the pagan Praetextatus to Pope Damasus, reported by Saint Jerome (*Letter* 6, edit of Migne, i. 415, or *Letter* 24 of the edition of Erasmus): "Make me bishop of Rome, and I will make myself a Christian." Elsewhere, in speaking of the Roman clergy, he writes: "I am ashamed to say it, but there are men who seek the priesthood and the diaconate in order to see women more freely (*ut licentius mulieres viderent*), and rival in luxury the consuls, the governors, and generals of armies. They care only for their adornment; their hair is curled, their fingers glitter with the sparkle of diamonds. . . . They are like young bridegrooms rather than priests." Cf. Saint Jerome, *In Michaeon*, 20, and *Letter* 84, to Eustochia; Gregory Nazianzen, *Disc.* xxxii.; Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* i.: . . . *Qui ante pedibus aut asello ire consueverat, spumante equo invehitur*; Salvianus, *Adversus Avaritiam*, book i., wherein he shows the Church "enfeebled by her fecundity, diminished by her increase, and quasi *rebus minus valida*." Saint Augustine (*Letter* 148) acknowledges *Nihil esse in hoc tempore . . . laetius, hominibus acceptabilius, episcopi, aut presbyteri, aut diaconi officio, si perfunctorie atque adulatorie res agatur*; and Fleury (*Mœurs des Chrétiens*, chap. 48) adds: "Nothing is more common in the fourth and fifth centuries than supercriptions like these: To the Lord, the very holy, very pious, and venerable N., bishop." It was a matter of common custom to kneel before the prelate and kiss his feet. It was to God's representative, certainly, that these acts of homage were addressed; but can it be doubted that the man thus honored conceived a pride which reacted upon his public conduct, and inspired him with a spirit of domination? *Reverisse jam sacerdotii dignitatem ad regnandi cupiditatem apparet, ab humilitate ad superbiam*, says again a disciple of Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Isidore of Pelusium (*Letters*, v. 21). By their social and political consequences these extravagances fall under the judgment of history.

domestic strife in the Church there were needed guards, the executioner, and death-penalties. Ursinus, who had been expelled from



MOSAIC OF SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE AT ROME.¹

the city, returned thither, was again driven out, and the excitement continued for several years. It might have been promptly ended

¹ This mosaic, which is of the fifth century (pontificate of Sixtus III.), represents Joshua imploring the God of Israel while his soldiers, clad as Roman legionaries, are fighting before a fortified city. If the encounter of which Amm. Marcellinus speaks really took place in Santa Maria Maggiore, it was unwise to recall the memory of the sad occurrence by a work of art like this.

had the Emperor taken energetic measures. But Valentinian, who often found the laws not severe enough, in this case would not bring the imperial authority to bear.

He was, however, extremely solicitous to maintain peace in the cities by introducing justice everywhere. He strove to suppress certain strange abuses which must have facilitated dishonest transactions, — for example, that a man should be at once advocate and judge in a given case; or that a magistrate should render decision in private session in his own house; and the Emperor ordained that decisions should be given in the open court-room, after a public hearing which any person might attend. The disasters of the times had interrupted at many points the old institution of provincial assemblies, or had caused it to fall into disuse. Valentinian re-established them, defined their powers, and authorized their deputies to employ the public post when they came to bring to the court the complaints of their constituents.¹ His successors endeavored also to revive public life in the provinces; Theodosius alone published five constitutions on this subject. The famous edict of Honorius, in 418, was, so to speak, a last appeal of the Emperor to subjects whom a bad government could defend neither from foreign foes nor domestic disasters.

Valentinian still further manifested his solicitude for municipal interests by creating in each city a new office, whose incumbent — *defensor civitatis*, also called *patronus plebis*² — had the duty of protecting the weak and of putting a stop to abuses by calling upon the praetorian prefect. He was to be, say the edicts, a father to the plebs, the defender of the innocent, the patron of the humble population of the city and the country. He was to protect them against the insolence of officials, the insults of the judges, overcharges in the matter of taxes, and exactions of every kind. The poor are his children (*liberorum loco tueri debet*); to secure his independence the Emperor decided that the *defensor*, whose office was of five years' duration,³ should be chosen outside of the

¹ *Codex Theod.* i. 61, 9, anno 364; ii. 10, 5; xii. 12, 3-6.

² *Ibid.* xii. 12, laws 7, 9, 10, 13, and title i. law 148.

³ *In defensoribus . . . erit administrationis hanc formam et tempus quinquennii spatii metiendum* (*Codex Just.* i. 55, 4). A constitution of Honorius requires the *principales* to serve fifteen years (*Codex Theod.* xii. 1, 171, anno 409. Cf. Savigny, vol. i. sects. 20-21). The early rule was the annual election of municipal magistrates. The tendency to make each permanent

curia and the administration, among persons no longer in office, so that he should have neither colleagues to satisfy, nor superior officers to obey, with the exception only of the praetorian prefect, who could annul his election.¹

The new office was perhaps a reminiscence of very ancient functions. The protection of the weak reappears under various forms throughout the history of this people in other respects so severe. It was at first clientship which fed the poor of Rome; later, under the Republic and the Early Empire, the patronage of the great which provided the poor with defenders of their cause in the Senate or in the presence of the Emperor; in the Antonine epoch it was the *syndicus* (σύνδικος, ἑκδικος), whose existence is proved in many cities of Italy, Asia, and Africa. "If any man," says Hadrian, in a decree addressed to the Athenians, "has complaints to make to me or to the proconsul, let the people appoint a *syndicus*."² This municipal advocate was neither the *patronus* of the early days nor the *defensor* of the later period; but he represented the idea which had given the provincial assemblies the right to carry their complaints to the Emperor, and had lasted across the centuries with singular and honorable tenacity.

The institution of the *defensor civitatis* was not to the credit of the imperial functionaries, whose misdeeds Amm. Marcellinus reports on every page; and it must have been extremely displeasing to them, for this was an inspector whom Valentinian placed over the agent of the treasury, the assessor, and the judge "who loves

in his employ is manifested in this duration of five and of fifteen years given by Valentinian I. and Honorius to the offices of *defensor* and *principalis*.

¹ *Non ex decurionum seu ex cohortaliu corpore, sed ex aliis idoneis personis huic officio deputentur* (Codex Just. i. 55, 1-4). Their duties were to watch *ut plebs omnis officiis patronorum contra potentiam defendatur injuriis* (Codex Theod. i. 11, 1, anno 364). It has been said that the two offices of *defensor* and *duumvir* could not have existed contemporaneously. Valentinian, who created the former in 364, mentions the latter in 372 (*ibid.* xii. 1, 77). The three great offices of the cities and colonies were those of the *sacerdotes*, *flamines perpetui*, and *duumviri* (*ibid.* xii. 5, 2, anno 337). The rôle of the *defensores* became very important; it was so especially after Justinian, who extended their jurisdiction—at first limited to suits not involving over fifty *aurei*—to cases where the amount in dispute was as much as three hundred *solidi* (Nov. Just. xv. 3, sect. 2. See, in the *Codex Theod.* i. 29, in Hanel's edition, more complete than Godefroy's, the caption *Defens. civit.*, and Godefroy's commentary, i. 67 *et seq.*).

² *ἐὰν δὲ ἐκκαλέσῃται τις ἢ ἐμὲ ἢ τὸν ἀνθύπατον, χειροτονεῖτω συνδίκους ὁ δῆμος* (C. I. G., No. 355). Cf. Pliny, *Letters*, x, *passim*. Alexander Severus also gave a *defensor* to the corporations which he formed. See Vol. VII. p. 128.

to judge in darkness," but to whom the *defensor* would always have free access.¹ In investing a layman with this patronage of the poor, the Emperor perhaps proposed to withdraw from the Church's influence that plébs which had been her earliest conquest. If this was his policy, his successors did not follow it. When Honorius, in 409, called all the clergy of the city to make the election, with the concurrence of the nobles, he placed the new magistracy in dependence upon the bishops.

VALENTINIAN AND ROME.²

All public officers were not extortioners or murderers, many of these as there are in the pages of Amm. Marcellinus. Praetextatus and Olybrius, both prefects of Rome, doubtless suggested the regulations which we read in two constitutions addressed to themselves. The first of these organized a medical service for the poor in the fourteen *regiones* of Rome;³ the second concerned the regulation of the schools in that city. It was required that students should be furnished with a permission from the magistrates of their province; on their arrival they were obliged to register, in the office of the census, the name of their country and of their family, the studies they wished to pursue, and the address of their lodging in the city, so that it could be ascertained if they were doing well the work for which they professed to have come, and were leading a moral life, avoiding dangerous societies, and not too much occupied with festivals and games. Those guilty of misconduct were to be publicly beaten with rods, expelled from the city, and sent home to their province. Industrious students might remain in Rome twenty years; but the idle should be at once sent away. Every month the urban prefect was to send the provincial magistrates a report

¹ . . . *Ingressendi, cum voles, ad judicem liberam habeas facultatem* (*Codex Just. i. 55, 4*).

² D. N. VALENTINIANVS P. F. AVG., and the bust of the Emperor with diadem and *paludamentum*. Rome, helmeted, seated, looking to the right, holding in the right hand a globe surmounted by a Victory, and in the left a spear, point downwards. (Large bronze.)

³ *Codex Theod. xiii. 3, 8*. The custom of securing to the poor of the cities (*cenitibus*) the assistance of a physician *ἀνεν μισθοῦ καὶ ἀνγγραφῆς* was ancient. (See Vol. VI. p. 112.) When one of the fourteen places became vacant, it was filled by a person whom the remaining thirteen designated.

concerning the students from their provinces, and each year to the Emperor a special account of the most distinguished scholars, that the latter might be able to select those of his subjects who were suited to the various public employments.¹ Regulations like these in respect to students would — with exception of the rods — be useful at the present day.

We must now speak of Valentinian's great anxiety, — the defence of the Empire. On the death of Julian the Barbarians at once shook



VALENTINIAN I.²

off the fear with which that Emperor had inspired them. "At this time" (the year 365), says Amm. Marcellinus, "the trumpet, as it were, gave signal for war throughout the whole Roman world, and the Barbarian tribes on our frontier began to make incursions on those territories which lay nearest to them. The Alemanni laid waste Gaul and Rhaetia at the same time. The Sarmatians and Quadi ravaged Pannonia. The Picts, Scots, Saxons, and Atacotti harassed the Britons with incessant invasions; the Austoriani and other Moorish tribes attacked

Africa with more than usual violence. Predatory bands of Goths plundered Thrace; the king of Persia poured troops into Armenia;" and, finally, in the East, Procopius attempted to make a revolution.

Valentinian left Valens to extricate himself as he best could. The lieutenant of the Western Empire in Illyricum did no more than prevent the revolt from extending into the West; and the Emperor

¹ *Codex Theod.* xiv. 9, 1. Saint Augustine (*Conf.* vi. 8) says that the schools of Rome were much better regulated than those of Carthage. See in the *Theodosian Code* (xiv. 9, 3, *anno* 425) the reorganization of the school of Constantinople. That of Rome was doubtless the object of a similar ordinance. For the same year the *Theodosian Code* (vi. 12) contains a law in respect to the Roman professors who deserved the dignity of count.

² Engraved stone, rock-crystal, 25 millim. by 20 (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2,107). Notwithstanding the inscription, CN. POMPEIVS MAGNVS on the setting, this intaglio so much resembles the gold medallions of Valentinian I. that M. Chabouillet has no hesitation in designating it as the likeness of this Emperor.

himself in October, 365, left Milan to visit Lutetia, Reims, and Trèves, the three great cities of Northern Gaul, where he passed ten years in defending and fortifying the frontiers. The great effort of Germany against the Empire was at that time made in the southwest, whither were attracted all those who sought adventure or booty. The Decumatan Lands (Baden and Wittenberg)¹ had formerly been as a



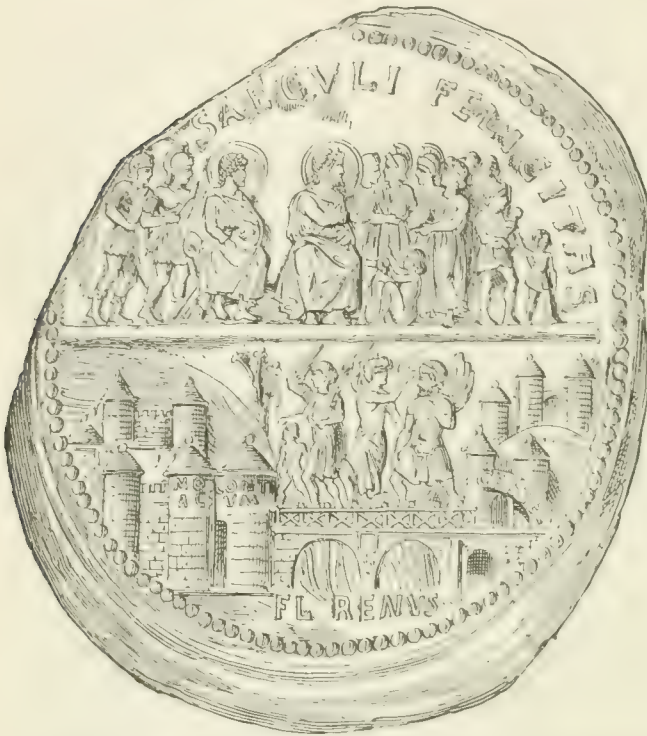
HALL IN THE IMPERIAL PALACE OF LUTETIA (PRESENT CONDITION).²

wedge driven by Rome into the centre of Germany; the Black Forest was now a fortress whence the Barbarians made incessant sorties against Gaul. The Alemanni, dissatisfied because the presents sent them this year were less splendid than usual, had rejected them with scorn, and sought compensation in the pillage of the Rhenish provinces. They were at first easily repulsed; but during the winter of 366 they crossed the Rhine upon the ice and surprised the troops posted in the two German provinces, who in an engage-

¹ See also pp. 103-105 of this volume.

² See, Vol. VII, p. 185, map of the defensive lines of the Decumatan Lands.

ment which took place not far from Besançon lost a standard and their leader, the Frank Charietto.¹ Valentinian deprived the



MOGONTIACUM, CASTELLUM, AND THE BRIDGE OVER THE RHINE.²

on the side of the Barbarians, and twelve hundred dead and two hundred wounded of the Romans, covered the Catalaunian fields, where, later, a very different hecatomb was to be offered up. These numbers and the heat of the encounter show that the day of the definitive invasion was drawing near. The news of this victory reached Lutetia just as the messengers arrived who brought to Valentinian the head of Procopius.—a frightful tribute sent by the Emperor of the East to his brother (367).

At the battle of Châlons a king had been taken prisoner.³ and the

Roman fugitives of their weapons, and threatened to sell them as slaves. They implored the Emperor to give them another trial; and in the second campaign, which was ably conducted by the commander of the cavalry, Jovinus, the Alemanni, who had come as far as Châlons-sur-Marne, were defeated. The battle lasted a whole summer's day; six thousand dead and four thousand wounded

¹ . . . *Charietto tunc per utramque Germaniam comes* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxvii. 1). Another Gaul, Dagalief, or Dagalaiphus, was consul in 366. Balcoaudus had an important command at the battle of Châlons-sur-Marne.

² Large lead medallion of the time of Valentinian I., found in the Saône; this medallion shows the fortifications which covered the two banks of the Rhine at Mayence and Cassel (*Cabinet de France*).

³ Vithicabius, son of that Vadomar who had a secret understanding with Constantius to betray Julian (see p. 128, note 2).

soldiers hanged him; Valentinian blamed them, but probably without much sincerity, for, shortly after, a traitor won over by Roman gold assassinated in Germany the principal instigator of these incursions. But the Barbarians kept no account of their dead. They began almost immediately again to make raids into the provinces. Taking advantage of a Christian festival which had drawn the population away from the gates and the walls, they surprised Mayence and carried off a great number of captives. Valentinian resolved to retaliate upon these incessant pillagers the sufferings

LARGE BRONZE.¹

MAP FOR VALENTINIAN'S WAR AGAINST THE FRANKS AND THE ALEMANNI.

that they had inflicted upon the Roman provinces. He crossed the Rhine and went fifty miles beyond it, burning houses and villages:

¹ Valentinian, restorer of the Empire. The Emperor, standing, holds a standard, and a Victory upon a globe (Cohen, vol. vi. pl. xiii. No. 58).

the bravest of the Alemanni, who had posted themselves upon an elevated plateau, were reached and destroyed (368).¹ After this blow struck in the heart of the enemy's country, Valentinian returned to Trèves, where he made every endeavor to consolidate the lines of defence of the river and establish some outposts upon the right bank. A strong castle, built near the place where Mannheim now stands, commanded the entrance to the valley of the Neckar, one of the great roads by which the Romans went into the interior of Alemannia, and the Barbarians came down into Gaul (369). The Emperor took a further precaution: he prohibited marriage between Romans and Barbarians.² But these had taken place everywhere throughout the Empire; and on both banks of the Rhine and of the Danube, and far into the interior of the frontier provinces, life was much the same, under either name. The law remained a dead letter, and the enemy continued to receive secret information from their countrymen in the Roman army of designs formed against them, or of advantageous movements which they themselves might make.³

Meantime the Alemanni remained formidable. Valentinian sought to turn upon them the Burgundians, their neighbors on the north-east (Thuringia), who had a feud with them on the subject of salt-mines claimed by both nations. The Emperor proposed to the latter to join with him in attacking the common enemy, — not that he really intended a joint campaign, but in the hope that, having instigated this war, he might then, like Tacitus, have the pleasure of witnessing a fierce encounter between two German nations. But when he saw eighty thousand Burgundians appear in arms to claim his assistance and promised subsidies, he was unwilling to place his small army at the side of auxiliaries so numerous, or to substitute

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xxvii. 10, and Ausonius, *Mosella*, v. 421 *et seq.* The poet, tutor of Gratian, the Emperor's son, had accompanied his pupil on this expedition; the place of action is thought to have been between Rothwell and Rothenburg. The *Gentiles* made the attack, and Amm. Marcellinus mentions the gallantry of the *scutarius* Natuspardo, whose name tells his origin. A little later Valentinian appointed an Aleman king, Fraomar, tribune of a corps of his fellow-countrymen who served in the Roman army. He also gave military commands to Bitharid and Hortar, two other Alemanni; but the latter having had treasonable correspondence with the Barbarians, was burned to death (Amm. Marcellinus, xxix. 4).

² *Codex Theod.* iii. 14, 1.

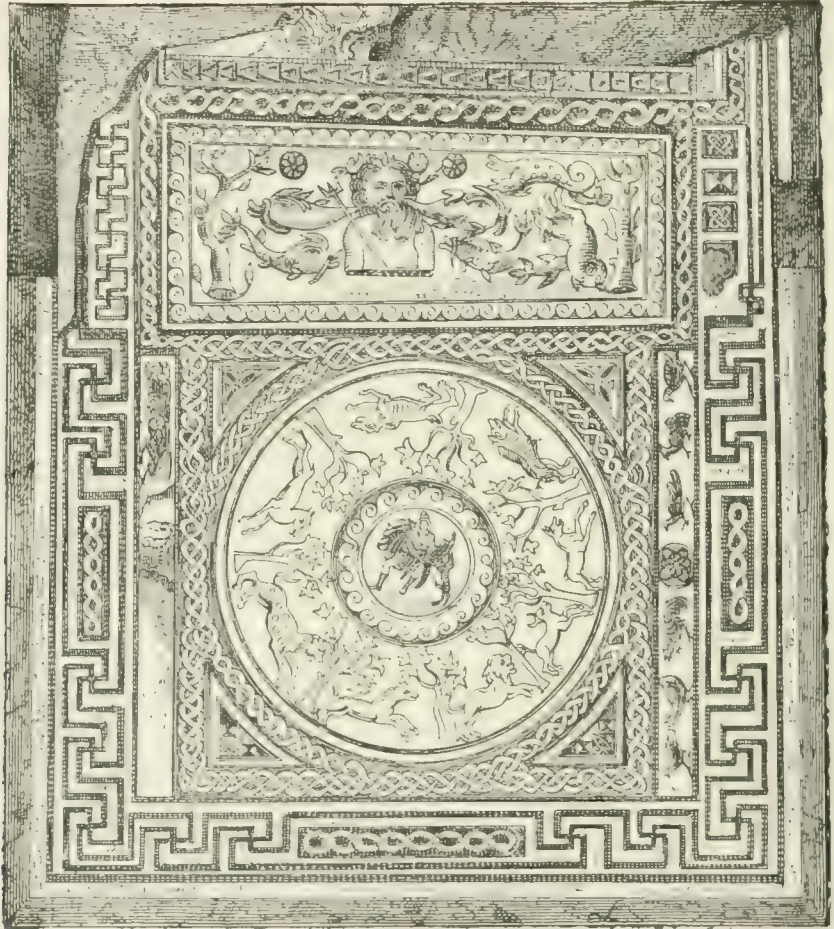
³ . . . *Quae apud nos agebantur, aliquotiens barbaris prodidisse* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxviii. 5).

for the divided Alemanni a people so united that they could bring into the field an army like this. Under various pretexts he retarded the concentration of his troops, and the angry Burgundians returned into their own country. The Alemanni, warned by the danger, which had been imminent, remained comparatively quiet until the close of Valentinian's reign. In 374 their king, Macrianus, made with the Emperor a treaty which held the Barbarian the ally of Rome until the last day of his life.

In 370, Saxons, in their frail canoes of wicker, came up by the Belgian rivers into the interior of the province and destroyed the military corps which guarded it. A device, which the upright Amm. Marcellinus considered treacherous, caused their destruction. Those who did not fall under the sword or lance of the cataphracts were reserved for the amphitheatre; and at Rome twenty-nine strangled themselves rather than serve for the amusement of the populace.

In Britain the Picts, who cultivated the plains of Scotland, and the Scots, whose flocks ranged the hills, had always been troublesome neighbors to the Roman provinces. So long as a bold and vigilant commander kept watch from Eboracum upon their movements, men lived tranquilly on the south of Hadrian's Wall, the cities flourished, and the fields were fruitful.—we have seen that Julian obtained from Britain corn for his army. But if, remote from the master's eye, the governors yielded to the temptation of the times, rapacity, and the legions did not receive their pay duly; if deserters from the army lived by pillage upon the highways, while Saxon or Frankish pirates ravaged the sea-coast,—it naturally resulted that the inhabitants lost their love for a government which required much and gave nothing. In the midst of this disorganization the audacity of the Barbarians increased. They scoured the whole country as far south as Kent, and did not fear to match themselves against the regular troops. This condition of things had lasted, with intervals of repose, since the great insurrection of Carausius, which laid open the island to the Franks and Saxons. Constantius Chlorus and Constantine had restored order for a time; but Constantine II. had been obliged to go over into Britain, and Julian had found it necessary to send troops thither. In 368 Valentinian received news at Trèves, where he was residing in order to keep close watch upon the outposts of the Rhine, that the two Roman commanders in Britain had been

killed, and that the province was almost lost. He took energetic measures to recover it.¹ A skilful and faithful general, Theodosius, crossed the Straits with a force that enabled him to drive the Saxons



MOSAIC FOUND AT WITHINGTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, ENGLAND.²

into the sea, and the Scots into their mountains, and the Roman standards reappeared on the wall of the Piets (369).

Theodosius, rewarded with the rank of commander of the cavalry, became the useful lieutenant of Valentinian, who employed him in repressing a dangerous insurrection.

¹ On this war, see Amm. Marcellinus, xxvii. 8; I do not speak of the hyperboles of Claudian. *In III^o et IV^o consulatu Honorii*, nor of the panegyric of Pacatus.

² Lysons, *Reliquiæ Britanniarum Romanarum*, vol. ii. pl. xix.

The Barbarians of the South, like those of the North, had become aware that the great Roman Empire was sinking, slowly but continuously, under the weight of its constitutional defects and the blows delivered at so many points along its immense frontier. The Getuli ravaged and plundered as far as the very suburbs of the cities of Tripolitana; Leptis had been besieged for a week; and the ancient assembly in which the common interests of the province were discussed, sent deputies to the Emperor to complain of the indifference of Romanus, the governor. The latter bribed the commissioners, who were appointed to examine into his conduct, and five of the chief notables were put to death as calumniators (370). While the Getuli thus spread terror in the eastern part of the province of Africa, Firmus, the son of a powerful Mauretanian chief, being condemned to death by Romanus, incited an insurrection among his people in order to escape from the threatened fate.¹ Imperial functionaries, military chiefs, prefects, and tribunes, and soldiers recruited in the province, went over to his side; a tribune of the Constantinian infantry placed his gold collar around the Mauretanian's head by way of diadem, and he was proclaimed king. Julian had been crowned in the same way, but fortunately Firmus was not Julian. He took Icosium, the great city of Caesarea (Algiers), and burned it; and for a moment believed himself master of Roman Africa when he saw the native population and the Donatists rally around a chief of their own nation. But, unused to war, badly armed, without discipline or drill, the provincials could not stand against regular troops well directed by an able soldier (372). Theodosius, sailing from Arles with a small force, landed at Igilgilis (Djидjelli) before his approach was reported. Employing the tactics of Marius against Jugurtha, he pursued Firmus under the blazing sun of Africa into regions where it seemed impossible that troops drawn from the North of Gaul could endure the heat. With his little army of thirty-five hundred picked men, agile and well equipped, obtaining provi-

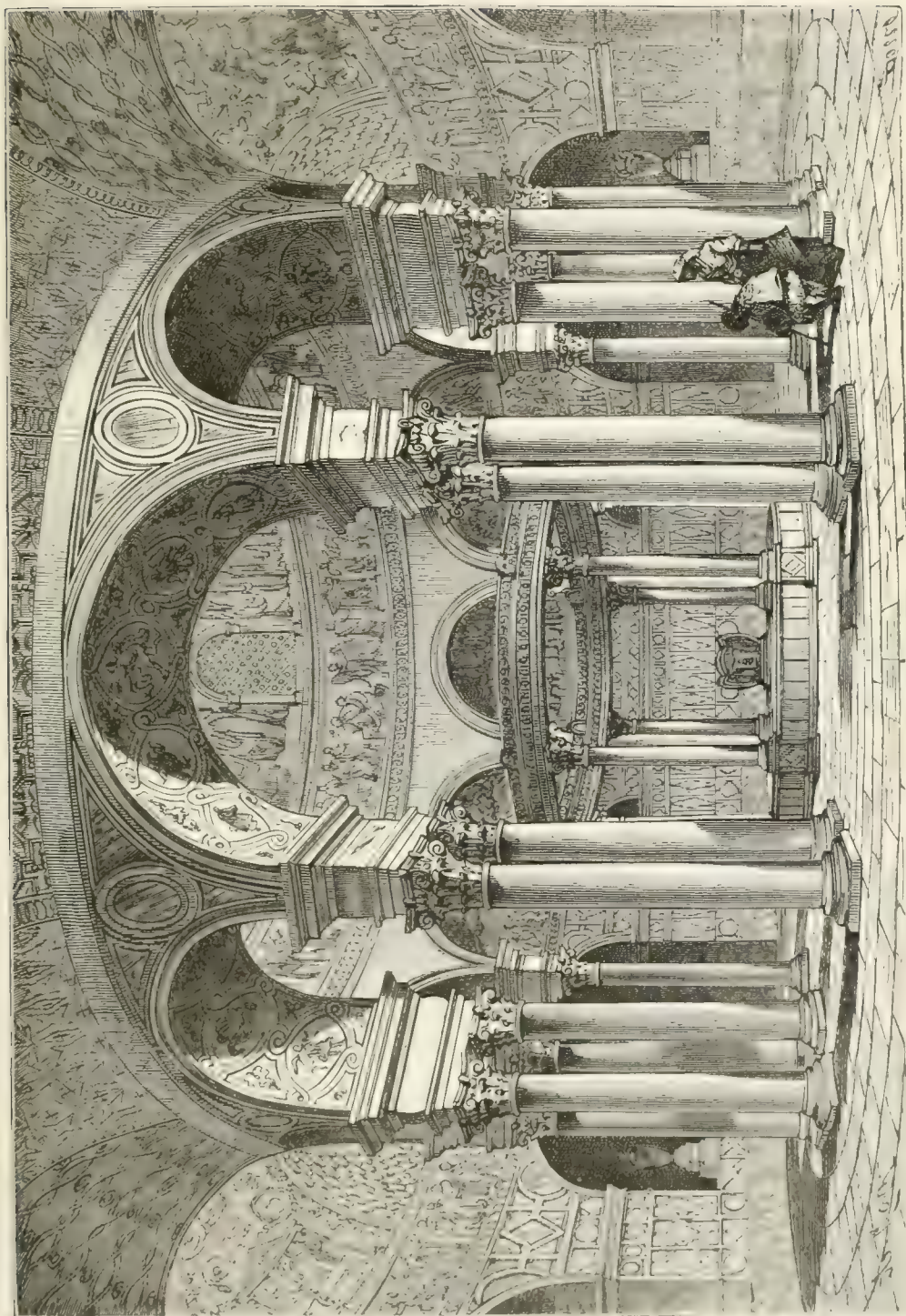
¹ Africa very early had *latifundia*. Pliny mentions enormous ones in the time of Nero. This system of ownership, combining with the tribal system, covered Africa with imperial or private domains as vast as the territory of cities: those, for example, of the Lollii, the Arrii, of Lusius Quietus, of Firmus and, later, of Gildo. There were always great chiefs in Africa, but under the Romans, flourishing cities balanced these principalities, so to speak. Cf. *Bull. de corr. Afric.* 1882, pp. 60-67 and 151.

sions from the *silos* of the natives or from depots judiciously prepared. he went everywhere, burning the villages and destroying the harvests of which he had no need. He knew how to outwit his unscrupulous enemy, and he made it his duty to learn the interior affairs of the tribes, so that he could reorganize under faithful chiefs those that were submissive. But, a fit lieutenant to the most severe of Roman Emperors, he waged war without mercy, and ruled without indulgence; deserters, traitors, cowards who had fled during battle, employees who had been accomplices in the frauds of Romanus, perished under the axe or at the stake, after having been subjected to torture. Firmus, hunted down on every side, was about to suffer a fate like that of Jugurtha when given up by Bocchus; but one night, his guards being asleep, the Mauretanian hanged himself. This suicide at least spared him the torture which the executioners of the time were very skilful in prolonging. Igmazen, king of the Isafenses, with whom Firmus had sought shelter, placed his body on a camel and carried it to Theodosius; and thus the war ended.

While this general was restoring one province to the Empire, his son, who was later the Emperor Theodosius, saved another. Valentinian was fortifying the line of the Danube as far as Dacia Aureliana,¹ in the same way that he had made the left bank of the Rhine secure. He wished also to have an outpost in the country of the Quadi, as he had established one on the Neckar in Alemannia. Gabinius, the king of the Quadi, came to make humble remonstrances on this subject to the duke of the province Valeria, who invited him and his attendants to a banquet, and murdered them. To avenge this treachery the Quadi and neighboring tribes crossed the Danube and invaded Roman territory, where they almost succeeded in capturing the daughter of the Emperor Constantius, Flavia Constantia, whom the Church has canonized,² and who, at that time betrothed to Gratian, son of Valentinian, was on her way to be married. Two legions were defeated by the Barbarians, and it became necessary to rebuild in all haste the walls of Sirmium. But the younger Theodosius, duke

¹ *Codex Theod.* xv. i. 13.

² For reasons which it is needless to detail here, I believe this Constantia, wife of the very pious Emperor Gratian (*Amm. Marcellinus*, xxi. 15; xxv. 7, 9; xxix. 6), who died before her husband, leaving him no children, to be the Saint Constantia of the Church.



CHURCH AND TOMB OF SAINT CONSTANTINE (ISABELLE, LES ÉDIFICES CIRCULAIRES, PL. 35).

of Moesia, defeated in several engagements the Sarmatae who had invaded his provinces, and obliged them to sue for peace.

Valentinian sent into Pannonia a division of Gallic troops, whom he followed closely in person. Such was the life of a Roman Emperor at this time. — always upon the frontiers, sword in hand, to keep out the Barbarians who from contact with Rome had acquired some arts of peace and war, who had now better weapons and a more formidable system of tactics than the Empire possessed, and who could never be forgotten for a moment. Not long since, the stern and haughty ruler of the West had not disdained to cross the Rhine and treat almost on equal terms with a king of the Alemanni. Along the Danube he found once flourishing cities almost destroyed, and ancient fortresses little more than ruins. He crossed the river near Aquincum. All the Quadi who fell into his power, warriors and old men, women and children, were murdered; the rest, from the mountains where they had taken refuge, looked down upon their villages in flames. Struck with fear, they sent envoys to beg for peace and oblivion of the past. The Emperor received them at Bregitio¹ with great displeasure; he broke out against them in violent language, while speaking burst a blood-vessel in his lungs, and died the following night. This end, so characteristic of his life, should not, however, cause us to forget that, at least so far as the protection of the Empire and religious peace were concerned, he had filled his office well (Nov. 17, 375).

He left two sons, Gratian, whose mother, Valeria Severa, he had repudiated, and Valentinian II., the son of his second wife, the Empress Justina. In 367, while very ill, he had conferred on Gratian, then eight years of age, the title of Augustus, without making the lad pass through the preliminary grade of Caesar.² After negotiations and intrigues which lasted six days, of which the details are unknown, but may be conjectured, the principal officers of the camp at Bregitio gave the title of Augustus to Valentinian II. also, and assigned to him Illyria, Italy, and Africa.

¹ A fortress on the Danube in Lower Pannonia; the fifth cohort of the First Adjutrix had its quarters there. The ruins of Bregitio are to be seen near Szony, east of Comorn.

² According to Idacius, Gratian was born April 18, 359; according to the *Chron. Paschale*, May 28.

Gratian would doubtless recall his mother, who, returning to court, her heart embittered by seven years of insult, would reign as empress, while Justina would be reduced to the condition of a subject. The latter could only escape from the humiliation and dangers which threatened her, by having her own son raised to the same rank with the son of Valeria; and she was sure to find friends who would willingly be masters of a new court and a boy emperor. The most important of these persons, and the man who had most to do in the matter, Mellobaudes, commander-in-chief of the army of the Danube, was her kinsman.¹ By this election the risk of civil war was incurred, but the best troops of the army had accompanied Valentinian into Illyria; the elder Augustus accepted the younger fraternally, without jealousy of any kind, and there was rivalry neither between the two Empresses nor the two brothers. History sees at this period in the West only these two colorless figures of ephemeral Emperors, destined to vanish from the stage, one at the age of twenty, the other at twenty-four.

III. — VALENS (364-378).²

VALENS was no more consulted than Gratian had been in the matter of the division of the Empire; but the Eastern Emperor was too much occupied to dispute a title or a province with his nephews. His reign had begun with a revolt imperilling his throne. That Procopius of whom it was asserted that Julian had regarded him as a successor to the Empire, had remained concealed during Jovian's lifetime. A few months after the accession of the new Emperor he had emerged from his retreat, and with the aid of a few mutinous soldiers caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in Constantinople while Valens was absent in Asia (Sept. 28, 365). The latter was

¹ Zosimus, iv. 17. Justina had accompanied her husband into Illyria, and was only a hundred miles distant from the camp with her son Valentinian and her brother Cerealis (Amm. Marcellinus xxx. 10). Besides her son, she had three daughters, one of whom married Theodosius.

² He was born about 328, and was therefore thirty-six years of age at his accession.

not a person made to gain the popular favor. Small in stature, swarthy in complexion, having a cast in one eye, he had none of those exterior advantages of grace or dignity which charm or impress the multitude; and it very soon became apparent that he was cruel in disposition, and rude through lack of education,¹—he was even ignorant of the language spoken by his subjects. Hence Procopius not unnaturally believed that he was a sovereign easily to be over-

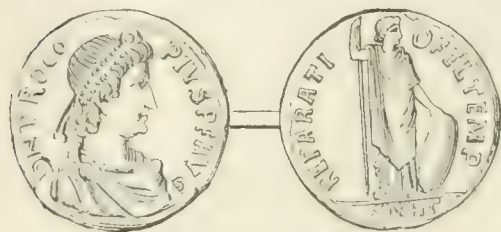
GOLD MEDALLION (1).²GOLD MEDALLION (2).²

thrown. The friends of Julian had been deprived of their offices, even the praetorian prefect, Sallust, who had refused the Empire. They were malcontents ready to encourage a revolt, and doubtless some of them aided Procopius in gathering an army. The sedition spread rapidly in Thrace and among the chief towns of Bithynia. But this chance Emperor was even more worthless than his rival. His enterprise met its ruin in Phrygia, almost without a battle, from the defection of one of his generals, an Aleman by birth, whom Valens had bought over. Procopius fled, accompanied by two of

¹ Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 14.

² Cabinet of Vienna. Arneth, *Gold- und Silbermon. des antiken Cabinet in Wien*, pl. cxiv. 12, p. 52; and Cohen, vol. vi. *Valens*, No. 10. First medallion: Valens, with diadem and *pabulamantum*, the right hand raised. Second medallion: Valentinian I., with nimbus, between Valens and Valentinian II., all three standing, each holding a sceptre and leaning upon a buckler. Legend: PIETAS DDD. NNN. AVGVSTORVM. Weight of the medallion about 2 oz., without the rim. On medallions of great size given as rewards instead of money, see Vol. VII. p. 211, note 5.

his officers, who, to save their own lives, fell upon him and dragged him, bound with ropes, to the Emperor. Valens caused him to be beheaded (May 27, 366); and, doubly traitors, the two officers shared his fate. A kinsman of Procopius, Marcellus, an officer of the guard, attempted to continue the revolt for his own profit, but



COIN OF PROCOPIUS.¹

gained by it only a cruel death. Valens had been alarmed, and he was pitiless. "The executioner and the rack and most cruel modes of torture now attacked men of every rank, class, or fortune, without distinction. . . . For the Empe-

ror was quick to inflict injury, always ready to listen to informers, admitting the most deadly accusations, and exulting unrestrainedly in the diversity of the punishments devised. . . . Nor was any limit put to the cruelties which were inflicted, till both the Emperor and those about him were satiated with plunder and bloodshed."²

In 374 magic and the stars gave Valens another competitor, Theodorus, one of the imperial secretaries,³ who was made to believe himself the designated Emperor. Amm. Marcellinus relates, from the deposition of the conspirators, how the god had been constrained to reveal the future. The method was simple, within the reach of any man, and for that very reason specially dangerous to those who for the moment were the masters. "We did construct, most noble judges," Hilarius said, "under most unhappy auspices, this unfortunate little tripod which you see, in the likeness of that of Delphi, making it of laurel-twigs; and having consecrated it with imprecations of mysterious verses, and with many decorations and repeated ceremonies in all proper order, we at last used it in the following manner: it was placed in the middle of a building carefully purified on all sides by Arabian perfumes; and a plain round dish

¹ D. N. PROCOPIVS P. F. AVG., and the diademed head of the Emperor. On the reverse, REPARATIO FEL. TEMP. The Emperor, standing, holding a spear and leaning upon a buckler. (Gold coin.)

² . . . *Quamuliu principem et proximos opum satietas cepit et caedis* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxvi. 10).

³ . . . *Secundum inter notarios adeptus jam gradum* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxix. 1).

was set upon it, made of different metals. On the rim of this dish the four and twenty letters of the alphabet were engraved with great skill, and at equal distances one from another.

Then a person clothed in linen garments and shod with slippers of linen, with a small linen cap upon his head, bearing in his hand sprigs of vervain, as a plant of good omen, propitiated the deity who presides over foreknowledge, and thus took his station by this dish, according to all the rules of the ceremony. Then over the tripod he balanced a ring which he held suspended by a flaxen thread of extreme fineness, which had also been consecrated with mystic ceremonies. And as this ring touched and bounded off from the different letters, which still preserved their distances distinct, he made with these letters, in the order in which he touched them, verses in the heroic metre, corresponding to the questions which he had asked, the verses being also perfect in metre and rhythm, like the answers of the Pythia which are so renowned, or those given by the oracles of the Branchidae.

Then, when we asked who should succeed the present Emperor, after it was said that it would be a person of universal accomplishments, the ring sprang up and touched the letters ΘΕΟ; it then added another letter, and one of the bystanders cried out that Theodorus was the person thus pointed out by the inevitable decrees of Fate. We asked no further questions concerning the



VALENS ON HORSEBACK.¹

¹ Reverse of the gold medallion represented, p. 259.

matter, for it seemed quite plain to us that he was the man who was intended."

In all ages, whether those of the diviner's circle or of table-tipping, the broad space between wisdom and folly is quickly bridged by human stupidity. To-day we laugh at this idle credulity; in the Roman Empire it cost men their lives. Denounced before he had done anything to aid Destiny in keeping her promise, Theodorus was beheaded, and, as usual, a great number of distinguished persons (*honorati*) perished with him. The war against magicians began again; and as the philosophy of those times was only theurgy, the philosophers became victims of persecution. Maximus, the friend and spiritual director of Julian, was beheaded. Valens ordered a severe search to be made for books of magic, and even the army was employed in this service. The books discovered were burned, and their owners with them. Saint Chrysostom describes the alarm which he felt when, having picked up one day, on the banks of the Orontes, a book which had been prudently thrown into the river, he discovered that he had in his hand a treatise on magic. A soldier was near by, and the saint dared not in the man's presence either tear up the book or throw it away; he finally succeeded in hiding it under his mantle without attracting observation, and he considered himself saved from a great peril.¹

In the religious question, Valens followed the policy of Constantius. Orthodoxy made progress in the East; Alexandria, where Athanasius still lived, and Caesarea in Cappadocia, which at this time had Saint Basil as bishop, were its principal centres. Several churches in Asia had united in sending their deputies to Rome to bring about an agreement between Eastern and Western Christendom.²

This movement occasioned anxiety to Valens, and, to counteract it, he caused himself to be baptized by the Arian bishop of Constantinople. This public declaration of the sovereign's faith indicated

¹ Saint Chrysostom, *Homily* 38, upon the *Acts of the Apostles*.

² They had been furnished with letters to Liberius, "our brother and colleague." These letters were said to be addressed "by the Orthodox bishops of Asia to you and the other bishops of Italy and the West." And Liberius replied: "Liberius, bishop of Italy, and all the bishops of the West, to our very dear brothers and colleagues. . . . The bishops of the East are now in harmony with the Orthodox bishops of the West." These letters, condemning the Council of Rimini, and establishing the Nicene Creed as the sole rule of faith, established "communion;" that is to say, community of belief between the churches which interchanged them. This was a very ancient and useful custom. Cf. Soerates, iv. 12.

to all men connected with the court what their belief should be; and the indication became plainer still when they saw sentences of exile begin again. The persecution this time had alternations of severity and of indecision which took from it the gloomy grandeur of the great struggles in matters of belief.¹ It is a history which we have already related in the reign of Constantius, and we are reluctant to return to it. Mention also should be made of the disturbances in the churches, of competitions between the bishops, of elections obtained by bribery or by popular violence, of unworthy priests "who made merchandise of the Word of God,"² and ordained for money. Saint Basil writes: "Will the bishops renounce their wickedness? God only knows. . . . Here, all is full of grief."³ He himself, in order to make sure of the revenues of his episcopal estate,—devoted, it is true, to the relief of the poor,—broke with Gregory Nazianzen a friendship of thirty years; and the latter says: "It is now by intrigues that men attain the office of bishop."⁴ However much allowance we make for the exaggeration natural to fault-finders, there yet remains in these accusations so much truth that history has no right to conceal troubles which were one of the elements of the political situation,⁵ and explain, without justifying, the violent acts of the Emperors. In respect to the religious policy of Valens, we shall mention two facts only, showing how, after transports of rage, he sank into feebleness and inaction,—the worst possible habit of mind for a ruler. Athanasius, driven out of Alexandria for the fifth time, was obliged to conceal himself for four months in a tomb; after inflicting this useless punishment on the brave old man, Valens

¹ In respect to this persecution, see the fourth book of Socrates. A constitution (*Codex Theod.* xii. 1, 63) calls the monks *ignaviae sectatores*, and orders the Count of the East to restore them to their municipal senates, that they may bear the local burdens (*munia*). A law of 364 (*ibid.* ix. 16, 7) forbade nocturnal sacrifices. Upon the representations of Praetextatus, proconsul of Achaia, Valens made exception in the case of the mysteries of Eleusis, which were celebrated by night (Zosimus, iv. 3).

² Καπηλεύοντες (Basil, *Letter* 103).

³ *Letters* 48, 53, and 57.

⁴ Gregory Nazianzen, i. 335, edit. Billy.

⁵ With his lofty soul and his tender heart for the poor, Basil had the malady of his time,—he was of an irascible temper. We find him at war with his uncle, with almost all the bishops of Pontus, and later we shall see what his conduct was towards the Pope. Gregory Nazianzen was equally hot-headed. These men had a most lofty ideal, and they gave way to recriminations all the more violent because they did not find this ideal realized in the men about them.

authorized him to return to his metropolitan church, where he found, in 373, by a tranquil end, that repose which in life he had never known. Saint Basil, threatened with death in his archiepiscopal city of Caesarea, maintained his position against the praetorian prefect, and even against the Emperor; and Valens, fearing an outbreak of the population, left them their bishop. With this Emperor all was petty, even wickedness.

Themistius asserts that he reduced the taxes by one fourth.¹ It would seem that certain fiscal reductions, probably temporary, were exaggerated by the official orator until they became, to an imagination over-excited by rhetoric, an abatement which an emperor of that time could not have made.

Upon a body whence life is departing, swarm injurious insects, hastening the work of destruction. Africa, Italy, Gaul, and Britain had been ravaged by robbers as well as by the Barbarians; Pannonia and Dacia Aureliana had suffered from inroads of the Quadi and Sarmatae; and the Gothic tribes will shortly make a permanent lodgement in Thrace. The province of Asia was in no better condition, the Isaurians incessantly plundering the territory adjacent to their mountains. Audacious brigands spread terror in Syria, the Saracens in Palestine and Phoenicia, the Blemmyes on the borders of Egypt. Saint Basil wrote, in 373, that from Capadocia to the shores of the Bosphorus the whole land was full of enemies; Rome even was, so to speak, besieged by robbers, and Symmachus dared not leave the city to go to his estates in Campania. "It seemed as if the Furies were throwing everything into confusion," says Amm. Marcellinus. Against these unworthy enemies the army exhausted its remaining strength.²

With disorder like this at home, a foreign war was sure to be feebly carried on. Jovian had stipulated that the Armenian Arsaces, Julian's ally and, in some respects, his dependant, should be included in the treaty of 363; but had pledged himself not to assist Arsaces

¹ Themistius, *Oration*, 8.

² . . . *Adjumento militari marcante* (xxxii. 9). Concerning the valor of the Roman soldiers of this time, see Zosimus, iv. 40. In Amm. Marcellinus (xxx. 1) a legion takes flight before a small troop of Armenian cavalry, who, however, have done no more than show a determination to fight. Others refuse to quit the shelter of a fortress in order to drive away pillagers; their commander only succeeds in persuading them to do this by rushing out alone against the enemy (Zosimus, iv. 40).

if any hostilities should break out between him and Persia. This was in effect to give up Armenia to the intrigues and the open attacks of Sapor. The intrigues began at once, and from the year 364 had been a cause of anxiety to Valens. But the Persian king hesitated to entangle his cavalry in the Armenian mountains: he preferred intrigue, and was successful in it. Arsaces, invited to a festival, was seized, loaded with silver chains, and then put to death. It was not, however, so easy to obtain possession of the country. Sapor fol-

lowed another method: he invested two Armenian nobles, pledged to his interests, with the government; and the same thing was done in Iberia. Valens attempted to arrest the advance of Persia. He was not an impetuous soldier, and Sapor—who had been on the throne for sixty-three years—had exhausted his warlike ardor in innumerable campaigns. Accord-

ingly, the two empires

did not rush against each other with tremendous energy; it was more like two infirm old men who, from habit, strive feebly with each other. Count Trajan and Vadomar—once a king of the Alemanni, and now a Roman general—obtained some slight advantage in 373 over a corps of the enemy; this blow being struck somewhat softly, a truce suspended the inglorious hostilities. Later, in 380, the disturbances which followed the death of Sapor.



LARGE GOLD MEDALLION OF VALENS.¹

¹ Valens wearing the diadem. This medallion, which, with its ring, weighs nearly 10 oz., was worn around the neck, as (p. 39) Julian was required to wear the likeness of Constantius (Cohen, vol. vi. pl. 14). Cabinet of Vienna.

complicated with a war on the Eastern frontier, led the Persians to desire peace with Rome, and an ambassador came to seek it from Theodosius, bringing the Emperor rich presents, — silk stuffs, gems, Indian elephants, and other objects of value.¹

The widow of Arsaces, daughter of that prefect Ablavius who had perished in the great Constantinian massacre of 337, had a son named Para. This young prince, sheltered in the territory of the Roman Empire, finally succeeded in recovering his ancestral kingdom, but was constrained to pursue the policy imposed upon the kings of Armenia by their situation: namely, to keep on good terms both with Persia and the Empire. Valens, feeling that the young king leaned too much to the Persian side, persuaded him by kind messages to come to the imperial residence at Tarsus; and when Para arrived, Valens made an attempt to keep him prisoner. Warned of his danger, the Armenian escaped. But with a confidence unusual in an Asiatic prince, he fell soon after into another snare by accepting an invitation from Count Trajan, the commander of the Roman forces in Armenia. The repast was sumptuous, and the music of lyres and lutes filled the hall, when suddenly a Barbarian soldier rushed in with a drawn sword, fell upon the young king, who fought bravely for his life, but perished under repeated blows (374).²

Valentinian had dealt thus with an Aleman chief, and the governor of Pannonia with the king of the Quadi. All these men, notwithstanding their Christian zeal,³ were unscrupulous, and the morality of the time had fallen very low.

The war against the Goths prevented Valens from deriving any advantage from this crime, which proved profitable to the Persians only.

The Germanic invasion, arrested by Julius Caesar, Augustus, and the Antonines, had in the third century been very near succeeding. The brave Emperors who succeeded the Thirty Tyrants repulsed it, and for a century these Barbarians remained powerless.

¹ This embassy arrived in Constantinople in 384, sent by Sapor III., son of Sapor II. and successor of Ardeschir. He reigned but four years, and was perhaps dethroned.

² *Esquisitæ cuppediæ et aedes amplæ nervorum et articulato flatilique sonitu resultarent jam vino incalescente* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxx. 1).

³ The piety of this Count Trajan has been much extolled by the ecclesiastical writers of the time; he was in correspondence with Saint Basil.

In the West the Alemanni and the Franks, enfeebled by numerous attacks from the Romans, had also lost many of their soldiers, attracted into the Roman army or established as colonists in depopulated regions. On that side, therefore, invasion seemed unlikely, although the Empire had abandoned two important positions, giving up to the Alemanni the Decumatian lands, and to the Franks Toxandria. But nations coming from the North had accumulated in formidable masses behind the Danube and the Euxine. The most powerful of these, the Goths, ruled the country from the banks of the Don to Transylvania; they were divided into the Ostrogoths, or dwellers in the steppe, on the east, and the Visigoths, or dwellers in the woods, on the west, in the vast forests and rich plains which descend from the Carpathians to the Danube.

Since their disastrous expedition in 270,¹ and especially since Aurelian had abandoned to them Dacia, these warlike tribes had almost renounced their raids across the Danube and in Asia Minor. Their relations with the Empire, facilitated by their neighborhood and by the propagation of Christianity among them, had brought them out of barbarism without as yet really making them a civilized nation.² They had furnished auxiliaries to Galerius for the Persian war, to Constantine against Licinius, and the Empire now kept in its pay, under the name of *foederati*, a corps of forty thousand Goths, which the Emperors endeavored to keep always at its full number.³ Either from fidelity to treaties, or more probably from fear of the Empire, which since Claudius Gothicus had been almost continually in strong hands, the Goths had turned their warlike ardor

¹ Vol. VII. p. 224.

² Ulfilas (311-381), who is considered the first bishop of the Goths, translated the whole Bible, with the exception of the books of Kings, into the language of his people. This was the first time that the language was written. The evangelization of the Gothic nation, — which he actively carried forward, if indeed he did not begin it, — the translation of the Bible, and the invention of the letters necessary to represent the sounds of the language, testify that Ulfilas was a remarkable man. Philostorgius (ii. 5) represents the bishop as the son of a Cappadocian captive carried off by the Goths, and living among them. Fritigern, the principal chief of the Visigoths, seems to have been favorable to the Christians (Socrates, iv. 33); while his rival, Athanaric, was hostile to them and persecuted them. Upon the spread of Roman civilization among the Barbarians, see above, page 96, note 2. But we must reject the opinion that the mythology of the Germans predisposed them to embrace Christianity. Odin and Thor have nothing in common with Jesus, and the delights of Valhalla (the endless banquets and battles) are completely opposed to the ascetic conception that the Christians formed both of the present and the future life.

³ Jordanes, *History of the Goths*, p. 21.

against their Barbarian neighbors, and the beginnings of culture received by them, together with a certain spirit of discipline which made the whole nation accept the sway of a single chief, secured to them continual successes.

A great number of Scythian and Germanic tribes yielded obedience to the Ostrogothic king Hermanric, of the venerated family of the Amalungs. The Visigoths, under their chief, Athanaric, extended from the Dniester to the middle of ancient Dacia. Some of their warriors profited by the confusion which followed the death of Julian and of his successor to venture into Thrace, and Procopius attracted three thousand of them into his service.¹ On the refusal of Athanaric to make any reparation, Valens crossed the Danube twice, and ravaged the left bank; and he even promised a reward for every head of a Goth brought to him (367-369). Wearied out by these incursions, which laid waste their fields, and by the war, which interrupted their commerce with the Empire, the Visigoths begged for peace. A treaty was made at an interview between Valens and Athanaric on boats anchored in the middle of the river, for the Goth, suspicious of treachery, had refused to cross to the right bank. He asserted that he had sworn to his father that he would never set foot on Roman soil. The Emperor continued his pension, but stopped that of the other chiefs, and authorized commerce, hitherto carried on all along the frontiers, only at two cities on the Danube.² "This was something new," says Themistius, "to see the Romans grant a peace, not buy it"³ (369).

For many years peace reigned along the Danube; but great events were going on in the heart of Scythia. The plains of upper Asia, where whirlwinds of sand sometimes bury all the cultivated lands, fill up or divert the channels of rivers, and destroy cities, have also their whirlwinds of human beings,⁴ which, gathering slowly, far

¹ This is the number stated by Amm. Marcellinus; Zosimus (iv. 7) says ten thousand.

² We have seen Marcus Aurelius and Commodus make like conditions with the Marcomanni and Quadi, and Diocletian attempt to impose the same on Narses. This is a principle of policy.

³ The historian was present at the interview between Valens and Athanaric. See his *Oration X*.

⁴ . . . *Ruens ut turbo montibus celsis* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 3). In the last century six hundred thousand Kalmucks left the banks of the Volga and crossed half Asia, returning to the western provinces of China, whence they had originally come.

from view of the civilized world, sweep upon it at certain epochs to destroy it. The Huns were one of these devastating cyclones. They were unknown to the ancients, and later tradition represents them as born in the desert, the children of demons and witches. They appear to have been of Mongol or Finnish origin; according to Amm. Marcellinus, who very probably saw some of them, their appearance was repulsive. "They are of great size, and short-legged," he says; "so that you might fancy them two-legged beasts, or the stout figures which are hewn out roughly with an axe on the posts at the end of bridges. As soon as they are born, the cheeks of their infant children are deeply marked by an iron, in order that the usual vigor of their hair, instead of growing at the proper season, may be withered by the wrinkled scars. . . . They are so hardy that they require neither fire nor well-cooked food, but live on the roots of such herbs as they find in the fields, or on the half-raw flesh of any animal, which they merely warm by placing it under the saddles as they ride. They never shelter themselves under roofed houses, but avoid them as people ordinarily avoid sepulchres, as things not fitted for use. Nor is there to be found among them a cabin thatched with reed; but they wander about, roaming over the mountains and the woods, and are accustomed from infancy to bear frost and hunger and thirst. There is not a person in the whole nation who cannot remain on his horse day and night. On horseback they buy and sell, they take their food, and there they sleep. . . . When provoked, they fight; and when they go into battle they form in a solid body and utter all kinds of terrific yells. . . . In one respect you may pronounce them the most formidable of warriors; for when at a distance they use missiles of various kinds tipped with sharpened bones instead of the usual points of javelins, but when they are at close quarters they fight with the sword, without any regard for their own safety; and often while their antagonists are warding off their blows, they entangle them with twisted cords so that their hands are fettered. None of them plough, or even touch a plough-handle; for they have no settled abode, but are homeless and lawless, perpetually wandering about with their wagons, in which they live, — in fact, they seem to be people always in flight. Their women live in these wagons, and there their children are born and reared. . . . They have no respect for any religion or superstition whatever, and they are immoderately

covetous of gold." These last words of the historian would be surprising, did we not know how, even in the nomad life of the desolate steppe, the Barbarian is always attracted by the glitter of the yellow metal. Concerning the Huns one thing is most clear, — that they loved to destroy; and we read that Attila, their great chief a few years later than this time, was wont to boast that where his horse's hoofs had trodden, the grass never grew again.

What may have been their primitive abode, and what cause determined their migration, we cannot with certainty say. It appears that about the time when the German and Scandinavian tribes moved southward, to draw nearer to the Roman world, the Asiatic hordes struck their tents and advanced westward towards the great prey which was to be the share of the bravest. With its ill-defended wealth, the Empire was an immense centre of attraction, drawing upon itself the Barbarians surrounding it. In the time of Valens the Huns crossed the Ural Mountains and the River Volga. Beyond this river and on the two slopes of the



ROYAL OR
SACRED AXE.¹

Caucasus dwelt the Alans. Many peoples have taken the axe as a symbol of command, and even of divinity; the god of the Alans was a sword driven into the ground. Their cavalry was formidable; they scalped the conquered foe, and hung around their horses' necks the scalps of those whom they had slain. For them, to die of old age was disgraceful; to fall in battle, a glorious fate. However, they were either conquered by the Huns, or formed an alliance with them to attack jointly the Ostrogothic kingdom, which presented a rich prey (375).²

At the approach of this innumerable horde, Hermanric, notwithstanding his hundred and ten years (?), resolved to fight. But the tribes under the Ostrogothic sway showed much reluctance towards this formidable war. Two Roxalan chiefs, whose sister, Swanhilda, had been trodden to death by Hermanric's horse because her husband had refused to take up arms for him, attempted to kill the Ostrogothic

¹ See p. 266, note 2.

² . . . *Ermenrichi late patentes et uberes pagos* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 3). The bulk of the Alan nation continued to inhabit the Caucasus. The Arab historian Maçoudi (tenth century) estimated that the Alans could bring three hundred thousand horsemen into the field. The number is not certain; but the fact is well known that the Alans were regarded as the best cavalry in the Byzantine armies.

king; others refused him obedience, and Hermanric, in despair, fell upon his sword. His successor, Vithimir, was defeated and killed. This king left an infant son, Viteric, who was protected by two Gothic generals who had long served in the Roman army, Alatheus and Saphrax. While the larger part of the nation submitted to the conquerors, these two generals made their escape with the boy, and fled into the interior. Advancing westward, the Huns then encountered the Visigoths, whose king or chief magistrate, Athanaric, attempted to defend the passage of the Dniester. The Huns, however, crossed the river by night, and Athanaric, narrowly escaping capture, was compelled to fall back upon the Pruth. He

ROYAL OR SACRED AXE.¹

made a stand on the right bank of this river, and it was his plan to make a line of defence along the Pruth from the Carpathians to the Danube, after the manner in which the Romans had so often done; but his discouraged people preferred to go, under the command of Fritigern, to beg shelter within the Empire. The brave Athanaric refused for himself this disgrace, or it may be that he distrusted the hospitality of Valens; and with a few faithful companions he took shelter in the rugged mountains which separate the Wallach plain from the plains of Hungary (376).

When the bishop Ulfilas arrived at Constantinople to negotiate for the admission of his people into the Roman provinces, Valens saw only a once-dreaded nation extending to him suppliant hands, and his flattered pride caused him to forget all prudence. He opened

¹ See p. 266, note 2.

the Empire to this multitude, which according to a writer of this time contained two hundred thousand fighting men,¹ and believed himself to have done all that was needful for the security of the provinces in stipulating that the Goths should give up their weapons, and a certain number of their children as hostages, whom he dispersed among the cities of Asia Minor. In return, the Emperor promised provisions. He believed that he should thus, at one stroke, accomplish two excellent things, — he should render his army



WORSHIP OF THE AXE REPRESENTED ON A BABYLONIAN CYLINDER.²

invincible, by adding to it so large a number of fighting men; and he should add to his treasury all the gold which he could now require from the provinces, instead of the soldiers they would no longer be required to furnish. The sum due for each soldier they were excused from furnishing, was raised to eighty solidi. "From that time forth," says Socrates,³ "Valens neglected to make recruits and despised the veterans."

¹ Eunapius, *Fragm.* 42. But this seems a large estimate, and is not justified by subsequent facts. Amm. Marcellinus (xxx. 4) and Socrates (iv. 34) say only a great multitude.

² De Longpérier, *Œuvres*, i. 170, 220. Behind the symbol of the god are the Sun and the Seven Planets. In Egypt, in Assyria, and even in Asiatic Greece (coins of Tenedos and of Mylasa, for example) the axe is a symbol of royalty or of divinity. In the magnificent tomb of the queen Aah-Hotep, which is one of the most valuable treasures of the Museum of Boulaq, was found, among other objects, a gold-edged hatchet, incrusting with lazulite, turquoises, and other gems. In hieroglyphic writing the axe is the character signifying "god;" this word makes part of the royal titles, and, repeated nine times, signifies all the heavenly powers. See Arthur Rhöne, *L'Égypte à petites journées*, pp. 112, 113. In Poland the same symbol of royalty is retained in the escutcheons of great families which were formerly royal.

³ *Hist. eccl.* iv. 34.

The Goths had agreed to everything; happy in escaping from a great peril, they entered the Empire as a refuge, which they themselves would have an interest in defending (376). But all was rendered worthless through the fault of the imperial agents, whose venality we have so often had occasion to mention in the history of this period. It was not easy to provide for the subsistence of a multitude which must have numbered a million, if to the two hundred thousand fighting men mentioned by Eunapius we add the women, children, and slaves. The Roman officers speculated upon famine, or were powerless to prevent it; from day to day food became more scarce, and the Goths were obliged to buy it themselves. When their resources were exhausted, they sold their slaves, their wives, and the most beautiful of their children.¹ When they had nothing left, they took by violence what was kept back from them. Either they had secretly retained their weapons, or had purchased the right to keep them; they made themselves others, and pillaged the rich plains which lie at the base of Mount Haemus. It soon appeared that the Roman generals, by their improvidence and avidity, had brought a serious war upon the Empire.²

Valens, who had been able neither to foresee nor repress, assembled an army to repair the injury done, and called to his aid his nephew, the Emperor of the West, who sent to him the Frank Richomer, with some troops, to be followed by Frigerid with the Pannonian and Transalpine legions.³ While, however, Gratian was making preparations to send a large force, and Valens called home from Mesopotamia the legions sent to fight the Persians, time slipped away, and the danger grew more serious. The Barbarians who were established as colonists, or had been sold as slaves in the adjacent provinces, and others who served in the imperial army, hastened to join their brothers.⁴ The laborers in the Thracian mines escaped from the miseries they endured; and, as always happens in

¹ . . . γυναικῶν ἐμπροσώπων . . . καὶ παίδων ὠραίων εἰς αἰσχρότητα θήρας (Zosimus, iv. 20).

² Saint Jerome says in his *Chronicle*: *Per avaritiam . . . ad rebellionem fame coacti sunt.*

³ Amm. Marcellinus says (xxx. 7) that most of the soldiers sent from Gaul deserted on the way.

⁴ Synesius wrote some years later: "There is scarcely a Roman family which has not Gothic servants; in our cities the masons, the water-carriers, the porters, are all Goths."

these times of disturbance and devastation, many peasants who had lost all their little possessions joined the pillagers, serving them as guides in order to share with them in the spoils. When, at a later period, Alaric besieged Rome, forty thousand slaves joined his army.¹

A first and very sanguinary engagement took place near Salices. Fritigern, having called in by fiery signals the detachments which were absent on foraging expeditions, emerged from behind his rampart of wagons and attacked the Romans, who were encamped upon a hill. The Barbarians advanced, shouting the praises of their ancestors, with many discordant outcries; the legionaries responded with the *barritus*, which first ran along the ranks as a gentle murmur, increasing gradually until ended with the full strength of the men's voices. The losses were heavy on both sides, and the fortune of the day remained undecided; the Goths fell back behind their wagons, and the Romans sought shelter in the neighboring city of Marcianopolis. A few of the dead were buried; but most of them were left to be devoured by birds and beasts of prey, and years later the ground was still in many places white with bones (autumn of 377).² Reinforcements received by the Romans made them strong enough to drive back the Barbarians into the gorges of the Haemus; the roads leading into the valleys were then closed with earthworks, and it was hoped that the enemy, thus shut in, would perish with hunger. This had been the successful strategy of Claudius II. But the Goths fell back into the mountains only to await the arrival of other Barbarians, who were constantly crossing the Danube, now left without defence. Alatheus and Saphrax soon joined them with a strong force of Ostrogoths; Taifales, Huns, and Alans all hastened to fall upon their prey; those who had just been in arms against each other became friends in prospect of the enormous booty awaiting them.

Count Saturninus, who was placed in charge of the defiles, aware of the great masses of men accumulating in the mountains, perceived that he could not arrest their advance if they should fall upon any one of the points of the long line that it was his duty to defend. He fell back on the Thracian fortresses; and Frigerid.

¹ Zosimus, v. 42.

² *Indicant nunc usque albentes ossibus campi* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 7).

the leader of the corps sent by Gratian, on his side retreated as far as Beræa, and even farther, to the pass of Succi, which he fortified, to preserve from invasion at least the Illyrian provinces.¹ Then from the Haemus to the Rhodope, and from the Rhodope to the Bosphorus, all the level country was given up to the most frightful devastation.

Meantime Gratian did not arrive. A young Aleman of the Emperor's guard, being at home on leave of absence, had revealed to his fellow-countrymen that several cohorts had set off for the East, where a formidable invasion was threatened, and that Gratian, with the main army, was about to follow, the advance-guard having already reached Pannonia.² The temptation was irresistible; forty thousand Alemans fell upon upper Germany, which they believed to have been left entirely unprotected. Gratian in all haste recalled the legions which were on the way to Valens; and to the forces in Gaul he added numerous Frankish auxiliaries, commanded by a gallant soldier, Merovand, who was at the same time count of the body-guard and king of the Franks.

The battle of Argentaria (Colmar or Neuf-Brisach) was disastrous to the hostile army, which perished completely,³ with the exception of five thousand men. Gratian followed the fugitives across the Rhine and drove them as far as the mountains of the Black Forest.⁴ To obtain peace, the Alemanni gave up a number of their young men, who, according to the dangerous custom of the time, were enrolled in the Roman army.

This expedition being successfully terminated, Gratian turned towards the East; and from Sirmium, where he arrived ill, he wrote to Valens, then at Hadrianople, begging him to wait till he himself should arrive, that they might then encounter the Goths with the united forces of the two Empires. On receipt of this communication, a council of war was held. The master of the cavalry,

¹ . . . *Ad societatem spe prædæ ingentium adsciverunt* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 8).

² Frigerid destroyed a body of Goths who had ventured as far as the banks of the Margus, and sent his prisoners as colonists to cultivate the lands of Parma, Modena, and Reggio (Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 9).

³ In the same way the accounts given by a *scutarius*, who had deserted, decided the Aleman kings, in 357, to fight the battle of Strasburg (Amm. Marcellinus, xvi. 12).

⁴ A passage in Amm. Marcellinus seems to imply that the Alemanni were attacked at the same time by the Gallic army and the troops that Gratian was bringing back from Illyria; hence the extent of the disaster.

Victor, a prudent general, although a Sarmatian, the Frank Richomer, and the majority of the officers present, desired to await the arrival of Gratian. Valens, jealous of his nephew, wished for a victory which should be entirely his own; he decided that the battle should be fought at once, and on the 9th of August, 378, he set out, on a burning day and over a dusty road, to seek the enemy, whose forces were not yet all collected. Fritigern gained time by feigned negotiations; and when he knew that the troops he was waiting for had arrived, he began the fray. Amm. Marcellinus describes the battle in the last pages of his History.¹ The narrative is lacking in clearness, and the exact causes of the great disaster are not discernible. The Romans were overwhelmed with the heat, he says, devoured by thirst, and suffering with hunger. But the August sun must have been much more insupportable to the Goths, and the legions came from Hadrianople, where there had been no lack of provisions. We detect disorder in the march of the Roman troops,² and desertions, for entire corps disappeared without fighting;³ on the part of the Goths an impetuous attack of their cavalry, hurled by Alatheus and Saphrax at a favorable moment upon the left wing of Valens, which had advanced in disorder as far as the rampart of wagons; and then the crushing mass of a multitude of men rushing with fury upon the imperial army.⁴ The Emperor, wounded by an arrow as he was endeavoring to escape, was carried into a hut, to which the Goths, surprised that it was so strenuously defended, set fire. Valens perished in the flames, and no trace of him was ever found. Two thirds of the Roman army, almost all the generals, and thirty-six tribunes were killed; it was another battle of Cannae.

On the following day, notwithstanding the advice of the able Fritigern, who wished "to be at peace with walls,"⁵ the Goths

¹ He withdrew to Rome, where he read aloud his History in public, to the great admiration of the Romans (Libanius, *Letter* 983).

² Zosimus (iv. 24) says: τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα σὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ . . . ἐξήγαγεν.

³ Amm. Marcellinus frequently speaks of *proditores et transfugas* guiding the Goths to the attack on Hadrianople the day after the battle, and to that made on Perinthos and Constantinople. These deserters gave the Goths information as to the interior of these cities, and even of houses.

⁴ . . . *Sicut ruina aggeris magni oppressum atque dejectum* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 11). In respect to this battle, see also Socrates, iv. 38, and Sozomenus, vi. 40. In regard to Fritigern, Alatheus, and Saphrax, Jordanes (26) says: *Vice regum gentibus illis praeerant.*

⁵ *Pacem sibi esse cum parietibus memorans* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 7).

MAP FOR THE GOTHIC INVASION UNDER VALENS



attacked Hadrianople, where Valens had left the treasure of the army and the wealth of the palace. But for an assault they had nothing except their courage. The inhabitants, and those who had been able to take shelter in the city the night before, defended themselves with the courage of desperation. They blocked up the gates inside the city with huge stones, they strengthened the weak parts of the walls, and planted engines to hurl javelins or stones on all convenient places, and provided an abundant supply of water. The assault lasted all day, and the Goths retired at night, having suffered great loss, and made no impression upon the well-defended walls. The second capital of Thrace had escaped, but Thrace itself was in the hands of the Barbarians.¹ They now wandered over the country, ravaging and burning everything as they passed, avoiding the walled towns, plundering those that were undefended, and finally, as they drew near Constantinople, marching with speed for fear of ambushes, and being very eager to obtain possession of its ample wealth.² But the city was strongly fortified; behind its walls was an immense population, whom the Goths feared as being of the same resolute temper with the men of Hadrianople, and the Empress Dominica lavished gold in exciting the zeal of the defenders of the city. Only a bold and lucky stroke could give Constantinople to the Goths. They were, on the contrary, themselves surprised and driven back by a furious sortie made by a body of Saracens who had lately been introduced into the city.³ The fair-haired, blue-eyed children of the North recoiled in surprise and alarm before these men bronzed by the Arabian sun, with their short crisp hair, and dark flashing eyes. One of these savage warriors of the desert, naked to the waist, a dagger in his hand, had plunged into the midst of the Gothic host, uttering a kind of howl like a beast; and, striking down a man, had applied his lips to the wound, and eagerly drank the other's blood. This was the first encounter between the two Barbaric powers who were to divide the Empire between them.

¹ . . . *Itineribus lentis, miserantes cuncta populationibus et incendiis, nullo renitente, pergebant* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 16).

² . . . *Copiarum cumulis indantes amplissimis* (*ibid.*).

³ Socrates (*Hist. eccl.* iv. 36) speaks of a treaty concluded by Valens with their queen, Mavia, who stipulated that one of her Saracens, a hermit, should be consecrated bishop. The monks of Mount Sinai preached to the Arabs.

Here we might well stop, for nothing more is left of Rome. Beliefs, civil institutions, military organization, arts, literature,—all have disappeared, and the invasion has begun. Fritigern has advanced as far as the walls of Constantinople; in a few years Alaric will make himself master of Rome. But the religious question, which has occupied so many pages in this volume, is not yet settled; Arianism holds almost the entire East; in many places paganism still endures, even in those great centres of Orthodoxy, Rome and Alexandria; and an Emperor is yet to come who, striking the last blows at the ancient religion, will establish the unity of the Church, and for a few months will reign sole master in both capitals of the world. Our task, therefore, is not yet ended.

¹ Rome and Constantinople (reverse of a gold medallion of Gratian).



ROME AND CONSTANTINOPLE.¹

CHAPTER CIX.

GRATIAN (367-383); VALENTINIAN II. (375-392); THEODOSIUS (379-395).

I. — THE REIGNS OF GRATIAN AND THEODOSIUS, TO THE PEACE WITH THE GOTHS (378-380).

AFTER the battle of Hadrianople the Sarmatae and Quadi had crossed the Danube, while the conquerors of Valens, finding the pass of Succus ill-defended, invaded the Illyrian provinces, till then intact;¹ the Empire was now one aching and bleeding wound. "How many woes!" exclaims Gregory Nazianzen. "The land is covered with dead bodies, and red with blood." Saint Jerome writes a little later: "For the last twenty years, from Constantinople to the Julian Alps, the blood of the Romans has been shed daily. Moesia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Dacia, the land of the Thessalians, of the Dalmatians, and of the Dardanians, Achaia, Epirus, the two Pannonian provinces, are all full of Barbarians who pillage and kill. How many matrons and consecrated virgins, how many persons of rank, have been the victims of their brutality! How many bishops have been carried away captive, how many priests murdered and churches destroyed, and how often have they fed their horses upon our altars!"² Gaul was threatened with a similar fate; at news of the success of the

¹ . . . *Arctos provincias quas peragrare licenter adusque radices Alpium Juliarum* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 16). Saint Ambrose redeemed captives, natives of his diocese, who had been carried off by these marauders. The Fathers of the Council of Aquileia in 381, in their letter to Theodosius (Ambrose, *Letter* 12), complain that they have not been able, on account of enemies, to send deputies to the Church of Antioch. See also Saint Chrysostom, *Letter to a Young Widow*, in his complete *Works*, i. 344, edit of Montfaucon.

² Saint Gregory Nazianzen, *Disc.* xxii.; Saint Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum*, ii. 25. The quotation from Saint Jerome is taken from his letter to Heliodorus, entitled *Epitaphium Nepotiani*, which seems to have been written about 398 (Saint Jerome, *Works*, i. 26, edit. of Basle, 1553). It therefore indicates the condition of these provinces after the battle of Hadrianople and during part of the reign of Theodosius.

Goths, the Alemanni prepared to take in the trans-Rhenic provinces,—their share of the pillage of the Empire.¹ Britain and Africa, recently in a blaze, remained exposed to perils for a time averted by Count Theodosius; the inhabitants of the Cyrenaica lived in continual alarm; and there was reason to fear that in the East the Persians would attempt to profit by the disaster of Valens. “The Empire is falling into ruins!” wrote Saint Jerome sadly.

The momentary lassitude of the Barbarians could alone give it respite, for of itself Roman society could do nothing in its own defence. The populations no longer had the courage to protect themselves, and moreover the law had deprived them of the means of doing this, prohibiting to citizens the possession of weapons. Another evil prevailed; in consequence of invasions and of the increasing insecurity, such gaps were made in the population that the life of the community became impoverished. The Church was not in a position to restore energy to this enfeebled vitality. The clergy lived in celibacy, and urged it upon the laity. In three books Saint Ambrose unfolds the merits of virginity; and at the same time he says: “It is complained that the human race is in danger of dying out.”² Moreover, Christians had already been seen escaping in numerous bands to the desert; others, who still remained in cities, avoided the conjugal life. Saint Basil, Saint Gregory, Saint John Chrysostom, and many others, were monks before they were bishops; and Saint Jerome so extols the merits of celibacy that when his *Letter to Eustochia* was read at Rome, it was thought that he absolutely condemned marriage. The Christians, while asking much from the state, gave it nothing in respect to political force. On the question of civil obligations they were in agreement with the philosophers, who also recommended separation from the world; so that the two moral powers of the age made the contemplative life the ideal of perfection: and those who in this society were best fitted for the duties of life refused to perform them.

This desertion within the community, this destruction of the military spirit, explains why the Emperors filled the army with

¹ Socrates, v. 6; Sozomenus, vii. 4. But Ausonius, then at Trèves, where he delivered his *Gratiarum actio pro Const.*, does not mention any invasion.

² *De Virgin.* ii. 7. Saint John Chrysostom wrote about this time a treatise on the same subject.

Barbarians, and sought their generals from hostile races. Among these chiefs of the imperial armies were the Goth Munderic, who commanded on the frontier of Arabia; Modares, the serviceable lieutenant of Theodosius in 379; Fravitta, whom Arcadius made a consul, pagan though he was; Saul and Bacurus, officers of less renown; Eriulf, who already looked forward to the transference of the Empire to the Goths; Gainas, who attempted to give it to them; and even Alaric, whose army was later to force those Roman walls which Hannibal had never been able to break through. In the Western Empire also how many tribunes, counts, and commanders had been furnished by the Aleman and Frankish tribes! Magnentius was of Getic race; Sylvanus, a Frank; Arbogastes, who held an Emperor in clientage, was at once king of the Franks and a Roman general. "The Barbarians," says Zosimus, "make their residence within the Empire, whose native population has now become so reduced that it is scarcely possible to recognize the sites of many once flourishing cities."¹

Gratian was not the man whom circumstances so difficult demanded. Augustus at the age of eight, emperor at sixteen, assassinated at twenty-four, he had time only to exhibit on the throne some amiable qualities and much weakness. At the beginning of his reign his religious policy was undecided: first we find severities against the heretics;² then a law of toleration;³ finally, Orthodoxy prevailed. He recalled the bishops exiled by Valens, bestowed upon the Catholics the churches of the Donatists, and prohibited sectaries from holding assemblies, under penalty of confiscation of the buildings where they were held. These variations indicate that influence over the young Emperor was alternately lost and recovered by the old counsellors of his father or by Saint Ambrose, whose docile pupil he was. Gratian was in personal correspondence with the great bishop.⁵ He asked from

GOLD MEDALLION.⁴

¹ Ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτεια κατὰ μέρος ἐλαττωθεῖσα βαρβάρων ἀκητήριον γίγνεται . . . iv. 59).

² Law of 376 and 377, in the *Theodosian Code*, xvi. 5, 4, and xvi. 6, 2. Cf. Godefroy, vi. 128.

³ Socrates, v. 2.

⁴ The Emperor Gratian, with the diadem. DN. GRATIANVS P. F. AVG.

⁵ See, at the beginning of the Benedictine collection of the *Letters* of Saint Ambrose, a letter from Gratian to the Archbishop of Milan.

Saint Ambrose advice as to his conduct, and treatises on theology for his faith; and to be better instructed, the Emperor often resided at Milan.¹ This Orthodox ardor augured ill for the pagans. If he did not molest them as to their persons or property, he persecuted their cult, — confiscating the patrimony of the gods by giving to the state the lands and the revenues which the piety of thirty generations had devoted to the service of the temples;² taking away the privileges which the vestals and pontiffs had enjoyed for centuries; removing from the senate-house the altar of Victory; and, to take from the old Roman religion its last hope of protection, refusing to accept the sacerdotal robe which it was the custom for the college of pontiffs to offer to the Emperor on his accession.³ Gratian was the first ruler after the Church's heart.

But it was a time when the affairs of state were very urgent; Gratian formed the wise design of giving himself a colleague, and he made a good choice. After the death of Valentinian, a reaction had taken place, as was usual, against the servants of the late reign. Gratian's mother, Severa Valeria, returning to her son, avenged herself upon the ministers of her former husband. The public mind was at this time too much habituated to palace revolutions to be excited by this; but one of the executions which took place shocked men, because it inaugurated the reign of the young Emperor by a crime which deprived the state of its best general. Count Theodosius, pursued by the hatred of those whose exactions he had repressed in Africa, and accused, doubtless, of aspiring to the Empire, was beheaded at Carthage (376).⁴ His son, involved in the same disgrace, or unwilling to serve his father's murderers, withdrew into his native city of Cauca, in Galicia. Thither the messengers of Gratian went to seek him. He was not yet thirty-three years of age, but his campaigns against the Picts and a recent victory over the Sarmatae had established his reputation. The confidence of the Emperor, perhaps also his remorse, decided the

¹ Justina and Valentinian II. spent many years at Sirnium.

² *Codex Theod.* xvi. 10, 20. It was forbidden to make legacies to the pagan clergy (Symmachus, *Letters*, x. 54), — a prohibition which existed already in the case of the Christian clergy. But by both parties the law was evaded; Saint Jerome himself affirms this (*Opera*, iv. 261).

³ Zosimus, iv. 36.

⁴ . . . *Instimulante et obrepente invidia* (Orosius, vii. 33). Under the reign of his son the Senate decreed the count an equestrian statue (Symmachus, i. 22, 57).

fortune of the young general. Gratian gave him the purple, and the prefectures which had belonged to Valens (Jan. 19, 379).

The invasion of rich provinces had been fatal to the invaders: excesses had brought on fatal epidemics, and the Goths left many dead along the roads. The enthusiasm of the early days had abated: united for war, they fell apart after victories, and fatigued with vain attacks on walled cities, they had resumed their road northward, carrying their spoils with them. They halted between the Balkans and the Danube, as in a region where they were quite at home (*genitales terras*);¹ then, to live at their ease, they scattered widely, each upon his chosen ground,² and the formidable mass lost its strength in losing its cohesion. Isolated bands continued to ravage Thrace and Macedon. However, Theodosius was able to go from Sirmium, where he had received the purple, to Thessalonica without risking dangerous encounters. This great seaport was well chosen for the reception of provisions and reinforcements. But the Eastern army had been almost annihilated at Hadrianople: Theodosius with great difficulty gathered a few troops, to whom he essayed to restore the military spirit by subjecting them to the discipline of earlier days. — a dangerous severity, had he not mitigated it by his affable manners and modest life, and by giving the example himself of the virtues he required from others.³ Many skirmishes and surprises. — of which the most important one was led by Modares, a Gothic chief now in the service of the Empire,⁴ — and still more the desire of the Barbarians to make their booty secure, delivered Thrace from the separate bands which had lingered there. On the 6th of July, 379, the Emperor was at Scupi, where he re-established communications with the Empire of the West through the valley of the Save.⁵

During these operations in Thrace the Roman commander in Asia had given orders to his lieutenants, by secret messages, that the Goths scattered through the provinces were, on a given day,

¹ Aur. Victor, 47. Jordanes says also (chap. 26): *Tanquam soli genituli potiti*.

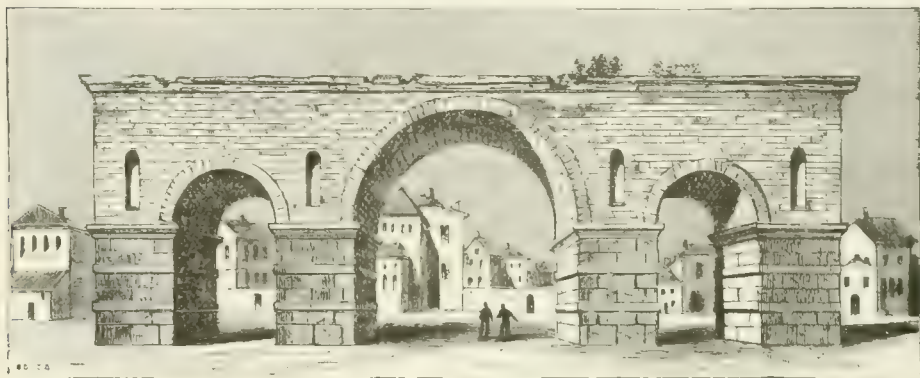
² . . . *Degressi sunt effusorie* (Ann. Marcellinus, xxxi. 16).

³ *ἐπιπράτος* (Zosimus, iv. 27: . . . *Accessu pacis et absque imperiali fastu ad colloquiosum humilibus præbere* (Rufinus, ii. 19). Jordanes (27) and Aur. Victor (48) say the same. In Pacatus (16) we read: *Dur consilio, mores exemplo*. The reproaches addressed him by Zosimus do not appear well founded.

⁴ Themistius, *Disc.* xiv. 181, edit. Hardouin; Zosimus, iv. 25.

⁵ Scupi, between the Schar-Dagh and the Kurbetzkagebirge.

under pretext of a distribution of money, to be called together into certain cities and murdered. This massacre appeared to contemporaries to be required by the interests of public safety. Among the victims there were hostages who had been given up in pledge of peace, and whose execution had been called for by the treachery of their fellow-countrymen. Ancient usages authorized this cruelty. It is said that it was proposed by the Roman general, and ordered by the senate of Constantinople, in the absence of Theodosius.¹ It may be doubted whether the feeble assembly gave this order, and



TRIUMPHAL ARCH AT THESSALONICA (RESTORED).²

Thessalonica was not so far that the Emperor could not have been consulted. Acts of extreme rigor were not displeasing to him; proof of this will be found in his laws and in his conduct.

Early in the following year (380) a serious illness seized him at Thessalonica. He was a Christian, and of the Nicene faith, like all the Western Church. The threatened approach of death determined him to seek for baptism, which at that time many catechumens delayed till the last hour, that they might appear before the Supreme Judge clean from its purifying waters. Ambrose had not received this rite until after his election to the bishopric of Milan; and Synesius, like Ambrose noble and rich, was scarcely a Christian when

¹ Zosimus, iv. 26.

² There are two arches at Thessalonica: one, called the Gate of the Vardar (Vol. III. p. 690), was built in honor of Octavius and Antony after the battle of Philippi: the other, on which camels are represented, was perhaps erected in commemoration of the victory of Constantine over Licinius. Pococke gives a restoration of it in his *Description of the East*, vol. ii. part 2, p. 150. The arch, which is of brick, appears to have been covered with marble. It is forty feet high from the present level, and was probably sixty feet above the ancient.

the people of Cyrene forced him to become their bishop. Theodosius celebrated his entrance into the Orthodox Church by an edict of persecution: the constitution of the 27th of February, 380, condemned the Arian doctrine, and put the Eastern heretics in the same position in which Gratian had placed those of the West. "It is our will," he says, "that all people ruled by our clemency should profess the doctrine brought to the Romans by the Apostle Peter, and now taught by the pontiff Damasus of Rome, and Peter, bishop of Alexandria. Those who follow this rule will alone be called Catholic Christians. Fools and madmen (*dementes vesanique*) who choose to defend the infamy of heretical dogmas will no longer call their assemblies churches, and, while awaiting the judgment of God, will fall under our punishment."¹ A law of the same year defined this threat: "Whoever by ignorance or negligence offends against the divine law, commits sacrilege;"² and the penalty of sacrilege was death at the stake, in the arena, or on the cross.⁴ We grieve at this intolerance; but it cannot surprise us, for the world has rarely seen governments wise enough not to assume to regulate the religious or political conscience of the governed.

SILVER MEDALLION.²

As far as it is possible to bring out fact from a chaos of confused statements, it appears that a new invasion took place in this year (380). Some authors speak of Roman victories, others of Roman defeats; and doubtless there is truth on both sides. It is probable that the mass of the Gothic nation remained inactive. But great migrations were still going on in Germany. The Lombards, coming down from the North, had driven the Vandals in the West as far as the Gallic frontier. Some tribes, impelled southwards, crossed the Danube, bringing with them isolated bands of Goths; and Thrace, Macedon, Thessaly, and Epirus were again

¹ *Codex Theod.* xvi. 1, 2: *Cunctos populos . . . in tali volumus religione versari. . .* In the same year, 380, are dated nine laws against the extortions and thefts of judges and the powerful. Cf. Godefroy in the *Codex Theod.* i. 108. The evil to which we have so often referred, therefore, was not diminished.

² The Emperor Theodosius wearing the diadem.

³ *Codex Theod.* xvi. 2, 25.

⁴ Ulpian in the *Digest*, xlviii. 13, 6.

ravaged by Fritigern with his Visigoths, and Pannonia by Aletheus and Saphrax with the Ostrogoths. The Roman troops encountered these marauders, sometimes successfully, sometimes with loss; on one occasion Theodosius himself only escaped capture by a rapid flight. This reverse and a new attack of illness decided him to claim assistance from Gratian. But the West was threatened with invasion also, the Vandals proposing to seek in Gaul the good fortune which the Goths had found in Thrace. Gratian rid himself of them only by the cession of upper Pannonia; and this sacrifice enabled him to



GOLD
MEDALLION.¹

send to his colleague some troops commanded by Frankish chiefs, Arbogastes and Bauto, two brave soldiers, of whom the latter was father of the Empress Eudoxia. Barbarians being thus matched against each other, the victory belonged to the better disciplined; Thrace and Macedon were again delivered from the Goths. Gratian completed the work by negotiation. The Goths, whose destructive instinct was re-awakened by these pillaging expeditions, were again astonished at their own success. Together with the Thracian spoils, they had carried away, on their retreat, a very high respect for the Empire whose army they had defeated. They contrasted their hovels, their undefended villages, and their muddy bridle-paths, with these cities strongly walled and built upon a drained soil, with these bridges spanning the rivers, with these indestructible roads that furrowed the plains or traversed the mountains; and they felt for this civilization, which they were now able to comprehend, while they could not yet imitate it, the ingenuous admiration expressed some months later by a successor of Fritigern. Athanaric, being called to Constantinople by Theodosius, exclaimed, as he traversed the imperial city: "I see now what I had not before believed,—the splendor of this great city. The Emperor is truly a god upon earth; whoever dares oppose him will perish."² This first impression was destined to be lasting; the Gothic leaders always retained their respect for the Empire, and while devastating its provinces, still designed to keep it

¹ Reverse of a medallion commemorating the victories of Gratian. GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI. The Emperor, standing, holding the *labarum* and a globe, each of which is surmounted by a Victory; the two holding a palm-branch over the Emperor's head.

² Jordanes, 28.

in existence,—at least so long as it was for their own advantage. Atwaulf in Gaul and Theodoric in Italy expressed themselves as Athanaric had done. The conquerors at Hadrianople were therefore disposed to return to the conditions which had been stipulated with Valens,—to obtain lands within the limits of the Empire, and to fight for it. Gratian thought that the loss of some ravaged territory would not be a disaster, and that the Goths would defend the Danube better than could the few and feeble garrisons which it was possible to establish in those deserted regions.¹ He bought over the chiefs with presents and pensions, and the people by promising them food,—doubtless at the approaching harvest; and he abandoned to them, free from all taxes, the fertile lands which slope downward from the Balkans to the great river.² Theodosius, kept informed of these negotiations, which also concerned his provinces, hastened to ratify the agreement, receiving, in return, so large a number of recruits that henceforward his army appeared to be entirely composed of Barbarians.³ “The *foederati* of Constantine were re-established,” says Jordanes, “in equal number and under the same name.” This was a danger: Theodosius attempted to lessen it by sending a large number of these dangerous recruits into the provinces, and withdrawing thence the old Roman troops. Thus Hormisdas, the son of the Persian king, led a Gothic corps into Egypt to take the place of the legion of Alexandria,—a change without risk to the Empire, but not without disaster to the inhabitants. On the way to Egypt this corps committed countless acts of violence. In a city of Lydia the citizens made resistance, and two hundred of the Goths were killed.⁴ We know neither the loss of the townsfolk in this collision, nor how many times similar scenes occurred; but it is certain that this method of recruiting the Roman army made the government in the end cruelly expiate its folly, and the populations their cowardly abandonment of the military service.

Rulers and people at the time congratulated themselves on

¹ Zosimus (iv. 34) says that all the Goths who came to Constantinople with Athanaric went to guard the Danube: *τη τῆς ὕλης φυλακῇ προσεγκατερέησαντας ἐπὶ πολὺ κωλύσαι τὰς κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐφόδους.*

² Jordanes, 27; Prosper, *Chron.*, anno 380: . . . *Procurante Gratiano, et quod Theodosius ægrotaret par firmata cum Gothis.*

³ . . . οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίων διάκρισις ἢ βαρβάρων (Zosimus, iv. 30).

⁴ Zosimus, iv. 30.

this policy, whose disastrous consequences they did not foresee. Proud of their ancient renown, their vanity at present was easily satisfied. These Barbarians, who were to be their masters, now appeared to them the subjects of the Empire (*Romano servibant imperio*). Accordingly when, after the peace which sanctioned this first dismemberment of the Empire, Theodosius returned, Nov. 14, 380, to Constantinople, he entered the city in triumph.¹ The arrival, six weeks later, of a Gothic magistrate, was the occasion of new rejoicings. Athanaric seems to have been recalled by his people after the death of Fritigern, and it was doubtless to confirm the recent treaty that he went to Constantinople.² The Emperor received him with great honors; he went out to meet the Goth, loaded him with presents, and on the death of the old chief, which occurred a few days later (January, 381), Theodosius gave him royal obsequies, the fame of which spread wide among the Barbarians. This policy on the Emperor's part attracted other chiefs, eager to exchange a rude and restless life among their turbulent fellow-countrymen for the profits, the tranquil honors, and the pleasures of a life at Constantinople.

The agreement which had been made with the nation as a body did not hinder predatory bands from scouring the country for nearly two years longer.³ The Roman general Saturninus succeeded in negotiating with these marauders a treaty on the same conditions, and on the 3d of October, 382, put an end to the great Gothic war. "A disastrous peace," says Idacius (*infida pax*). The Empire in fact lost many provinces by it, and the Barbarians, who preserved their national chiefs and their customs, yielded obedience, on the territory which had been ceded to them, neither to the laws nor to the magistrates of Rome; they were her allies, but by no means her subjects.⁴ They had promised to aid the Emperor in all his wars, and they

¹ Zosimus, iv. 33; Philostorgius, ix. 10: *Marcellini comitis Chronicon, anno 380*.

² Jordanes says that he succeeded Fritigern as chief of the Visigoths. The latter, who had been his rival and his enemy, disappears from history at this point, and the honors paid Athanaric by the Emperor confirm the assertion of Jordanes.

³ Zosimus (iv. 34) speaks of Seyrae, Carpodacae, and Huns, who in this year (381) were driven across the Danube.

⁴ Themistius, *Disc.* xvi. 210; Claudian, *In Eutropium*, ii., verses 153 and 194. Cf. Wietersheim, ii. 68. It is needless to say that this German author approves the policy which opened the Empire to the Germans, and reproaches a contemporary, Synesius, for blaming it. All that can be said in favor of Gratian and Theodosius is that they were the heirs of an unfortunate policy, whose dangers have been repeatedly pointed out in this work.

furnished him volunteers, who received special pay. The Barbarians were to be recognized by their gold collars and bracelets, and especially by their turbulence; for these protectors of the Empire were not far from believing themselves in conquered countries, and had no other feeling than contempt for the timid crowd about them. We have seen what disturbances were caused by those whom Theodosius sent into Egypt; others attempted to pillage the city of Tomi, where Count Gerontius, a brave general, was in command. When he proposed to drive away these bandits, the alarmed soldiers refused to follow him; and to induce them to do so, he was obliged to throw himself alone among the enemy. He succeeded in delivering this corner of Thrace; but instead of receiving a reward, he found himself in danger of his life, and escaped the threatened sentence only by abandoning all his property to the eunuchs of the palace.² On one occasion, at Constantinople, the Goths showed so much insolence that the indignant populace killed one of them. Theodosius, to appease the anger of the comrades of the murdered soldier, punished the whole city by reducing by one half its daily distributions.³ A few years later, to avenge the death of a Gothic officer killed in Thessalonica, he ordered the massacre of all the citizens. At the imperial table violent words were often interchanged; sometimes swords were drawn, and blood flowed.⁴ In the civil wars the Barbarians did good service, because expeditions through the provinces promised booty; but more than once Theodosius was obliged to observe how little confidence could be placed in these men, who, while admiring the great civilized state, still felt themselves strangers in the Empire, and believed themselves to have the rights of the stronger to all its wealth. When Theodosius marched against Maximus, many *foederati* deserted, to pillage Macedon and Thessaly; and during his residence in Italy, or after his return to Constantinople (Nov. 10, 391), others killed one of his best generals, Promotus. The Vandal Stilicho, a friend of this officer, attempted to avenge

BRONZE COIN.¹

¹ Reverse of a coin of Tomi. TOMEITON. Hercules standing, the lion's skin on his head, leaning on his club.

² Zosimus, iv. 40.

³ Libanius, *Disc.* xii. 394 (edit. Morel).

⁴ Zosimus, iv. 56; Eunapius, p. 53 (edit. of Bonn).

his death. He pursued the band, and succeeded in shutting them up in a narrow gorge, where he could have hewn them in pieces, had not Theodosius preferred to treat with them.¹ The Emperor was indeed, as Jordanes calls him, the great friend of the Goths.² — a friendship fatal to the Empire, but imposed upon it by circumstances. It was the defective military organization of the Roman state in the fourth century, and not the mere preference of Theodosius, which gave the Goths their formidable advantage. In speaking of all these Barbarians, Synesius exclaims: "The stone of Sisypheus threatens us perpetually."³

II. — GRATIAN AND THEODOSIUS, FROM THE PEACE WITH THE GOTHs TO THE DEATH OF GRATIAN (380-383).

FOR more than forty years Constantinople had been the citadel of Arianism. Demophilus, the bishop of the city, ruled its churches, and the Orthodox Gregory Nazianzen had nothing but an oratory where his adherents met; the place was called *Anastasia*, the "Resurrection," because the Nicene faith was there revived.⁴ Already in Thessalonica, Theodosius had declared war upon heresy. He called upon Demophilus to accept the creed of Nicaea, and on the latter's refusal, deposed him; then, surrounded by his guards, with great military display, the Emperor himself conducted Gregory to the cathedral, and placed in his charge all the churches of the city, with their revenues.⁵ The population was terror-stricken,

¹ Claudian, *De Stilich.*

² *Amator generis Gothorum* (29). Zosimus, iv. 48.

³ Valentinian and Valens had renewed, in 364, the express prohibition to the inhabitants of the Empire of having weapons in their houses (*Codex Theod.* xv. 15). In his *Discourse on Royalty*, sect. 21-24, Synesius shows the provincials exempted from military service, and the defence of the Empire given over to its natural enemies; and he calls for the reconstruction of a national army. This oration, pronounced in the Senate in presence of Arcadius, five years after the death of Theodosius, proves that the picture drawn in this work is not too dark in its representation of the Empire already delivered over to the Barbarians.

⁴ Later this oratory was transformed into a splendid church, which retained the name *Anastasia* (Ducange, *Const. Christian.* iv. 141).

⁵ Gregory was consecrated bishop of Constantinople some years later by Meletius, patriarch of Antioch, in contravention of the Nicene canon prohibiting the transference

but no resistance was offered; Constantinople became Orthodox, as it had become Arian, by order of its Emperor. "Now," says Symmachus sadly, "to remain away from the altars is the means of gaining the imperial favor."¹ Demophilus had more dignity. When he received the Emperor's order he called his clergy together and said to them: "It is written in the Gospel: 'When they persecute you in one city, flee unto the next.' The Emperor drives us out from here; to-morrow we will pray elsewhere."² But the Emperor's wrath followed them wherever they went. This Spaniard, whose zeal is, so to speak, a foretaste of all the religious intolerance that has since characterized his native land, extended through all the Eastern Empire the work begun at Constantinople. There remain sixteen constitutions against heretics issued in his reign. That of Jan. 10, 381, makes the Nicene Creed a law of the land; it gives back to the Orthodox all churches and consecrated places, and prohibits heretics from assembling in the cities. Theodosius speaks here with hatred and contempt of "the Arian poison, the Photinian leprosy, the Emonian perfidy." "Let no heretic," he says, "have place for his religious rites, and let none find opportunity to act according to his obstinate folly." Words like these would naturally inspire terror and lead to numerous conversions. Fortunately the law had no other penalty than expulsion from the city in case the ordinance were disobeyed, and notwithstanding these noisy and violent threats it left the Arians at liberty to assemble in the suburbs and in the country.³

There was at this time a military commander, Sapor, whose name indicates his nationality, and shows the strange medley of this imperial staff formed of Barbarians and foreigners. Theodosius, who had intrusted Hormisdas with the difficult task of leading the Goths into Egypt, employed Sapor to execute this edict. The latter did so without encountering resistance.⁴ These servile populations, perhaps wearied at last with theological dis-

of a bishop from one see to another,—a canon often disobeyed. The opposite party employed it, however, in exciting against him so violent an opposition that he resigned his bishopric.

¹ *Nunc aris deesse Romanos genus est ambiendi* (Letters, i. 45).

² Socrates, v. 7.

³ *Codex Theod.* xvi. 5, 6.

⁴ Theodoret, v. 2.

cussions which they did not understand, abandoned to the Emperor their religious belief, as they had their political interests; and the Arian clergy, habituated to imperial favor, accepted their downfall when they saw this favor removed from them.¹ Only at Antioch Sapor encountered difficulties. The city had at this time three bishops,² to say nothing of its pagan pontiffs. Sapor designated the one who alone should keep this title, and the turbulent city accepted the spiritual ruler assigned it by the Persian. However, the more ardent Arians continued to meet in the suburbs,³ while others concealed their faith until a favorable moment. On one occasion a rumor spreading through Constantinople that Theodosius had been killed in some expedition, the Arians of that city set fire to the house of the Catholic bishop.⁴

To consecrate the religious transformation of his Empire, and complete the Nicene Creed by the condemnation of the Macedonians who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit, Theodosius convoked in May, 381, at Constantinople, a council which is considered oecumenical, although it consisted only of bishops from the Eastern Empire. Many of these bishops had often varied as to their creed, but they submitted to the doctrine which the Emperor wished to have victorious. In the preceding volume of this work (p. 545, note 2) are given the additions made by the Fathers of Constantinople to the *Credo* of 325; they also modified the Sixth Canon, which had recognized vaguely a rank above that of the metropolitan bishops, — that, namely, of the patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, the three bishoprics said to have been founded by the apostles. They made of the see of Constantinople a fourth patriarchate, to which was assigned the second rank, Rome holding the first.⁵ "These decrees," says

¹ Sozomenus, vii. 12.

² Socrates, v. 3.

³ Socrates, v. 15.

⁴ *Id.* v. 13, anno 388.

⁵ The Council of Chalcedon (451) recognized in the see of Constantinople "the same advantages as those belonging to the Church of Rome," — a decision containing the germ of the Eastern schism. This council made a fifth patriarchate, that of Jerusalem. But many provinces refusing to enter into this organization, it became necessary to give the title of exarchs to the metropolitans of Heracleia in Thrace, of Ephesus, and of Neo-Caesarea, hitherto independent of the see of Constantinople. Notwithstanding the conciliary decisions in relation to the hierarchy, many bishops acknowledged only their metropolitan. Synesius of Ptolemais, so full of deference towards the patriarch of Alexandria, seems to ignore the existence of the Pope; in his hundred and fifty-seven

Socrates. "were confirmed by the approbation and assent of the Emperor."¹

All things were not conducted with Christian moderation in this council. There broke out grievous disputes, and two acts of injustice were committed.—one, the requiring Gregory Nazianzen to withdraw from the see of Constantinople; the other, the promotion of Flavianus to that of Antioch. Gregory yielded obedience, but he took his revenge. In the history of his life he speaks very disrespectfully of the council,—where he heard the screams of jays and felt the sting of wasps. "I had scarcely spoken," he says, "when clamors arose on every side. It was like a flock of jays, or a tempest raising whirlwinds of dust; it was a battle of the winds. They chattered foolishly, and buzzed like a swarm of wasps that attack the face."² The successor of Gregory was an old man, Nectarius, an ex-prætor, who had not as yet been baptized.³

While the Fathers of the Council of Constantinople were completing the formula of the Catholic dogma, regardless of the absence of the Western bishops,⁴ Theodosius continued his war against those opposing. Two laws withdrew from apostate Christians, from Manichæans, and from other sectaries, a right which was an

Letters there is not a word of allusion to the Holy See or the Western Empire. The Fathers of Constantinople were a hundred and fifty in number. The Pope and the Western bishops took no part in this council; but, according to usage, its decrees were communicated to them, in order that, being accepted by them, the decrees might be received as authority by the whole Church.

¹ *Hist. eccl.* v. 8.

² ἄτακτα παφλάζουσιν ἡ σφήκων δίκην, verses 1681-87 (edit. Caillau). "Gregory," say the Benedictines (in the *Art de vérifier les dates*, ii. 283), "represents the Fathers of this council as coarse and ignorant, as proud and ambitious, as mercenary, seeking only to amass wealth by whatever means, as hypocrites who under an outward show of virtues conceal great profligacy. . . . They are," he says, "petulant, lovers of display, devoted to the pleasures of the table, ready to perjure themselves when interest demands it, low and fierce natures who grovel before the great, and are as lions towards those beneath them."

³ In respect to this singular election, see Sozomenus, vii. 8-10. In his *Letters*, Gregory frequently repeats that it is his intention to avoid every assembly of bishops, because he has never seen a council that ended well (*De Broglie, op. laud.* v. 88).

⁴ Ξένον γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς ὁρῶ, νῦν ἡ δύσις (Gregory Nazianzen, ii. 26). Saint Basil was of the same mind. He recognized no special right in the Bishop of Rome; the supreme authority of the Church is vested in the councils. Accordingly, when he claims the assistance of the West against the Arians of the Eastern Empire, he addresses himself to the bishops of Italy and of Gaul (*Letters* 70, 90, and 92). In his judgment the Pope, "the Coryphæus of the Western Churches," is a haughty and arrogant prelate, who mistakes pride for dignity, and places himself so high that the truth cannot reach him (*Letters* 215, 239). He reproaches the bishops of Rome with leaning towards the Sabellians, who see in the Trinity merely three designations of one hypostasis.

essential privilege of the Roman citizen; namely, that of making a will and of receiving legacies and donations. The property whose transmission was thus arrested fell to the public treasury, unless the children of the father incurring such penalty should return within the pale of the Catholic Church.

Saint Paul had said of an offender against the moral law: "Deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."¹ By Satan, Saint Paul doubtless meant the evil world into the midst of which the sinner is thrown back. But the apostle's language is susceptible of another interpretation; with Theodosius, Satan now began his rôle of public executioner. The constitution of March 31, 382, decreed against the Manichaeans and the sectaries akin to them the highest punishment of the law; informers were invited to testify, and for their encouragement the responsibility incurred when the accusation failed of proof was taken off; lastly, this law applied the same penalties to those who should refuse to celebrate Easter on the day fixed by the Orthodox Church. For the first time appeared, in a law against heretics, a word destined to a sad notoriety, the word *inquisitor*, and it is Theodosius who employs it.² The preceding year Gratian had called together at Aquileia a synod which condemned two Illyrian bishops accused of Arianism. Thus a mighty effort was made by the two Emperors to bring back to one faith the Churches of the East and West; and a very important thing, the doctrinal unity of Christendom, was brought about without any effort being made either at Aquileia or Constantinople by the Bishop of Rome, the person chiefly interested in the victory.³

¹ 1 Corinth. v. 5.

² *Sublimitas tua*, he writes to the praetorian prefect, *det inquisitores, aperiat forum, indices denuntiatoresque sine invidia delationis accipiat* (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 5, 9, and Godefroy's Commentary). The Emperor repeats in 388 these threatening instructions, and organizes a complete system of espionage; . . . *In specula, Sublimitas tua, fidissimos quosque constituat qui et colibere hos possint et deprehensos offerre judiciis, severissimum . . . supplicium daturus* (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 5, 14-15). The words *inquisitio* and *inquisitor* were old juridic expressions. The *inquisitor* was he who examined a case.

³ In respect to the numerous differences which still existed among the Churches, see a curious chapter of Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* v. 22. The thirty-three bishops, almost all Italians, of the Synod of Aquileia, in a letter to the Emperor besought him to put an end to the rivalry of Damasus and Ursinus at Rome, "so that peace should be restored to that Church, head of the world, whence are sent out to all men worthy admonitions" (September, 381,

In January, 385, Theodosius celebrated the fifth year of his imperial power, and at this time he gave the title of Augustus to his son Arcadius, although the boy was scarcely six years of age. The Emperor gained no advantage by this act; and while the people of Constantinople were celebrating the accession of one Emperor, another died in Gaul.



SCENE OF THE CHASE: STAG ATTACKED BY A DOG.¹

Gratian was very orthodox, but he lacked the qualities of a ruler. Julian was of the same age when he was appointed Caesar, and in a few months had won all hearts; Gratian never had the affection of his subjects, or lost it early. Eight years of empire had taught him nothing as to the government of men. He loved only the chase; he kept himself surrounded by skilful archers; he dressed as they did, and lived with them. His guard, who enjoyed Saint Ambrose, *Epist.* 11). The Eastern Churches did concern themselves with the interests of the Church of Rome. When, in 382, the Western Churches proposed holding an œcumenical council at Rome to decide a matter in dispute between Antioch and Alexandria, the Eastern Churches replied sharply to this proposition. Theodosius himself blamed them gently for interfering in affairs which did not concern them (Theodoret, v. 8-9).

¹ Pio-Clementino Museum, Hall of Animals, No. 173.

all his bounties, were Barbarians, and a keen discontent at this



PHALERA.²

sprang up among the Roman soldiers.¹ In the palace the courtiers were his masters: they sold everything, — places and justice alike, — and they no doubt retained in the administration the severity of Valentinian as to the payment of the taxes; hence the unpopularity of Gratian was no less in the cities than in the camps. A few swords only were drawn in his defence when the

soldiers in Britain proclaimed Maximus emperor.³ Prosper of Aquitaine speaks of a battle near Paris; Zosimus reduces this to mere skirmishes, and we know that Gratian's troops deserted him, that he made his escape with three hundred horsemen, and that all the cities closed their gates against him. Overtaken near Lyons by Andragathos, commander of the cavalry of Maximus, he was killed, Aug. 25, 385.⁴ There were few executions, — nor were they



AUREUS.⁴

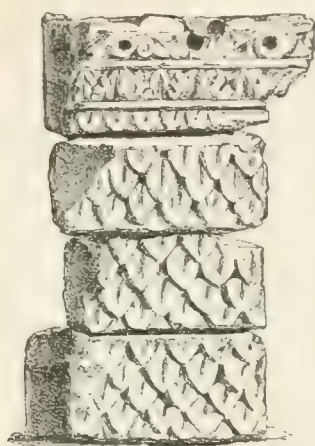
¹ . . . *Dum exercitum negligeret, et paucos ex Alanis quos ingenti auro ad se transtulerat, anteferebat veteri ac Romano militi (Epitome, 47).*

² Phalera of bronze plated with gold, found at Auvers (Seine et Oise). The phalerae are either military decorations, or else breast-ornaments for horses. (See Monaco, *Les Monuments du Musée National de Naples*, p. 124, c.). The phalera of Auvers has been the subject of learned dissertations, summed up by M. Robert de Lasteyrie in the *Revue archéol.* (1883), p. 340, and plate liii. (*Cabinet de France*).

³ It is not known what post Maximus occupied in Britain; neither Pacatus (*Pan. vet.* xii. 23) nor Zosimus (iv. 35) mentions it. Prosper Tiro calls him *vir strenuus et probus atque augusto dignus, nisi contra sacramenta fidem per tyrannidem emersisset*. Orosius and Sulpicius Severus confirm this.

⁴ GEN. LVG. COS. II. The Genius of Lyons, holding a spear and cornucopia. Reverse of an aureus of Albinus, recently acquired by the *Cabinet de France*.

⁵ Zosimus, iv. 35. As to Gratian's death, accounts differ; Saint Ambrose (in *Psalm LXL*.) represents him as killed at a banquet.



REMAINS OF A TRIUMPHAL MONUMENT.

necessary ; for the people and the legions willingly accepted the new Emperor.¹ His wife, the young Empress Constantia, had died before him ; her tomb is still to be seen.

¹ The consul of the year, the Frank Merobaud, was killed at Lyons, with Macedonius, the *magister officiorum*. One of Gratian's generals, Count Vallio, also a German, and called by Pacatus (28) *triumphalis*, died by his own hand.

² Vatican, Hall of the Sarcophagi, No. 366. Monument consisting of a single block of red porphyry, obtained from the church of Santa Constantia fuori le Mura, where this Empress was buried. (See page 250, note 2.) The bas-reliefs, heavy and ungraceful, represent Genii gathering grapes, bearing baskets of fruit, treading grapes in a vat, or filling urns with the wine. Below are peacocks, symbols of immortality.

NOTE. — On the preceding page are represented fragments of a triumphal monument found recently in excavations under the Hôtel-Dieu at Paris, perhaps erected after the battle of the year 385 (?). Musée Carnavalet.



SARCOPHAGUS OF CONSTANTIA.²

III. — THEODOSIUS, VALENTINIAN II., AND MAXIMUS (383-387).

MAXIMUS associated with himself his son Victor, to whom he gave the name Flavius, — consecrated by the Constantinian dynasty. He would willingly have pushed his victory beyond the Alps; but it was necessary for him to strengthen his authority and reorganize



COIN OF FLAVIUS VICTOR.¹

his provinces. He sent one of his officers to Valentinian II., that boy of twelve, till now left unnoticed at Sirmium, whom his mother, at report of what had taken place in Gaul, had brought to Milan. The Empress, justly alarmed for her son, had

anticipated the overtures of the usurper, sending to him pacific messages by a count whom Saint Ambrose accompanied. Another messenger of Maximus went haughtily

to propose to Theodosius war or peace: peace, if that Emperor would accept the situation; war, if he were not too much afraid that the Barbarians would take advantage of a domestic strife to imperil the Empire.³ Maximus was



COIN OF MAXIMUS.²

determined to remain master of the Gallic provinces, but promised in no way to interfere with Valentinian II. The two adversaries were not personally acquainted, but they were both Spaniards, and had served together in Britain. Shall we suppose that Theodosius respected the military talents of the new Emperor, and hence felt some doubt as to the results of a war with the chief of the brave legions of Gaul? It may more probably be true that he hesitated from a patriotic fear of leaving his provinces open to Barbarian inroads, while he should be engaged with

¹ D. N. FL. VICTOR P. F. AVG., bust of the Emperor. Reverse: VIRTUS ROMANORVM. Rome helmeted, seated. (Silver coin.)

² Coin commemorative of the virtues of Maximus. D. N. MAG. MAXIMVS P. F. AVG., and bust of the Emperor. Reverse: VICTORIA AVGG. Maximus and Victor standing, holding a globe. (Gold coin.)

³ Zosimus, iv. 37.

all his forces far in the West. He had nothing to apprehend from Persia, again a prey to revolutions after the death of Sapor II. in 379, nor from the Goths, who, rejoicing in a peaceful establishment within the Empire, safe from the Huns, had at this time no leaders desirous of plunging them into new adventures. But the situation upon this double frontier might change at any moment; it was prudent to be always on the watch. Moreover, Theodosius had adapted himself to the new circumstances



SPORTS OF THE AMPHITHEATRE: A HORSE PULLED DOWN BY A LION.¹

which surrounded him. Still preserving his former affability, he was gratified with the luxury and pleasures of the court; in them he forgot the rude life of the soldier, and he seemed resolved not to resume that life unless an imperious necessity should compel him to do so. Whatever may have been his motives in forgetting Gratian and stretching out his hand to the man who had overthrown his benefactor, Theodosius accepted the offers of Maximus, and gave orders that the statues of the murderer should take the place of those of his victim, or should be erected at their side, in the principal cities of the East (384).

¹ Group in the Vatican, Museo Pio-Clementino, Hall of Animals.

The praetorian prefect Cynegius was intrusted with this duty, to which was added another; namely, that of prohibiting the pagan cult. "It was practised nowhere at this time," says Libanius, "except in Rome and in Alexandria; still it was yet permitted to light a fire upon altars and to burn perfumes." The government, which also allowed games and festivals to be celebrated, had therefore up to this time proscribed but half of the old worship, — the sacrifice of animals; and this, to prevent men from inquiring into the future by an examination of the entrails.¹ Possibly Theodosius would have left to the pagans this last and harmless consolation of offering a few grains of incense to the gods, had not the religious passions of the populace, which he made no efforts to control, broken out with special fury. The Emperor appearing to be on their side, the more zealous proceeded to acts of violence. "Bands of men," says Libanius, "ran through the country and the cities, overthrowing the altars, destroying the images of the gods, and sometimes killing the pontiffs."² The pagans defended their gods; a bishop of Apameia was killed in attempting to destroy the temples of that city. To arrest this disorder Theodosius regulated it. Cynegius had orders to close the temples;³ and he did this with so much zeal that he destroyed some of them. The army was employed in this work of propagating the Orthodox faith,⁴ as Louvois employed his dragoons in the conversion of French heretics. When Cynegius died, in 388, the Emperor, who in recognition of his services had just appointed him consul, caused his funeral to be observed with great pomp. This was a merited honor; after his time, and especially after the law of 391, countless pagan temples in the East were only ruins, or empty sepulchres of the old gods.⁵ How many magnificent works of art

¹ *Codex Theod.* xvi. 10, 9: . . . *Futura sub execrabili consultatione cognoscat.* Vanity naturally seeking all that was held separate, the Christians solicited the pagan office of pontiff in the provinces, in order to preside over the games and ceremonies; a law of 386 (*Codex Theod.* XVI. i. 112) prohibited it to them.

² Libanius, *Discourse in favor of the temples*. Tillemont (v. 733-4) dates the composition of this oration early in 384. Saint Jerome (*Ep.* 7) speaks of one Gracchus, prefect of Rome in 376, who also destroyed a number of statues and pulled down a sanctuary of Mithra.

³ Zosimus, iv. 37: . . . κλείθαι τοῖς τεμένεσιν ἐπιτεῖναι.

⁴ Libanius says this, and Socrates (v. 16) repeats it. Cynegius was so successful in Egypt that the Alexandrian Catholics erected a statue to him (*C. I. L.* vii. 19).

⁵ The verbose law of 381 (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 5, 7, in sect. 3), speaking of churches

were then destroyed!¹ Here and there we now find, under heaps of ruins, fragments of broken statues, and sometimes, in some secret hiding-place, images of the gods or of pontiffs, or objects employed in the proscribed cult which had been hastily buried to save them from profanation.² Three of the most beautiful works of antique sculpture—the Venus of Milo, the Farnese Hercules, and the Venus of the Capitol—were discovered in the recesses where pagan piety hid its persecuted gods.³ The busts of emperors or of private individuals are intact; the statues of gods and goddesses are almost invariably broken. From this difference we see what was the cause of all this breakage; and the facts related above authorize us in the belief that most of this destruction dates from the reign of Theodosius. At Sakkara the colossal tomb of the last Apis stands, leaving unfinished the subterranean gallery by which he was to go to his funeral chamber.⁴ Killed by imperial edict, the sacred animal could not receive the honors reserved at death for the representative of Osiris. A sanctuary

of the heretics, calls them *fratrum mysteriorum sepulchra*. In the case of Rome, Saint Jerome (*Ep.* 7) writes that “the old gods of the nations have no other company in their niches than the mice and the owls,” and Saint Augustine (*Sermo* cv. 10) says that in 406 all idols had been overthrown.

¹ In 394 Theodosius abolished the Olympian games; and while he did not destroy the Jupiter of Phœdrias, he transported it to Constantinople, where it was much less safe than on the banks of the Alpheus, — as the fact proved; for it was consumed by fire eighty years later (475).

² See General di Cesnola’s work on Cyprus, and in the *Revue archéol.* of 1862, p. 245, a letter from M. de Vogüé relating the explorations which he had made in that island. “Our excavations,” he says, “have proved yet once more that all ancient monuments were destroyed, and even their foundations torn up.” A short distance from Golgos he found “a real necropolis of statues . . . all intentionally mutilated. Here, twenty heads in one hole; there arms, torsos, ex-votos, etc.”

³ The Venus of Milo was discovered in 1820, seven or eight feet under ground in a cavity four feet wide, with four small statues of Hermes; the Farnese Hercules eight feet under ground; the Venus of the Capitol in a hole hidden by ruins. (Cf. *Revue archéol.* of 1873, p. 81, *et seq.*) Græchus, prefect of Rome under Theodosius, destroyed *speciem Mahrae ac noctis deorum simulacra* (Saint Jerome, *Letter* 107). P. Allard (*L’Art païen sous les empereurs chrétiens*) expresses the opinion that the iconoclastic fury of the Christians of the fourth century has been much exaggerated. That all the bishops did not urge their congregations to destroy temples and statues of the gods, is evident; but as before Constantine there were pagan outbreaks against the Christians which the government could neither foresee nor prevent, so there were, under this Emperor and after his time, Christian outbreaks against the pagan temples. This was the effect of the inevitable law of historic reactions.

⁴ Each Pharaoh began to build his tomb immediately upon his accession; in the same way was prepared that of the Apis, who after his death became Osiris under the name of Osar-Api, or Serapis.

renowned as the largest and richest in Asia, that of Serapis, had escaped the iconoclastic zeal of Cynegius.¹ In 391 Theodosius took



SERAPIS AND ISIS.³

advantage of an insult of the Alexandrians to order its destruction; he also laid a fine of fifteen pounds of gold upon any governor of a province who should enter one of the temples left standing;² and three years later he extinguished at Rome the flame of the last sacrifice upon the last altar.

At least he believed that he had done so; but if, in religious matters, the law can by its threats make conversions, men's consciences resist it, and it cannot destroy their old habits of belief. In this very year (391), when Theodosius, under pain of death, forbade sacri-

fices to the gods,⁴ the *taurobolium* was made in Rome, according to the ancient rites, and the initiated person believed that he found therein the usual promise of eternal life.⁵ The sacerdotal

¹ Two constitutions of 391 absolutely prohibit all the rites of pagan worship, and even visiting the temples which remained undestroyed. The judge who permits such entrance is to be fined fifteen pounds of gold, and his *officium* as much more (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 10 and 11). Two laws of 381 and 391 (*ibid.* xvi. 5, 19–20) forbid heretics to hold assemblies even outside the cities. Another lays a fine of ten pounds of gold upon whomsoever shall ordain a priest, or himself accept any office in an heretical sect (*ibid.* 21, *anno* 392). The same year the death-penalty was decreed against any person offering a sacrifice, and the confiscation of houses or lands, where incense had been burned to idols (*ibid.* xvi. 10, 12. Cf. Theodoret, v. 20, and Saint Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, v. 26).

² *Codex Theod.* xvi. 10, 11. In this case the *officium* of the magistrate had to pay a fine unless these employees could prove that by main force they strove to prevent the act of their chief.

³ Serapis and Isis, on a lamp (Museum of the Louvre).

⁴ . . . *Dicinis atque humanis sanctionibus indulgentiis recognoscat* (Laws 10 and 11, title 10, book xvi., *anno* 391).

⁵ . . . *Per omnia probatissimus* (Or-Henzen, No. 6,041). An inscription of 371 mentions another (*ibid.* No. 6,040).

colleges remained, although deprived of their official rights: Cybele still had her mutilated priests, Vesta her virgins, of whom one had lately been condemned for the violation of her vow;¹ and Ausonius, who put the pagan calendar into verse, indicated the days when should be celebrated, in honor of the gods, the festivals of the old cult;² and, lastly, while Prudentius strove to wield the scourge of Juvenal against the licentious devotees of the *Lupercalia* and the festivals of Flora,³ Saint Augustine tranquilly corresponded with pagan pontiffs, and saw pagan solemnities⁴ celebrated by the decurions at Madaura, and even at Hippo. Later, paganism was to have in Macrobius its theologian, and in the beautiful and learned Hypatia its martyr.⁵ Proclus, who gave its last form to Alexandrian philosophy, did not die till the year 485, and much later still the old pilgrimage places were frequented.⁶ Theodosius had been able to destroy the religious institutions of the state, but he could not prevent the private practice of the old rites, and the immensity of the Empire gave numerous asylums to religious liberty. We shall see even that this Emperor, so harsh in his laws, was constrained by public necessity to keep pagans about him, and even at the head of his armies. The Arabs, stronger than he, were destined to extirpate the last remnants of

¹ Symmachus, *Letter IX.* 118, 119. The letter is undated. Cf. *ibid.* 99, where is mentioned another vestal who wished to retire from her office before the legal period. There has lately been discovered in Rome, in excavations of the Forum, opposite St. Cosmo, the *atrium* of the house of the vestals. *Cippi* have been found there bearing bas-reliefs of chief vestals and inscriptions. One of the inscriptions, dated 364, had been chipped off with the chisel. Was it one of these vestals of whom Symmachus speaks, or perhaps a recreant from the old faith who had gone over to the new? In respect to these explorations, see the *Scavi di antichità* of December, 1883.

² *De Feriis Romanis.* By the constitution of 389 (*Codex Theod.* ii. 8, 19) Theodosius reduced the number of consecrated days to a hundred and twenty-five. Cf. Godefroy's commentary upon this law (i. 141). There remained, therefore, two hundred and forty *dies pulicarii*,—ten more only than the number fixed by Marcus Aurelius (*Capitolin. Marc.* 10.)

³ *Peristephanon*, Hymn x. 161-165. See in Wilmanns, Nos. 110-114, for the years 376, 377, many inscriptions of priests of the Mithriac mysteries. A senator calls himself *tauroboliatas*.

⁴ *Works*, ii. 22; in the reply of Saint Augustine to Maximus of Madaura.

⁵ Hypatia was so profoundly respected that a bishop from his death bed wrote to her: "I have dictated this letter to you, O my mother, my sister, my mistress, — you to whom I owe so many benefits, and who deserve from me so many honors!" (Druon, *Symposium*, p. 55.) The Christian population of Alexandria tore her in pieces (415).

⁶ In the time of Zosimus (i. 58) phenomena still occurred at Aphaca which were regarded as miracles.

Egyptian paganism; but with the same blow they also put an end to the Christian faith in Egypt.



A VESTAL.²

Theodosius had the right to believe that his war on idols would gain for him divine protection; and he seems to have obtained it. The year 384 brought to him a twofold good fortune. The new king of Persia, Sapor III., sent him an embassy with rich presents, — a pledge of peace for the Eastern provinces;¹ and the Empress Flaccilla bore him a second son, Honorius, — a promise of duration for his dynasty. Certain foolish persons, struck with the malady of the time, — the practice of magical arts, — being accused of plots against the Emperor and condemned to death, Theodosius pardoned them. This was a reasonable act, which we should enumerate in the list of the fortunate things that happened to him about this time (385). Finally, one of his generals gained an important victory over the Gruthunges, who were endeavoring to seek fortune

within the limits of the Empire. Promotus deceived them by means of pretended deserters, who promised to deliver up to them the Roman army. While they were crossing the river in disorder, the Roman general sent out against them his strong, swift galleys, which crushed and sank their frail skiffs.³ Many of the

¹ A law of 387 (*Code Theod.* xii. 13, 6) shows that Sophene was governed by a satrap in some degree dependent upon the Empire. This may perhaps have resulted from the embassy of 384.

² Mutilated statue found at Rome in 1883.

³ Claudian speaks of three thousand vessels of the Barbarians; to take away one either would leave the number still too large.

Barbarians were drowned,—among them the king, Odotheus; and those who succeeded in reaching the right bank of the Danube were killed or taken prisoners. Theodosius had no share in this engagement; but, according to custom, the honor of it fell to him, and he made a triumphal entry into Constantinople with Arcadius (Oct. 12, 386). This was not enough for the flatterers;



REMAINS OF THE HOUSE OF THE VESTALS AT ROME (EXCAVATIONS OF 1883).

they chose to maintain that Odotheus had fallen by the Emperor's hand; and Claudian, recalling to Honorius the exploits of his father, regrets that new Rome had not enjoyed the spectacle which old Rome saw but three times,—namely, the triumphant general bearing the *spolia opima* obtained on the battle-field by killing with his own hand the hostile chief.¹

It was probably at this time that Theodosius replaced upon a pedestal, wretchedly carved by his artists, the obelisk of Constan-

¹ . . . *Odothævi regis opima rettulit* (verse 632). This Odotheus is identical with Alatheus, mentioned on p. 265.]

tine, which had been thrown down by an earthquake.¹ A little later, but before the Emperor's death, his son Arcadius erected in his

honor a triumphal column, a rival to those Roman monuments which commemorate the exploits of the Antonines.

The following year was less propitious. Theodosius desired to celebrate at the same time his own tenth year of empire and the *quinquennialia* of his eldest son. But this celebration required enormous expenses for games and festivals, and greater still for the gifts that must be made to the army. The financial system was always extremely bad, immunities numerous, extortions endless, notwithstanding the repeated ordinances of the Emperors,² who sought by threats to alarm the guilty, but not by reforms to render abuses impossible. Theodosius charged the expenses of the celebration to his subjects by increasing the taxes, without

deducting the sums which, according to custom, should be offered him as gratuities on the occasion. When, at the close of February, 387, the edict was made known to the people of Antioch assembled in the Tychæum,⁴ a great uproar was made. "We are ruined!"

¹ See the engraving facing p. 306. For the bas-reliefs of this column (facing p. 302), see Banduri, *Imperium Orientale*, ii. 513, and D'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art*, ii. 40 *et seq.*, and vol. iv. pl. xi. from ancient designs. Only the base of the column now remains.

² See those of Theodosius in the *Codex Theod.* x. 24, 3; xi. 1, 19; xii. 6, 18, 22, etc.

³ Found in 1744 at the Villa Hadriana (Capitol, Hall of the Dying Gladiator, No. 11).

⁴ All important cities had had a temple to Fortune (Τύχη), before which the governors caused their official acts to be read aloud.



MARBLE STATUE OF FLORA.³

they exclaimed; "the life that will be left us is worthless" (*βίος ἀβίотος*);¹ and it is quite possible that the name of Maximus was spoken, as some months later it was in the sedition at



SAPOR III.
(GOLD COIN.)

Alexandria. The magistrate was obliged to conceal himself; the crowd threw down the statues of Theodosius, of his father, his sons, and of the Empress Flaccilla, and dragged them through the streets with ropes around their necks. After this the mob attempted to set fire to houses; but a little band of

archers came up, a few arrows shot among the crowd dispersed them, and the judge reappeared on his tribunal. The wounded remained where they fell; the rioters, arrested at random, were brought before him, sent to the torture or to the arena, or burned at the stake; and magistrates and senators of the city were shut up in the common prison, where they awaited with the keenest anxiety the sentence of the Emperor.



COIN OF THE EMPRESS FLACCILLA.²

The good qualities of Theodosius were spoiled by a grave fault. — the violence of a mind which, in its paroxysms of anger, lost all feeling of moderation, or even of justice. When the news from Antioch reached Constantinople, the Emperor at first proposed to exterminate the entire population and destroy the city completely. Although he did not, it is true, on this occasion yield to his first fury, the commissioners whom he sent had very rigorous orders. They were to take from Antioch her revenues and her territory; put an end to her festivals and games; reduce her to the condition of a country town, making Laodiceia the metropolis of Syria; and, finally, resume judicial investigations and punish those whom they believed guilty. Prosecutions, tortures, condemnations to death or banishment, with confiscations of property, began anew; but the judges had not the heart to execute all that they pronounced.

¹ Libanius, *Disc.* xiv. and xv., and Saint John Chrysostom, *Disc.* v., to the people of Antioch. It is noteworthy that the rioters began, as in more recent times, by breaking the lanterns in the streets.

² AEL. FLACCILLA AVG., and the bust of the Empress. Reverse: SALVS REI PVBLICAE. Victory seated, holding a buckler, on which is the Christian monogram. (Gold coin.)

Flavianus, bishop of the city, Libanius, the pagan whom even Christian Emperors respected, the hermits from Mount Lebanon, all came to implore mercy from the imperial commissioners; and one of the latter consented to go to Constantinople in the hope of softening the rigor of the Emperor. He made over seven hundred miles in six days. Flavianus preceded him. Theodosius, whose anger had abated, was willing to forgive; he could not destroy the chief city of the East; moreover, had he not punished it enough by the executions that had already taken place, and by his threats of further penalties?¹ During more than a month the frivolous city had lived in terror, and had, with reason, dreaded the fury of the man who soon after this was to order the massacre of Thessalonica.

Valentinian II., the sovereign of Western Illyria, Italy, and Africa, lived peacefully in provinces that were molested by no enemies.² He reigned, while his mother, the Empress Justina, governed. She had the tolerant spirit of her husband; remaining on good terms with Ambrose, she had twice employed him on important missions, at the same time receiving at her court an Arian bishop, Auxentius; and she retained in public office persons of ability without inquiring into their creed. — for instance, the Frankish counts Bauto and Rumorid; Symmachus, prefect of the city, and one of the last of Roman authors; and the praetorian prefect Praetextatus, pontiff of Vesta and of the Sun.³ It is at his house that Macrobius represents the Saturnalia as taking place; and as this priest of the Sun had the same faith with the Emperor Julian, his wife believed that at his death he also was transported into the midst of the stars of the Milky Way (*in lacteo caeli palatio*).⁴ To the Christians he was naturally “the wretched leader of a sacrilegious worship,” and instead of the starry sphere, Saint Jerome assigns him for his dwelling “the dark filth of the infernal regions” (*sordentibus tenebris*). Elsewhere the same Saint represents to us, by a charming figure, the position of the two cults towards each other,

¹ Gregory Nazianzen, *Homilies*, ii. 1, 2, v. 3, edit. Migne, and numerous writings of Saint John Chrysostom, at this time a priest in Antioch, in vol. ii. of the Benedictine edition.

² There was only a collision with the Sarmatae, who left in the hands of the Romans a few prisoners sent to Rome to perish in the arena (Symmachus, *Letter X.* 61).

³ Wilmanns, No. 1,236. His wife had been initiated into the mysteries of Ceres, Cora, and Bacchus, and had performed the *taurobolium* (Gruter, p. 319, note 1).

⁴ Saint Jerome, *Letter 23*, edit. Migne.



BAS-RELIEF FROM A TRIUMPHAL COLUMN ERECTED ON THE HIPPODROME OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN MEMORY OF THE VICTORIES
OF THEODOSIUS.

when he describes the old man, priest of Jupiter, holding upon his knee his little daughter, who is murmuring a Christian prayer, — past and future being thus united by a mutual love.

Paganism, deserted by the Emperors, had fallen back slowly, sustained as it was by the habits of the people and by the wisdom of a few lofty minds who brought all the gods into one Divine Unity. Others were struck by the contrast between the greatness of the past and the humiliation of the present. Rome especially, still full of monuments of her ancient glory, measured the decline of the Empire by the advance of the new faith, and pagan senators were ready to believe that in banishing the Victory from the curia, they had banished her from the armies as well. They claimed from Valentinian II. the abolition of Gratian's decree, and it was the occasion of a memorable debate between Symmachus and Saint Ambrose, the bishop of Milan.²



VICTORY-FORTUNE.¹

This patrician, son of a praetorian prefect, himself a governor before he became bishop, had carried into his episcopal career the habits of command which characterized his house; the spirit of domination and the political skill of the old Roman senators seemed to have passed into him. By his birth, his surroundings, and his genius he secured a position in the state very useful to his ecclesiastical interests, and he had for the Church the ambition which the world did not inspire. He believed that all things must yield to Religion, interpreted by her ministers: on one occasion he wrote to Theodosius: "True piety is that which prefers heaven to earth, eternal possessions to those which are but for a day:"³ and he cited as proof the passage

¹ The Victory is designated by the helmet and wings, and Fortune by the wheat-ears and the rudder, — her usual symbol. Intaglio of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,535 (chrysoprase 12 millim. in height, and 9 in breadth). See in Vols. I. p. 680; II. 70, 174; III. 197, 199, etc. (engraved stones or statues), and Vol. VI. p. 511 (bas-relief), other Victories, marking, when compared with this, the increasing decline of art.

² They were relatives. See De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. crist.*, 1864, p. 76, and 1863, p. 15.

³ *Ea vera pietas quae praeponit divina humanis, perpetua temporalibus* (Ambrose, *Letter 66*).

of Scripture where it is said that "brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child; and children shall rise up against parents, and cause them to be put to death."¹ Eloquent, fearless, rich, but using his episcopal revenues only to relieve the poor, he enjoyed in Milan, where the Emperor resided, a popularity which compelled the court to respect his opinions, and, outside, a reputation which gave him the first rank in Christendom. When Symmachus was sent by his colleagues to beg from Gratian the restoration of the altar of Victory and the restitution of the revenues which defrayed the expenses of the pagan worship, Pope Damasus did no more than send to Ambrose the protest of the Christian minority in the Senate. The Bishop of Milan, more resolute in the matter, personally interposed to prevent the Emperor from receiving Symmachus. Encouraged by the tolerant disposition of Justina, the Senate endeavored to make Valentinian II. reverse his brother's decision. Symmachus again went to Milan, and laid before the Emperor an eloquent petition: "Since the First Cause is enveloped in mystery," he said, "how can men know the gods except by history and the tradition of the elders?" It seems to me, excellent Emperor, that Rome stands in your presence, and that she says to you: Father of the country, respect my old age. Let me live as I desire. This religion has brought the world under my law. It drove Hannibal from my walls, and the Gauls from the Capitol. I beg for peace for the gods of the country, and I implore you that the imperial treasury be kept full from the spoils of the enemy, and not from the possessions of the pontiffs."² This was eloquence, but it was not argument. Ambrose, who had obtained sight of the petition of Symmachus before the meeting of the imperial council, made a reply to it which was less brilliant but more apposite. He showed that the pontiffs and the vestals had never saved Rome from defeat; he claimed religious liberty for the Christian senators, who, not being allowed

In the *De Obitu Theod.* he praises the zeal manifested by Josiah, king of Judah, in the destruction of idolatry. Firmicus Maternus, in his work *De Errore prof. relig.*, had shown, about the year 345, the same intolerance. Even the gentle Augustine applauded persecution, *quis non laudat leges . . . adversus sacrificia paganorum . . . illius quippe impietatis capitale supplicium est* (*Letter 95*).

¹ See on this subject, pp. 177-199 of this volume.

² Symmachus, *Letter X.* 51. Not only did the public treasury profit by these confiscations, but also the courtiers and their followers, — those, at least, whom Symmachus calls "miserable litter-carriers."

to be present at sacrilegious rites, would be constrained to renounce their office as high counsellors of the Empire; and, at this early period, beginning the use of excommunication against monarchs, he threatened Valentinian, if that Emperor should yield to the request of the pagans, with closing against him the Church. To appeal to the rights of conscience was more politic than honest; for in a second memorial Ambrose asked that the Empire should be set free from paganism. But his arguments sufficed to convince those who were already persuaded. No one in the imperial council favored this aggressive movement of an expiring faith. A few of the members were pagans, or rather were not Christians; but the financial aspect of what seemed a religious question decided them. The confiscated property of the pagan temples had brought in a considerable income to the public treasury; the courtiers had had their share in it also; and to make restitution would be hard. To avoid these consequences the whole request was refused; Jupiter, Apollo, and Vesta were condemned. Twenty years later Prudentius celebrated this victory of Ambrose, in verses more remarkable for Christian sentiment than for Vergilian poetry.¹

Justina allowed the pagan grievance to go unredressed; but she made an attempt to defend, against the intolerance of Orthodoxy, the Arians, who, under the predecessor of Ambrose, had become very numerous in Milan. Their bishop, Auxentius, a Goth by birth, obtained from her in an inconspicuous part of the palace an oratory, which Ambrose called "the stables of the Empress." For the celebration of Easter, 385, Justina proposed to give back to them one of the churches of which Gratian had deprived them. Imperial officers were sent to summon Ambrose to give up to the Arians the Porcian Basilica (St. Victor), which was outside the walls, and in the city itself the new Basilica, which was a larger building. Ambrose rejoined that he could not give up a temple of God. The whole city, for many days, was in such a state of agitation that a riot was apprehended;² the people gathered about their bishop to protect him, for the authorities had set a military guard around the Basilica, and had put up the imperial escutcheon

¹ The two books of Prudentius against Symmachus are, however, his best work.

² Augustine, *Confess.* ix. 7.

on its façade,¹ as if the church were a part of the imperial domain.² The miracles which were seen following the discovery of the remains of two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius, came to the aid of the ardent preaching of Saint Ambrose,³ as at a later date the discovery at Antioch of the soldier's spear which pierced the side of Jesus on the cross, revived the flagging courage of the Crusaders. The court was reduced to imploring the bishop to pacify the crowd, and promising him that the Basilica should be left to the Catholics.

This humiliation was felt even by the young Emperor, who complained in violent terms that he had been compelled to submit to the yoke of a rebellious priest. The Empress took her revenge. The isolated attempt having failed, she published (Jan. 23, 386) a law, valid throughout the whole empire of Valentinian II., authorizing assemblies of those who adopted the creed of Rimini;⁴

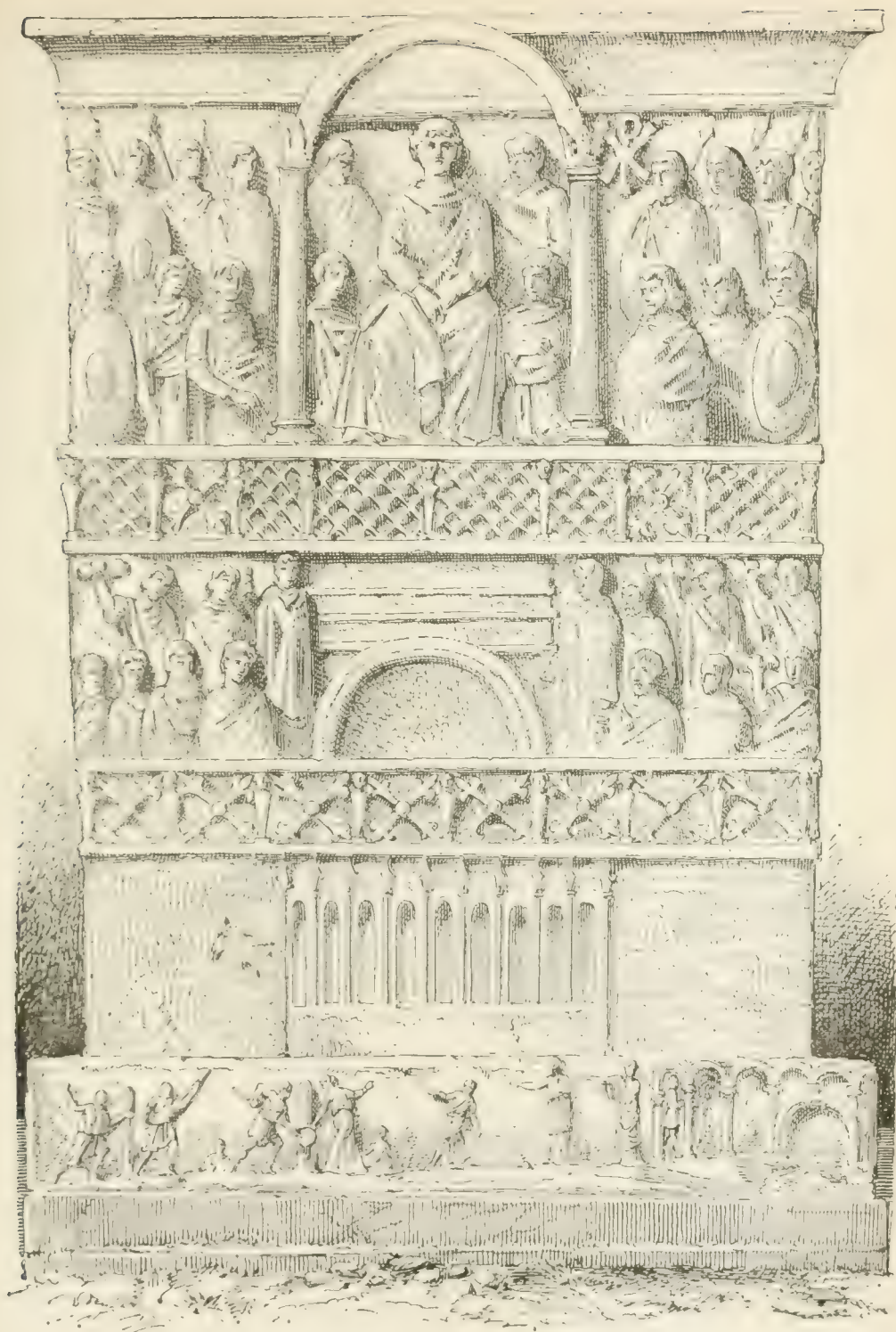
¹ These were strips of cloth bearing the Emperor's likeness. This usage has been preserved; and to display the escutcheon, arms, or flag of a monarch or nation, symbolizes taking possession.

² On this subject, see the long account given by Canon Hermant, in his *Vie de Saint Ambroise*, derived from the *Letters* of the bishop and the narrative by his secretary, Paulinus. Ambrose remained for several nights shut up in the New Basilica, while the people kept guard without. The regular chanting of antiphonal hymns in the Western Church is believed to date from these night-watches in Milan. The Eastern Churches had long employed this method of retaining the attention of the worshippers (Saint Basil, *Letters* to the Church of Neo-Caesarea, 63, 64). Saint Ambrose established it at Milan, whence it spread throughout the West (Augustine, *Confess.* ix. 6, 7: *Quantum glori [at Milan] in hymnis et canticis tuis, suave sonantis ecclesiae tuae vocibus commotus acriter*). To Saint Ambrose has also been attributed the *Te Deum*; but it was not his composition. See Canon Hermant, *ibid.* p. 304.

³ Augustine, *Confess.* ix. 7; *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8. God, it was said, had revealed to Ambrose in a dream that the bodies of the two martyrs were under the church of St. Felix and St. Nabor; old men, however, had read the inscription upon their tomb. At this time there was a great traffic in relics. Tillemont (v. 255) acknowledges this, and the *Theodosian Code* attests it, under the title, *De Sepulcris violatis*, ix. 17, 7: *Humatum corpus nemo ad alterum locum transferat, nemo matrem destruat, nemo necetur* (Feb. 26, 386).

⁴ See *Codex Theod.* xvi. 1, 4. Godefroy, in his commentary on this law (vi. 16), says: . . . *Justinæ matris impulsu . . . et Gothorum consilio praesidioque, qui tum Arianæ erant et in comitatu frequentes, quod ex oratione Ambrosii initio colligere mihi videtur*. Saint Ambrose himself speaks frequently of the Goths in the service of the court of Milan. There were also many Arians in the city, for the predecessor of Ambrose in the see of Milan was an Arian, and at his death there were great disturbances caused by the diversity of beliefs (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 30). The "persecution" of Saint Ambrose, as the Church historians call it, had two periods, — one preceding, and one following the decree of January, but throughout it concerned the giving up of churches to the Arians; and we have brought together all the facts, being concerned only with the political aspect of the affair.

NOTE. — The illustration on the opposite page represents the base on which Theodosius placed an obelisk of Constantine, and on which he himself is represented as a spectator of the games (formerly in the hippodrome of Constantinople) From Agincourt's *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. ii. p. 39, and vol. iv. *Sculpt.* pl. x.



BASE ON WHICH THEODOSIUS PLACED AN OBELISK OF CONSTANTINE.

but this confession of faith was mostly forgotten, and there were few Arians in Italy except at Milan, among those surrounding Justina, and in the palatine cohorts, which were generally composed of Goths. The decree displeased the Orthodox clergy, whose number and confidence had been increased by the laws of Gratian and Theodosius. To bring these churchmen to the peaceable acceptance of their adversaries' equality, a stronger hand than a woman's was needed.

Maximus at once saw the advantage that he could derive from this feeble provocation. He had already given sanguinary pledges to Orthodoxy. An Egyptian had brought into Spain an incoherent medley of Manichaean and Gnostic doctrines, demanding many austerities, and authorizing, it was said, much license. At least the accuser of the sect, the bishop Ithacius, who had none of the virtues of his station,¹ reproached it with the abominations of which religious adversaries have long been accustomed to suspect one another. Condemned under Gratian by the Council of Saragossa (380), threatened later with a further sentence by the Council of Bordeaux, the Priscillianists — so-called from the most important person among them — appealed to the Emperor, who constituted himself judge of religious doctrines. Torture plucked from them the customary confessions, and they were put to death.² This was the first heretical blood shed by a Christian ruler after process of law; we remark further — a presage of the future — that this persecution was instigated by Spanish bishops. Maximus regarded it chiefly as a political act; he wished to give the Catholics of Italy, threatened in their religion by an Arian court, the assurance that beyond the Alps there reigned an Orthodox Emperor.

When he became aware of the law of January 23, he addressed

¹ Pacatus, *Pan. vet.* xii. 29. As a matter of course we have none of the writings of these sectaries, for they were carefully destroyed.

² Notwithstanding the Emperor's promise to Saint Martin that these persons should not be put to death, seven of them perished, — among the number a woman of high birth, Euerotia; others were condemned to banishment in 383. Saint Ambrose also disapproved of this execution. To the gentle and loving Saint Augustine belongs the sad credit of having established in the Church the doctrine of the *compelle intrare*, following the scriptural injunction that to the wise should be given the opportunity to become wiser. In the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, his two *Letters*, to Vincent and to Boniface, were published in French with the title: *Conformité de la conduite des églises de France pour ramener les protestants avec celle des églises d'Afrique pour ramener les donatistes à l'Église catholique*.

to Valentinian a letter, which was really designed for the Italian Catholics; and to give himself time to complete his preparations, he lulled to sleep the vigilance of Justina by pacific messages. He had been for a long time occupied in increasing his troops by calling in a great multitude of Barbarians from across the Rhine. In the following summer he seized upon the Alpine defiles, under pretext of sending succor to his colleague for a campaign in Pannonia.



MAXIMUS AND
HIS SON.²

and descended rapidly into the plains of the Po. Valentinian had only time to escape from Milan (September, 377), and even from Aquileia; he embarked with his mother and his sister Galla on board a vessel which carried them to Thessalonica,¹ while Maximus added to his easy conquests Pannonia, where only Emona (Laybach) resisted him. This time Theodosius could no longer hesitate: the murderer of Gratian, who had just now seized a second empire without fighting, would certainly gain a third. — the East would fall to him after the West. Theodosius united his cause irrevocably to Valentinian's by marrying at Thessalonica the beautiful Galla.³ who, the following year, bore him a daughter, Placidia, destined to strange adventures. As winter was coming on, hostilities did not begin; the two adversaries besides had need of time. — one, to strengthen his new power; the other, to prepare for a great war. Theodosius had to take special precautions. An embassy sent to Ctesiphon, and much gold distributed at the court of the Persian king, secured the tranquillity of the Oriental provinces. We may also believe that along the Danube the Gothic pensions were increased; and a reduction in taxes accorded to the diocese of Thrace, which covered Constantinople, is doubtless of this year.⁴ And, lastly, the Emperor hoped to secure peace and silence in the

¹ Zosimus, iv. 43; Theodoret, v. 15.

² BONO REI PVBLICAE NATI. Maximus and Flavius Victor, seated, facing each other, each holding a globe; between them a half-length Victory. Reverse of an aureus of the Augustus Fl. Victor (British Museum).

³ . . . ἐξαίσιον διαπρίπουσαν κάλλι (Zosimus, iv. 44). The Empress Flaccilla had died in 386 (?).

⁴ Codex Just. xi. 51. This undated constitution of Theodosius and Valentinian II. abolished the capitation tax in Thrace, and left only the *jugatio terrena*. Another of 491 (*ibid.* x. 27, 2) speaks as of an old custom of favors accorded to the *possessores* of Thrace in respect to the annorary dues. The Emperors by these favors purchased the favor of the new suburban province.

interior of the Empire by re-enacting the severe laws already made against heretics, and prohibiting, under pain of exile, all religious



PLACIDIA AND HER SON.¹

discussions.² He did not call for troops from his people, who paid in gold for this exemption: but he asked many from the Barbarians, whom he believed that he enfeebled by taking from them their best

¹ *Treasury of Monza*, pl. iv. Placidia is represented with her son, the young Valentinian III.; on the second leaf of the diptych is a figure in military dress, doubtless representing the general Constantius, husband of Placidia.

² *Contes Theod.*, xvi. 4, 2. Cf. Tillemont, v. 288, who says of this law: "It was often repeated both by the Roman Emperors and by the Kings of France." Law 3, under the same title, shows the penalty to be transportation.

soldiers. The Goths, Alans, and Huns furnished him a numerous infantry and an excellent cavalry,¹ — dangerous auxiliaries, of most uncertain fidelity, who learned as Roman soldiers, and later employed against the Empire, all the military science that Rome could teach them. Two of the most valued generals of Theodosius were the Franks Richomer and Arbogastes. The Gallic army was likewise largely composed of Barbarians.

During these months of preparation and expectancy, the two Emperors exchanged pacific messages, — lying negotiations, in which treacherous intrigues were concealed. The panegyrist of Theodosius does not say this, but it is asserted of Maximus.² I believe it true of both; and the numerous desertions from the Gallic army at this period give reason to think that efforts had been made for a long time among these troops by agents of Theodosius. Arbogastes, to whom is attributed the defeat of Maximus,⁴ and who had great influence among his own people, was probably the principal mover in these secret negotiations. Theodosius doubtless remembered well how Constantius triumphed over Magnentius and Vetranio.



MEDIUM BRONZE.³

Early in May, 388, Theodosius quitted Thessalonica; on the 16th of June he was at Stobi; on the 21st, in the famous defile of Scupi (Uschküb), whence he descended into the valley of the Save, following this river as far as to Siscia (Sisek), the most advanced position held by Maximus. A bold cavalry charge of his Huns and Alans gave him the passage of the river, the city, and a great quantity of supplies.⁵ A second engagement, perhaps at Petovio (Pettau), was more serious, and still more unfavorable to the Emperor of the West, who lost a part of his troops by desertion. The conqueror pushed his advantage sharply. Emona opened its gates to him, he crossed the Julian Alps without fighting, and appeared before Aquileia, which had neither the ability nor the inclination to defend itself. The

¹ Pacatus, *Pan. vet.* 32: . . . *Tua benignitate pелlectae omnes Scythicae nationes tantis raminihus confluebant ut, quem remiseras tuis, barbaris videreris imperasse delectum.*

² Zosimus, iv. 45.

³ Theodosius, in helmet and military dress, on a vessel of which the rudder is held by a Victory.

⁴ Orosius, vii. 35.

⁵ Pacatus, *Pan. vet.* xii. 34.

Augustus, — since his defeat now merely a usurper, — was brought before Theodosius bound hand and foot, and was beheaded (July 27. or August 28). The consuls of republican Rome had been wont to announce to the Senate their victories by despatches wreathed with laurel; the head of Maximus, carried about through all the chief cities of the Empire, showed to the provincials that the war between the two Barbarian armies, which filled the place of the old Roman legions, was ended. The partisans of the Gallic Emperor, falling with himself into the hands of the victorious soldiery, his Moorish guards, and, a little later, his young son, were put to death. The murderer of Gratian, Andragathos, was not at Aquileia; he was cruising fruitlessly in the Adriatic to prevent a descent of the Theodosians into Italy, and at news of the disaster threw himself into the sea.

The author of a panegyric on Theodosius, with the audacious mendacity necessary in this kind of literature, extols the clemency of his hero. "After your victory," he says to the Emperor in the presence of the Senate, "there were neither confiscations nor fines, neither reproaches nor chastisements: each man was permitted to retain his rank. With the exception of two or three expiatory victims, all have been received back into favor, as to a mother's breast."² The Code uses different language; Theodosius here speaks in person, and this is what he says: "Let no man dare to retain the honors conferred by the most abominable of tyrants. The laws that he promulgated and the sentences that he pronounced are abolished."³ Inasmuch as Maximus had reigned five years, the whole social order was imperilled, and Theodosius was constrained the following year to except from this general annulment all agreements made


 AN AUREUS.¹

¹ Reverse of an aureus of the Augustus Fl. Victor (British Museum).

² *Diobus aut tribus . . . in belli piaculum caesis, reliquos omnes velut quodam materno sinu clausit* (Pacatus, *Pan. vet.* 45). Pacatus pronounced his panegyric in the presence of Theodosius in 391, consequently after the massacre of Thessalonica, of which, naturally, he does not speak.

³ *Code de Theod.* xv. 14, 6 and 8. On the confiscation of the property of the partisans and officers of Maximus, see Godefroy's commentary on law 3, title 22, of book iv., *anno* 389.

between parties in good faith, gifts that had been accepted, and enfranchisements that had been granted.¹ Another law implies numerous confiscations; and it would not be rash to suppose that the Frank Arbogastes, sent into Gaul to kill the boy Augustus, Victor, took other lives also. Saint Ambrose speaks of many saved, at his entreaty, from exile, prison, and death.²



VALENTINIAN II.³

There were therefore condemnations after the victory, and doubtless executions also, before the prayers of the bishop could reach the Emperor; for in cases like these the blow followed the word without delay. The mother and the daughters of Maximus escaped punishment, but not the confiscation of all that they possessed. At first exiled, and afterwards required to live in Spain, they were maintained by a pension from the state. Claudian, in the reign of Honorius, extols the clemency of Theodosius, and we praise it still. It was for the interest of the court and the Church so clamorously to applaud the compassion of this vindictive Emperor, that the cries of his victims might not be heard.

Valentinian II. was restored to his domains; his empire appeared to be doubled, by the addition of the Gallic prefecture to that of Italy; but he was only seventeen years of age, and as a matter of fact, after the defeat of Maximus, Theodosius remained sole master of the West, as well as of the East.⁴

¹ *Codex Theod.* xv. 14, 8. A law of Jan. 23, 389, on the subject of legacies made to the Emperor, of which Tillemont says: "It was greatly to the honor of Theodosius," does scarcely more than renew a former ordinance of Septimius Severus (Vol. VI. pp. 560, 561). I do not regard it as necessary to take account of a sentence by a poor historian, the author of the *Epitome*, who relates in a few lines the reign of Theodosius and represents him as giving back to its owners the money which Maximus had extorted.

² *Letter 40*; Symmachus, *Letters*, iii. 33.

³ *RESTITVTOR REI PVBLICAE*. The Emperor, standing, a nimbus around his head, holds the *labarum* and assists a turret-crowned woman to rise. (Reverse of a gold medallion.)

⁴ *Theodosius, interfecit per Maximum Gratiano, imperium Romani orbis solus obtinuit* (Orosius, vii. 35). Coins represent Theodosius holding the helm of the Empire.

IV. — SAINT AMBROSE; THE PENITENCE OF THEODOSIUS (390).

For fifteen years Ambrose had been a power in Milan. Courtied by Gratian, respected by Valentinian II. and Maximus, victorious over the Arian heresy and over the Empress Justina,¹ he had early gained the confidence of Theodosius. But this was not enough; the bishop seems to have wished to direct the Emperor's conduct as well as his conscience, and to be informed as to his plans. It had not as yet become usual for the bishops to be members of the council, and Ambrose took means to learn all that went on there. This interference of a priest in public affairs displeased many, among them the Emperor himself; and the indiscreet informers were threatened with the severest penalties. The bishop went so far as to complain to Theodosius by letter² that he alone of all the Emperor's friends was kept in ignorance. It was not yet forty years since Constantine's death, and already Ambrose was dreaming of a community which, to find the way of salvation, should be ruled by bishops, the necessary mediators between Heaven and earth.

At the eastern extremity of the Empire, a small city on the banks of the Euphrates, Callinicum by name, had a synagogue, which the bishop of the place caused to be burned by his monks. No law had prohibited the Hebrew worship,³ the Emperor owed the Jews protection, and as they were numerous on that frontier, it seemed dangerous to refuse it to them. Theodosius decided that the bishop should rebuild the edifice. This infraction of the public peace was a question of civil order. Ambrose made it a religious question; "for it is proper that the discipline of the state be subordinated to religion."⁴ In a long letter addressed to the Emperor he calls the synagogue of Callinicum a house of impiety,

¹ This Empress seems to have died during the war with Maximus.

² Ambrose, *Ep.* 51: *Soli mihi in tuo comitatu jus naturae ereptum videtur audienti.*

³ *Codex Theod.* xvi. 8, 9: . . . *Judaeorum sectam nulla lege prohibita.* Dion Cassius (xxvii. 17) had said the same at the beginning of the third century, and this toleration dated even from the Republic. (Cf. Vol. VI. p. 523, note 1.) Outside of Callinicum there was a temple of the Valentinians, a kind of Gnostics. This was pillaged and burned as well as the synagogue.

⁴ *Quid est amplius, disciplinae species an causa religionis? Cedat oportet censura devo-*

a receptacle of folly (although there was one in the very city of Milan, near his own cathedral), and he closes his communication with a threat: "I write to you," he says, "that you may hear me in your palace, lest otherwise it should be necessary that you hear me in the church."¹ This threat was fulfilled; when Theodosius came to perform his devotions in the cathedral, the bishop summoned him, in the presence of all the congregation, to revoke his decree. While the Emperor hesitated, Ambrose suspended the service. Standing before Theodosius, he said: "I am in trouble and anxiety; give my mind liberty, that I may offer for you the sacrifice." Theodosius, feeble like all violent persons, at last yielded.² It was a small matter, but had important results. The struggle between the priesthood and the Empire had hitherto been in words only; it had now come to acts, and the Empire had been the one to give way. This bishop, who maintains that the monks were right in burning temples, is already on the road by which the Church will go so far as to find it good that heretics be burned.³

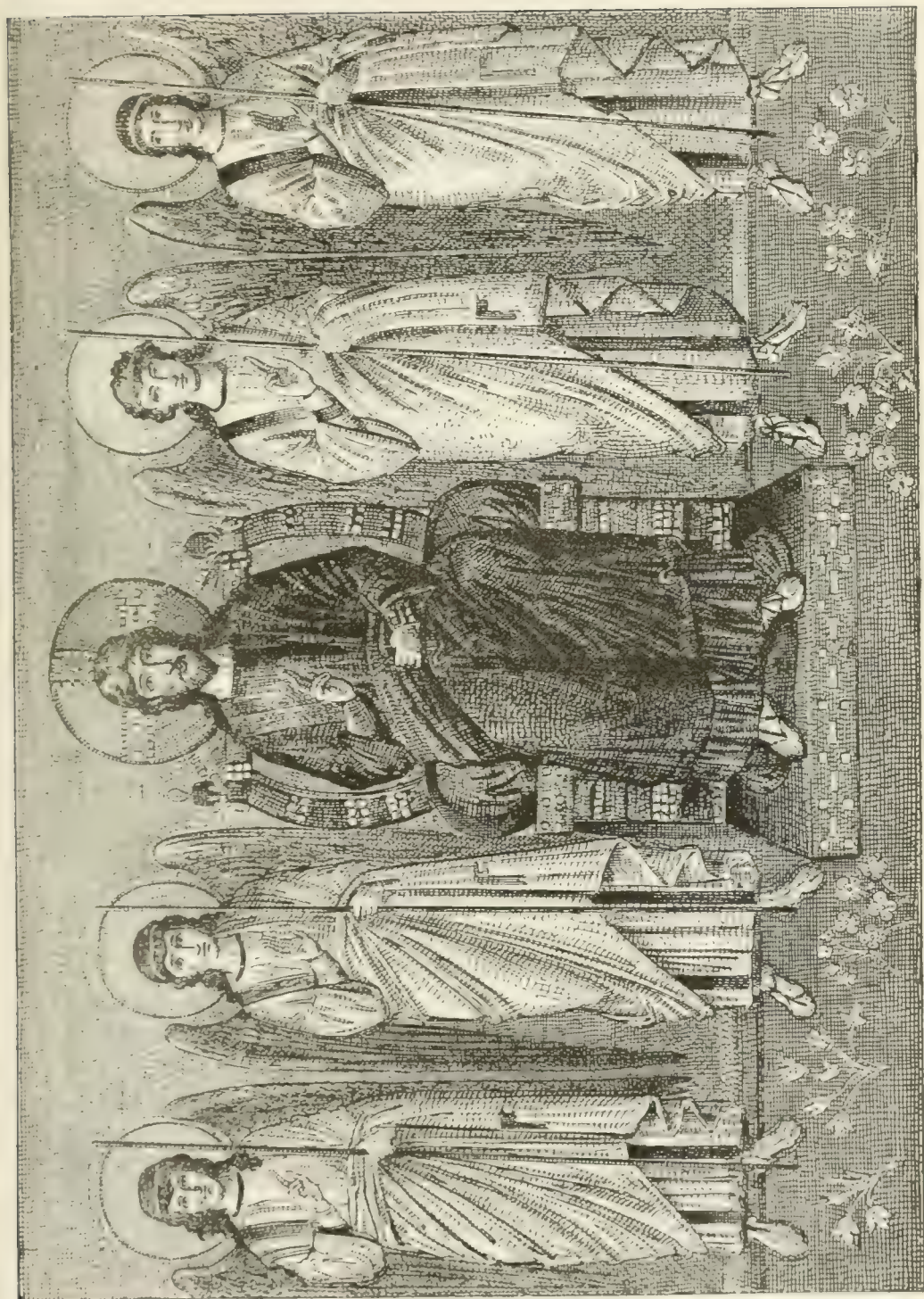
In this affair Ambrose was wrong; in another, which occurred soon after, he was right. An error of the Emperor — which indeed we should call by its true name, a crime — revealed to the Church that she might make herself the judge of monarchs, and employ against them the formidable weapon of excommunication.

tioni (Ambrose, *Ep.* 40, sect. 11). He had said to the Council of Aquileia (*Letter* 1): "The bishops should judge the laity, and not the laity the bishops." Cf. Canon Hermant, *Vie de Saint Ambroise*, p. 141.

¹ *Eccē ut me magis audires in regia, ne necesse esset audires in ecclesia* (Ambrose, *Ep.* 40; cf. *ibid.* 41).

² Ambrose wrote to Theodosius: *Habes naturam impetum, quem si quis lenire velit, cito vertes ad misericordiam, si quis stimulet, in majus exarscit, ut cum revocare vir possis* (*Ep.* 51, sect. 4). This inconsistency of character, so unfortunate in a monarch, appears in his character and in his laws. Almost on the same day Symmachus is exiled and is pardoned (*Symm. Ep.* ii. 31; Tillemont, v. 300). According to Saint Ambrose, the inhabitants of Thessalonica, condemned in the morning, are pardoned in the evening, and condemned anew the following day. Proculus is sent to be executed, and then his sentence is suspended, but too late. In the affair of Antioch there were the same alternations. Under the influence of the bishop, Theodosius deprives the Eunomians of the right to make a will or to receive by one (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 5, 17). Under that of his other advisers (*pleniore consilio*), he restores to them their civil rights (*ibid.* 23). He legislates concerning deaconesses in one way at Milan (xvi. 2, 27), and in another way at Verona three months later (*ibid.* 28), in 390. At the request of the magistrates he prohibits monks from leaving the wilderness (*deserta loca et vastas solitudines*), and in 392 he authorizes their residence in the cities (xvi. 3, 1, 2). Concerning the inequality of his temper, see Zosimus, iv. 51.

³ We have seen that the Priscillianists had been already put to death (p. 307).



CHRIST, ATTENDED BY APOSTLES OR SAINTS (MOSAIC OF ST. VITALIS, RAVENNA, SIXTH CENTURY).

Thessalonica, upon its deep and splendid bay, was, after Constantinople, the greatest and richest city of eastern Illyricum. The praetorian prefect resided there; every day merchants from foreign lands came thither,—by sea from the Hellespont, Asia, and Egypt; by land from the Adriatic, which a great military road, the Via Egnatia, united to the Archipelago. A Gothic gar-



THESSALONICA, VIEW FROM THE SEA.¹

rison, commanded by Botheric, held the city. But the Greeks and Barbarians were not on good terms with one another; the rudeness and ignorance of the latter displeased the refined minds of the Greeks, who were indignant at being obliged to receive as masters those whom formerly they had made their slaves. A charioteer of the circus, a favorite of the people, having been thrown into prison, an outbreak took place, during which Botheric and several of his officers perished. Theodosius had many reasons for loving Thessalonica: he had been baptized there, and there had spent the

¹ Cousinery, *Voyage en Macédoine*, i. 23.

first months of his reign; at other times he had been a resident of the city, and he knew many of its inhabitants personally. However, at news of this riot he ordered his Goths to be avenged by the extermination of the whole population. Ambrose, informed of the resolution which had been taken in the council, pleaded with the Emperor for the pardon of the offenders, and if we may



ATHLETES AND UMPIRE (ASELIUS, CONSTANTIUS, AND ILARUS) ²

believe his account of the transaction,¹ obtained it. But the punishment, which was planned like a conspiracy, proves that Theodosius merely freed himself from importunate solicitations by a vague promise of clemency. A festival was announced to the people, who flocked in crowds to the circus. While all eyes were fixed upon the games, the troops quietly surrounded the building, and at a given signal, making their way in from all sides, fell upon the unarmed multitude. For three hours the work of murder went on; neither women nor children nor old men were spared. A foreign merchant, who perhaps even had not been present in Thessalonica at the time of the riot, gave all his wealth to redeem the life of one of his two sons; while he hesitated in making the terrible choice, the Goths, to whom this massacre was a sport, murdered them both. The number of the dead has been variously estimated from seven to fifteen thousand. Sozomenus asserts that it had been settled how many heads each assassin should bring in, and the price of blood was paid to each accordingly (390).

¹ Ep. 51, and *De Obitu Theod.* 34.

² Achille Deville, *Histoire de la verrerie dans l'antiquité*, pl. xxx.

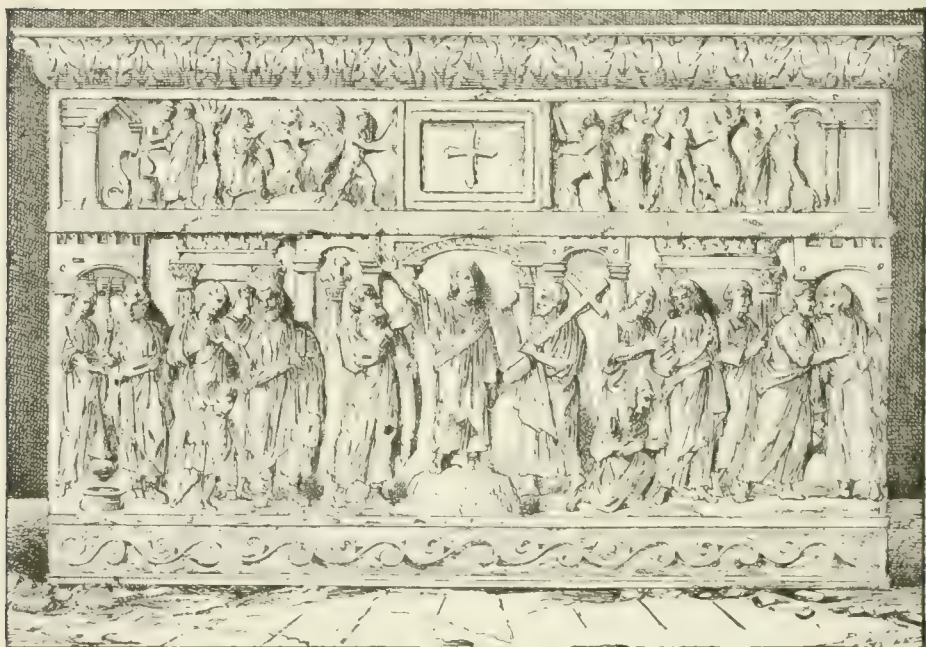
The first time that Theodosius presented himself at the church, after news of this massacre had reached Milan, Ambrose stopped him at the threshold; he reproached the Emperor with his crime, and forbade him access to the holy place, whither none might come who had shed innocent blood. It was nothing less than placing the Emperor outside of the Christian communion. The mighty ruler recoiled before the unarmed priest; and if we may believe the historians of the Church, he remained eight months in his palace, depriving himself of the insignia of imperial power, lamenting and weeping that "the Lord's house, open even to beggars, was closed against him, and with it the gates of heaven also." When it was permitted him to re-enter the cathedral, after this public penitence, he fell upon the ground, and in the presence of all the people implored pardon for his sin, saying to the bishop, in the words of the Psalmist: "Restore to me life, in accordance with thy word!"¹

It is a noble scene; and from that day the Church could exhibit to kings an illustrious instance of the power of remorse and of imperial submission. History has reason, however, to think that in the palace there were not so many tears and groans and lamentations. Theodosius, a zealous Catholic, habituated by the bishop to obedience, accepted the sentence pronounced against him, and abstained from presenting himself at divine worship in the cathedral. But, docile though he was, he was not yet a monk whom the bishops could shut up in a cell, as was Louis le Débonnaire. He continued to exercise the imperial authority, for we have several laws dated in this period, and he did not immure himself in his palace, for three of these laws are dated from Verona. The primitive Church gave absolution to the homicide only upon his death-bed. Saint Basil, as late as the fourth century, required twenty years of penitence. Ambrose abridged this time of trial, which was too long for an Emperor; he fixed the limit at Christmas, 390,—that festival of the Church when Christ seems to be again born upon the earth.

Ambrose in his brave firmness, Theodosius in his humility, had accomplished each of them a memorable act, which raised

¹ Ambrose, *De Obitu Theod.* 34; Theodoret, v. 18; Sozomenus, vii. 24; Rufinus, ii. 18; Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, v. 26. See Canon Hermant, *op. cit.* pp. 414 *et seq.*

the bishop and abased the Emperor, while it restored him again to his place as a Christian. Since amid the universal servility there was no public opinion capable of preventing or punishing the crimes of rulers, it became necessary that moral authority, which had disappeared from civil society, should be vested in the religious community. It was a new force which came into being, and of which, in the condition of society then existing, history



SARCOPHAGUS AT VERONA. JESUS HEALING THE DEMONIAC.¹

approves. Like all forces, this one was destined to produce, according to the times and the men, good and bad effects, and to gain or lose accordingly; and at last the day came when civil society again recovered all its rights. But in this lamentable end of the old world, and beginning of that age in which brutality of every kind would be let loose, it was a good thing that the human conscience, stifled everywhere else, should have its full sway in the heart of the Church.²

¹ Maffei, *Verona illustrata*, part iii. p. 54.

² The Church historians (Sozomenus, Theodoret, and Rufinus) assert that Ambrose required of Theodosius a law placing an interval of thirty days between sentence and execution. This law in regard to which there are difficulties (see Haanel, *Ad leg. Codex Theod.*

Socrates, an ecclesiastical historian and a contemporary, is not justified in saying: "The Emperors became masters of the affairs of the Church; they disposed, with absolute power, of the great councils, and still dispose of them at this day."¹ Opposite to this imperial right, to which the religious history of the fourth century testifies, and of which the traces remained until as late as the Council of Constance (1414), rose up the new right which gave the Church a power of correction over the monarch. This was not an unexpected claim; the Church had conceived the idea almost in her earliest days, and, with her principle of existence, she could not fail to have it. Twenty-seven years earlier than the time of which we are speaking, Gregory Nazianzen had had the boldness to reply to an imperial prefect: "The law of Christ makes you subject, like the rest, to my authority and my throne; for we also are kings, we rule an empire higher and more noble than yours, unless it be true that the spirit is inferior to the flesh, and heaven to earth."² Without always practising it, the Church has always honored this religious liberty. In the preface of the mass celebrated for Saint Hilary of Poitiers, it is said: "He was without fear before Caesar;" and at the time of his disagreement with Justina, the Archbishop of Milan gave utterance to language which opened the way to all theocratic claims: "The Emperor is in the Church; he is not above the Church" (*imperator intra Ecclesiam non supra Ecclesiam est*).³ Thirteen centuries later, Bossuet says: "The Church has learned from above to employ kings and emperors that she may the better serve God."⁴

The example of Ambrose was followed. Under the son of ix. 40, 13, p. 939) — was in any case only the re-enactment and extension of a law of Tiberius which gave to those condemned to death a respite of ten days.

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* v. 1.

² Gregory, *To the citizens of Nazianzen and to the offended prefect*, — πρὸς τὸν ἀρχόντα ἀρχαῖον. Καὶ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμος ὑποτίθωκεν ὑμᾶς τῇ ἐμῇ δεσποτείᾳ καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ βήματι, κ. τ. λ. (*Disc.* xvii. sect. 8, vol. i. p. 271, edit. Billy, anno 373). A few years later Theodoret (*Hist. eccl.* iv. 5, *ad fin.*), attributing to Theodosius words which the Emperor did not speak, makes him say what the Church said later to so many monarchs in the Middle Ages: "Bow the head: ἡμεῖς οἱ τὴν βασιλείαν ἰδόντες εὐλαβικῶς αὐτῷ [to the bishop] τὰς ἡμετέρας ὑποκλινόμεν κεφαλὰς, καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου γενομένους ἐλέγχους . . . ὡς ἰατρικὴν ἀσπαζόμεθα θεραπείαν." See Vol. VII. p. 411, note 1, and pp. 150 *et seq.* of this volume.

³ Ambrose, *Letter* 21. At the same time, from the very first centuries of the Christian era, liturgic prayers were instituted for the Emperor and the Roman magistrates in all the Christian communities of the Empire (Mangold, *De Ecclesia princeps*, Bonn, 1881).

⁴ Sermon on the *Unity of the Church*.

Theodosius the Bishop of Ptolemaïs excommunicated the president of the Pentapolis. This governor, guilty of extortion and cruelty, ought to have been punished by the Emperor, but it was the Church that undertook his punishment;¹ and this occurrence, which comes to us accidentally, doubtless was often repeated. The temptation of asserting the Church's supremacy over the civil power was too strong not to prevail in many cases,² and the more the Church gained strength, the more the populations appealed to her to defend their temporal interests. Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Augustine complain that their lives are spent in care for the things of this world. From this twofold principle, — the defence of the weak and the defence of the faith, — which kings and peoples (that is to say, the parties interested) admitted, was later derived for the bishops the right of examining and punishing every act of life which could be considered a sin; and after having made the monarch amenable to her jurisdiction, the Church essayed, that she might the better rule men's souls, to make the civil law subordinate to the law of religion. The two terms of the antagonism are therefore defined, and what the great Arnould calls "the heresy of clerical domination" began. It heralds the events which were to convulse the mediæval period, — the strife between the clergy and the Empire, — a struggle which is not yet ended; witness the *Encyclical* of Gregory XVI., and the *Syllabus* of Pius IX.

The penitence of Theodosius was a good example, but it seems to have done himself little good. Rufinus, the minister whom Ambrose accuses of having advised the massacre, still retained his master's confidence; two years later, upon the disgrace of the prefect Tatianus and his son, natives of Lycia, the Emperor branded all Lycians with infamy, and removed those who held office.³ The wrong done was of less magnitude than in the case of Thessalonica, but the principle

¹ Synesius, *Contra Andronicus*, and *Letters* 129, 132, edit. Druon. This bishop said, however: "God has separated the priesthood and the secular authority;" yet he was obliged to interfere in temporal affairs constantly.

² Socrates (vii. 13-15) says, in referring to the rivalry between Saint Cyril and Orestes, prefect of Egypt, that the encroachments of the bishops upon the jurisdiction of the governors were endless.

³ *Codex Theod.* ix. 38, 9. Tatianus, accused of extortion, was exiled; his son, Proculus, was beheaded (Dec. 6, 392). This prosecution perhaps gave occasion for the law fixing the death-penalty in the case of extortionate officials (*ibid.* ix. 28, 1). Hitherto the penalty had been a fourfold restitution.

was the same, causing the innocent to suffer with the guilty. Also, it would not have been wise to trust too far to the promises of a rescript doubtless suggested to this changeful mind by some sermon. "We forbid any to be punished because they have spoken evil of us or of the present time. If the words are due to levity, let them be despised; if to folly, let it be an object of commiseration; if to malice, let it be forgiven."¹

V.—MURDER OF VALENTINIAN II. (392); ARBOGASTES AND EUGENIUS; PAGAN REACTION; LAST VICTORY AND DEATH OF THEODOSIUS (JAN. 17, 395).

THEODOSIUS remained in Italy three years, — namely, until July, 391, — restoring order in the distracted provinces,² and removing the last traces of official paganism, and even that which was purely private in its character; for example, a constitution of 391 prohibits sacrifices at the expense of individuals, and even the worship of the Lares and Penates.³ He refused a third request from the Roman Senate for the re-establishment of the altar of Victory, and by word and example decided many persons of consequence to believe what their Emperor believed. But while he was an enemy to the old religion regarded as a public institution, he was not so towards those who remained devoted to the faith of their fathers, or did not adopt his own, when he found it useful to require their services. He retained pagans about him, and raised them to the highest offices, — as Arbogastes, commander in the West, and Tatianus, praetorian prefect in the East.⁴ He gave the consulship to Symmachus, the official defender of the old gods at Rome; he rewarded the eulogium of the rhetorician Drepanius by the proconsulship of Africa; and we have no account

¹ *Codex Theod.* ix. 4, 1, anno 393.

² A law of March 11, 391 (*Codex Theod.* iii. 3, 1), restoring liberty to children whom their fathers in extreme want had sold, — Trajan had made a similar law (*Pliny, Ep. x. 72*); a law of July 1, 391, rendering it legal to kill a robber by night (*Codex Theod.* ix. 14, 2), etc.

³ *Ibid.* xvi. 10, 10, and *ibid.*, law 12. (Cf. Vol. IV. p. 130, note 2.)

⁴ The consul Ricohmer, the prefect Flavianus, Albinus, the governor of Antioch in 387, and many others, were pagans.

of any acts of violence in Italy similar to those committed in the East, where the war against the temples continued, with the destruction of the most famous among them, the temple of Serapis, and the pillage of the library of Alexandria.¹ At this time many of the Greek and Roman masterpieces were destroyed.

Theodosius wished to see Rome, the ancient capital of the Roman world; and he entered the city June 13, 389, accompanied by Valentinian II. For the journey he had sent for his son Honorius from Constantinople, to exhibit the boy to the people and the Senate, — doubtless with the secret design of later relegating the docile Valentinian into Gaul, and assigning the prefecture of Italy to Honorius.²

The execution of this plan began after the following winter, which Theodosius passed at Milan with his son and his brother-in-law. When he left Valentinian (July, 391) he advised the latter to go to Trèves to protect that frontier, which during the war with Maximus the Riparian Franks had again ravaged under their chiefs Genobaud, Marcomer, and Sunno. A part of the invaders had been destroyed in a forest between the Sambre and the Scheldt; but the others had escaped with their booty into Germany. Some cohorts had attempted to follow them: but being surprised in a marshy wood, they had nearly all perished.³ It was important that the Emperor should visit this frontier, bringing more troops to it and an able general.

¹ Cf. above, p. 297; Socrates, v. 16, 17; Theodoret, v. 21; and Sozomenus, vii. 15. The pagans of Apameia, whose great temple of Jupiter had been destroyed, revenged themselves by the murder of the bishop of that city. The temples of Petra, of Arcopolis upon the Arnon, of Gaza in Palestine, and doubtless many others, remained standing.

² Theodosius remained at Rome until the 1st of September. He dated many laws from that city. We need mention only the one which, renewing a law of Marcus Aurelius, reduced to a hundred and twenty-five the number of consecrated days in the year (*Codex Theod.* ii. 18, 19), and another requiring any person who should discover a magician, to denounce that "enemy of the public safety," with prohibition, under penalty of death, of killing secretly the practisers of witchcraft, lest any should take advantage of this pretext to gratify private hatred. This law and the chapter in which Socrates (v. 18) speaks of certain reforms made at Rome by Theodosius, give a gloomy idea of the state of the public mind in this city, where Christianity was as powerless as philosophy had been to act upon the morals of the people. The Christian community of Rome, like that of Constantinople and of many other cities, was at this time divided between two bishops, the Orthodox Siricius, and the Arian Leontius. The latter obtained from the Emperor the pardon of Symmachus, in disgrace for the moment on account of his eulogy of Maximus (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* v. 14).

³ . . . *Perturbatis ordinibus caesae legiones*. In this account Sulpicius Severus mentions that the Franks employed poisoned arrows; and the *Salic Law* (tit. xx. 1, 2) speaks of this custom.

This general was the Frank Arbogastes, who in the latter part of the year 392 crossed the Rhine and avenged the recent defeat of the legions, without carrying hostilities too far, since he sought to negotiate rather than to conquer, aiming to secure a lasting peace with the Franks and obtain from them auxiliaries.¹ He had need of peace, and he also required auxiliaries, for he had just accomplished a revolution.

This Arbogastes, the most important person in the Western Empire, had been intrusted by Theodosius with the command of the forces in Gaul; he was master of the army much more truly than Valentinian, and his own people filled all the public offices. What were his designs? Did he aspire to the Empire? This is doubtful, for he did not have himself proclaimed Emperor at a time when he could have done so. Was it to obtain great influence in the government? Undoubtedly; and the feeble sovereign, but twenty years of age, who had been flung hither and thither by a destiny which he could never for a moment control, probably took for his guide this able general, whose talents and fidelity had been manifested under two Emperors. But this was not for the interest of those who surrounded Valentinian. The old soldier, who had ~~one~~ virtue unknown in those days, a contempt for wealth, alarmed them.² He spoke freely to the Emperor of public affairs, and opposed every measure which appeared to him contrary to the interests of the state.³ An influence so great and so undisguised, was intolerable to the courtiers; they persuaded Valentinian that he was a captive in his palace at Vienne, and they urged him to deliver himself from an odious guardian who did not sufficiently respect the fiction of sovereignty exercised by a youth of twenty. Secret messages were even sent to Theodosius, begging him to free his brother-in-law from servitude. The Emperor of the East knew how to regard these boyish or selfish complaints, and did not interpose. The court then resolved to act. When Arbogastes entered the council one day, Valentinian handed to him a rescript depriving him of his office.

¹ Gregory of Tours, ii. 9.

² The plunderings of the courtiers continued. Saint Ambrose (*De Jas.* 7) speaks of the fat kine, shortly to be followed by the lean kine, — referring to the early years of Valentinian II.

³ . . . χρημάτων ὑπεροψίαν . . . πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα παρρησιάζεσθαι, καὶ ὅσα μὴ καλῶς αὐτῷ μηδὲ προσηκουτῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει κωλύειν (Zosimus, iv. 53).

The Barbarian blood rushed to the heart of this civilized Frank; he threw the imperial document scornfully upon the ground, crying out that he had been appointed by Theodosius, and by Theodosius only could he be removed. Valentinian, in whom sometimes his father's hot temper manifested itself, snatched a sword from one of his guards to attack Arbogastes. Those present separated the two; but, with the Oriental manners of all these courts, a scene like this meant a sentence of death for one or the other. It was the Emperor who perished; shortly after, he was found hanging from a tree, which gave his death an aspect of suicide (May 15, 392). His body was carried to Milan, and Ambrose, in a funeral oration, certified that heaven had opened to receive him. Valentinian had not yet been baptized, and to theologians, salvation without baptism was impossible; but discourses of this kind permit even a saint to take much license.¹

Arbogastes selected as emperor Eugenius, a Roman, who doubtless had some ability, since the Frank Richomer, on his departure for Constantinople, recommended him.² He was a man of obscure origin, formerly a rhetorician, who had attained sufficient distinction at court to be in correspondence with Saint Ambrose, and to receive from Symmachus the appellation *clarissimus*; it is believed that he was at the head of the imperial chancery.³ He was a Christian—like many in the official world at that time—through policy, and without ardor; Arbogastes, who remained a pagan, had some trouble, however, in persuading him to restore the revenues of the temples, for which the Roman Senate had so often asked, that the new emperor might thus gain the support of those who were not yet ready to adopt the new faith.⁴ Then took place a singular pagan reaction; but it had vitality only at two points,—in the army, which, composed of Barbarians, was Christian neither in ideas nor manners; and in Rome, the city of memories,

¹ *De Obitu Valent.* 51, and *Ep.* 53. Saint Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*) declares that he does not know whether Valentinian was assassinated, or whether he perished by accident. Many accepted the fiction of suicide spread abroad by Arbogastes and his friends. Cf. Rufinus, ii. 31; Sozomenus, vii. 22; Socrates, v. 25.

² Claudian (*IV. consul. Honor.*, verses 67 and 74) calls him "the client and the servant of the exiled Barbarian."

³ Ambrose, *Ep.* 15; Symmachus, iii. 60, 61; Socrates, v. 25.

⁴ Ambrose says (*Ep.* 57) that Eugenius granted it only to the third embassy from the Senate.

where all spoke of the old gods and of the glory with which they had rewarded their worshippers. The image of the invincible Hercules replaced the cross upon the standards, and the Alpine defiles, through which might come an attack, were solemnly placed under the protection of Jupiter, represented by statues holding a



THE INVINCIBLE HERCULES.¹

golden thunderbolt;² *De Jove . . . Latio*, says a wretched contemporary poet, *voluit sperare salutem*. At Rome, where there were more pagans than has usually been supposed,³ the chief of the party was Flavianus, a person of importance, whom Eugenius appointed praetorian prefect. He proclaimed a *justitium* of three months: that is to say, the suspension for that length of time of

¹ The god overpowering the Ceryncian stag with golden horns and brazen feet. The club is on the ground. Bronze group, found in Burgundy in the eighteenth century, 5½ millim. high and 6 in. broad (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3,936).

² Theodoret, v. 24, and Saint Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, v. 26: . . . *Jovis simulacra nescio quibus ritibus velut consecrata et in Apibus constituta*.

³ Cf. Henzen, *Bull. de l'Inst. de corresp. arch.*, 1867, p. 174; 1868, p. 90. In his second letter to Valentinian II., Saint Augustine says: [*Romae*] *omnibus in templis ara, sacrificia sua gentiles ubique concelebant*. The same was true in the case of all the great cities. In respect to Africa in the fifth century, see Saint Augustine's letter to Pammachius, sect. 3, and in the *Homilia de Rogationibus* of Saint Avitus, the active opposition which the pagans of Vienne made to that bishop against the institution of a Christian festival in their city.

all business and all judicial proceedings, in order to perform the religious purification of the city according to the ancient rites. He celebrated all the festivals inscribed in the calendar, and himself underwent the bloody baptism of the *taurobolium*, which was to render him pure and holy for twenty years (*viginti mundus in annos*).¹ The statue of Victory, so long expelled from the Senate, returned triumphant.



A VICTORY.³

The Catholics, astonished at this resurrection of the dead, kept silence. "I alone," says Saint Ambrose, "resisted the decree;"² and he did so with a moderation which was not usual to him. He could have had no doubts as to the murderer of Valentinian; but Arbogastes was not the docile Theodosius. In the funeral oration pronounced by Ambrose upon the unfortunate Emperor, there was not a word which could offend the assassin; and while avoiding a personal interview with Eugenius, the bishop wrote to him as to a legitimate Emperor. And, indeed, why

refuse obedience to the soldiers' chosen monarch? The only legitimacy now recognized was that arising from success.

Theodosius, who had hesitated four years about making war upon Maximus, would have hesitated much longer before a renowned general like his new adversary: but that which he perhaps would never have done for the sake of Valentinian, notwithstanding the entreaties of the Empress Galla, he did for religion's sake. For some time Eugenius hoped to win him over. The new Emperor of the West placed the effigy of Theodosius with his own upon his coins; and while the Emperor of the East designated himself consul at Constantinople for the year 393, with one of his officers as

¹ In respect to this last effort of paganism, see the curious and learned monograph of the Chevalier Rossi in the *Bull. di archeol. crist.* vol. vi. (July-August, 1868).

² Ambrose, *Ep.* 57.

³ Bronze statuette in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,047.

colleague. Eugenius at Rome inscribed the name of Theodosius with his own in the consular Fasti.

The year 393 was spent by both sides in preparations. Eugenius increased his forces with a great number of Alemanni and Franks. Theodosius called to arms his Goths, and with them Alans, Huns, Iberians, and Saracens. His principal officers were Gaïnas, Saul, Alaric, the Iberian Bacurus, and the Vandal Stilicho, who had married his niece Serena; Timasius is the only one of his generals who has a Roman name. Gildo, a rich and powerful Mauretanian prince, to whom Valentinian had given the government of Africa, refused to recognize Eugenius; but he refused also the aid which



HONORIUS.¹



GOLD MEDALLION OF EUGENIUS.³

Theodosius asked of him. This prince proposed to take Africa for himself in the approaching dismemberment of the Empire.²

Near the end of May, 394, the Emperor quitted Constantinople, leaving behind him his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius,

under the charge of the minister Rufinus; the Empress Galla had just died. He was three months in reaching the Alps. Arbogastes had not seen fit to dispute with him Pannonia, so fatal to Magnentius and to Maximus; he hoped that the Eastern army, fatigued and wasted by the long journey, would arrive in disorder, and he had kept back his army in good condition behind the Julian Alps. These mountains are not a very secure barrier to Italy. Theodosius, coming from Aemona (Laybach), forced the passage easily in a skirmish of the advanced guard, in which Flavianus was killed.

The decisive battle took place, on the 5th of September, in the

¹ Gold medallion, having on the reverse Rome, helmeted, seated, holding a globe and an inverted spear (Cohen, vol. vi. pl. xvii. No. 2).

² Theodosius, to win him over, asked from him the hand of his daughter Salvina for Nebridius, a nephew of the late Empress Flaccilla.

³ D. N. EUGENIVS P. P. AVG., and the Emperor's bust. Reverse: GLORIA ROMANORVM, surrounding Rome and Constantinople personified.

HONORIUS.²

neighborhood of Heidsenschaft, not far from Aquileia, on the banks of the Frigidus (Wip-pach).¹ The first day ten thousand Goths fell before Arbogastes, and the situation appeared so desperate that the generals of Theodosius urged him to fall back and take time to collect another army. To retreat was to confess himself defeated, and to be so in fact; Theodosius resolved to make one more attempt. During the night Arbogastes sent one of his lieutenants, Arbitrio, to take possession of the hills in the rear of the Eastern army, in order to close the defiles in case the enemy should attempt to retreat, or to attack him in the rear if the action should be begun anew. But the fidelity of the Barbarians was extremely insecure, and Theodosius

had spent a year in collecting in his rich provinces treasure enough

¹ This engagement perhaps occurred at *ad Pyrum*, near Hruschizza, where the lowest defile of the Birnbaumerwald opens. Cf. Von Czörnig, *Das Land Gorz und Gradisca*, p. 162.

² The Emperor, in military dress, holds with one hand the *labarum*, and with the other a globe surmounted by a Victory. Half of the diptych of Aosta, on which Honorius is twice represented (the Abbé Gazzera, *Mémoires de l'Académie de Turin*, vol. xxxviii.).

to place him in a condition to purchase defections. Magnentius and Maximus had both been conquered, it is probable, rather by gold than by iron. Was that method employed in this case? We cannot say with certainty. These bargains are never matters of public notoriety; the effects alone reveal them. Certain it is that Arbitrio passed over to the side of Theodosius, and by so doing relieved him from a great peril. When the battle began in the plain, a violent wind from the mountains wrapped the army of Eugenius in such whirlwinds of dust that they could not see the enemy, all whose arrows, however, fell among them. This was the circumstance which gave the victory to Marius in the battle with the Cimbri, and it now secured the success of Theodosius. Eugenius, seized by his own soldiers, was carried before the conqueror; and while still kneeling to Theodosius and begging for his life, his head was cut off. Two days later Arbogastes, tracked among the mountains, perished by his own hand.¹

Theodosius survived his victory but five months, dying of dropsy of the chest, Jan. 17, 395.² We may here notice that of Constantine's successors, those who escaped a violent death in no instance attained old age. Constantius died at the age of forty-four; Valentinian I. at fifty-four; Theodosius at fifty; and of his two sons, one only lived to be thirty-one, and the other thirty-nine. The lives of the Empresses were also short; the first and second wives of Constantius, the mother and the wife of Julian, Constantina, Flaccilla, Galla, — all died young. It seems to have been a degenerate race. To give it new life, there was need to return to the system of Diocletian, — election according to merit, and not hereditary succession. Theodosius forgot that he had received the purple as the worthiest, and he also failed to remember how fragile are crowns placed upon too youthful heads. But with the establishment of an Oriental court, hereditary right became necessarily the principle of the Byzantine Empire. Theodosius divided the inheritance between his two sons, giving the East to Arcadius, and the West to Honorius. The elder was scarcely eighteen, the younger

¹ Saint Ambrose, in his *Letter* 62, asks from Theodosius pardon for the partisans of Eugenius who had sought an asylum in the Church.

² The Arian Philostorgius (xi. 2) accuses him of having caused his own death by intemperance. Zosimus is sometimes very harsh towards the destroyer of paganism; but among his many reproaches it is possible that some may be well founded.

only ten; and so this sceptre, which would have been heavy even for the strongest hand, was transmitted to boys.¹



ÆLIA FLACCILLA.³

The Catholic Church has given Theodosius the surname of "the Great." He merited it from her, for to her he sacrificed all religious opposition, and he manifested for the bishops a deference which permitted them to enlarge the sphere of their moral action until it included the judgment and the condemnation of the Emperors. History, less generous, sees in Theodosius only an ordinary monarch, inasmuch as he did nothing of importance for the state. He increased the Code by a great number of constitutions, but he did not set the Empire in a better road. All things followed their accustomed path. Possibly it had ceased to be in any man's power to change their course, for a state has its destiny like an individual, and only very powerful hands can arrest it upon the slope to which history has led it.² Theodosius did not seek to do this, he would not have had the strength for it; and the choice which he made in respect to his successors shows his blind confidence in the solidity of the

edifice which he committed to his two sons.

¹ Two fervent apologists of Theodosius, Guldenpfenning and Ifland, in their book *Der Kaiser Theodosius der Grosse*, are obliged to say, p. 238: *Unter Theodosius Regierung, muss man annehmen, herrschte dieselbe Bestechlichkeit, Grausamkeit, Verworfenheit der Beamten, dieselbe zunehmende Entleerung der Curien, dieselbe Verödung fruchtbarer Landstriche und ungesunde Vertheilung von Geld wie früher.*

² Theodosius could not have changed in the few years of his reign the administrative morals of his Empire; but the employment of Barbarians in the Roman army dates chiefly from Constantine and Valens. The old laws as to recruiting were therefore neither forgotten nor abandoned; they were still enforced, but only to draw money from the provincials (see Synesius, *Letter* 75). Instead of employing them to reconstruct a national army, as Synesius, later, urged upon the son of Theodosius, the latter surrounded himself almost exclusively with Barbarians.

³ The Empress Aelia Flaccilla, first wife of Theodosius. Statuette of white marble.





This Emperor's clemency has been extolled. His cruelty was not that of Constantius, who took delight in murders; and yet he entertained the idea of putting to death all the inhabitants of Antioch, he ordered the massacre of Thessalonica, and in abandoning the toleration which had been the rule of Valentinian's reign, he brought distress to many of his subjects, and ruin to cities. That he had a few years of peace after 383, was due to the fact that at this time the court of Ctesiphon was not in a warlike mood, and that the pillage of the European provinces for four years had appeased the savage hunger of the Goths. Had they not, in fact, all that they wished, — a home in fertile lands, pensions for their chiefs, military pay for their soldiers, rank in the Roman army for their best officers? "The friend of the Goths" refused them nothing. The Empire therefore was tranquil, not because it was strong, but because the Barbarians were for the moment satiated. The danger remains: it is even greater than ever before, for the Goths are in the Empire; and this state, which has now no principle of vitality left, which has neither soldiers nor citizens, neither military nor civic virtues, has for its government a venal administration corrupting all things, and for its defenders those who to-morrow will dismember it. The pacific invasion—that of the army and of public offices—has already been made; a few weeks after the death of Theodosius, Alaric, one of his former generals, will begin the armed invasion of the European provinces, while Asia will be ravaged by the Huns, and Africa by the nomads of the desert. "Cyrene," wrote Synesius, "Cyrene, not long ago praised by a thousand poets, is now but a mass of ruins;"¹ and another eyewitness exclaims:² "We see the power and glory of the Empire fallen; Antioch and all the cities bathed by the Halys and the

with a diadem of beads, found in the Island of Cyprus, thirty inches in height. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3,303.) The resemblance between the face of this figure and the head on the coins of the Empress, justifies its designation.

¹ *On Royalty*, 3. See also his *Letters*, 72-75, 85-87.

² This letter of Saint Jerome, No. 37 of the edition of Dom Roussel, was written in 395 or 396. These Huns, who came by sea, could not have been very numerous; but the inhabitants were destitute of weapons, and the Eastern army was in Italy. Letter 25, to Agerequia, draws a picture of Gaul which is still more sombre, — but this is in 409, after the great invasion; and Saint Augustine, appalled at the spectacle before his eyes, wrote: "Wars are everywhere, — wars between the nations for supremacy, between the sects, Jews, pagans, Christians, and heretics. Everywhere wars, — here on the side of

Cydnus, the Orontes and the Euphrates, have been besieged. Arabia, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Egypt are terror-stricken. . . .



HYPNOS, THE GOD OF SLEEP, SCATTERING POPPIES.¹

The Romans fear, tremble, and succumb before contemptible enemies, and, according to the word of the prophet, a thousand have fled before one."

truth; there, of error" (*Works*, v. 172, edit. of 1577). Letter 39 of Saint Ambrose, which is of much earlier date, shows the devastation of Northern Italy, where only "corpses of cities" are to be seen. M. Villemain ends his admirable work on the Fathers of the fourth century with these words: "The heroic virtues were neglected for monkish self-denials, the country for the cloister, war for controversy. The age of theological splendor was the prelude to barbarism: so true is it that religion, the refuge of the soul, is not an all-sufficient political instrument, and cannot for states take the place of industry and liberty and glory."

¹ This statuette of green bronze, represented here in its actual size, was found at Étaples in 1868 (Collection of M. Danicourt).

Thus the political revolution substituting Barbarians for Romans in one half of the Empire goes on, and the religious revolution is completed. The annulling by Theodosius of the rescript of Eugenius concerning the revenues of the temples marks the end of established paganism, whose place Christianity had long before taken and greatly magnified. Athanasius, Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen. have made the rights of the Church independent of the State, and sometimes superior to it. A new society is forming, which will have a political and a religious soul, and the two will frequently conflict. The old world, in which this separation had been unknown, is now indeed dead; and there is nothing left for its sad historian to do but to lay the Genius of Rome in the tomb, whose door the Middle Ages will keep sealed for ten centuries.

CHAPTER CX.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

I. — THE MODERN METHOD.

THE old school said of history, *scribitur ad narrandum*, considering it excellent material for eloquent discourse and interesting narrative. The modern historian has a task less brilliant, but perhaps capable of becoming more useful: it is his aim to discover all those local details and characteristics of the time which go to make up the faithful representation of a period, and those general facts which belong to all societies and all ages. He has need of linguistic science for the examination and criticism of texts; of philosophy to interpret facts and ideas; of art, in making use of documents and in giving life to his historic personages. Such is the ideal proposed at the present day; but the basis upon which everything must rest is truth.

For the discovery of truth, the mathematician and the student of natural science have two powerful methods, — deduction and experiment. Like the one, the historian observes; like the other, he draws conclusions, — or rather, he states the conclusions which time has drawn. While he cannot, like the chemist, isolate a fact and reproduce it by multiplied experiments that he may study it under all its aspects and derive from it a law, the world of humanity is for him a vast crucible in which all the phenomena of the life of peoples and individuals are manifested under different conditions of time and place, thus giving him the opportunity to grasp, in the infinite variety of forms, certain permanent laws which are the laws of the human mind.

By this method we arrive, it is true, at no certain forecasts, for history does not repeat itself. While an absolute fatality rules everywhere outside of humanity, the human being bears within him a principle — that of liberty — which, however feeble it may be,

yet makes it impossible to foresee all the consequences of events in the drama where man is the sometimes unconscious actor. History therefore cannot announce what will occur from day to day; but she gathers up as in a great storehouse the universal experience of the race. She invites the statesman to learn from it, and she shows the tie which binds the present to the past, the chastisement to the offence.¹

This historic justice is not always that which reason would anticipate. It sometimes spares the guilty individual, and it even passes over generations; but nations in their collective life never escape it. In their case, sagacity and greatness, folly and decline, are the terms of an equation where the historian is to find the unknown quantity, by discovering the causes which brought about their ruin or their prosperity.

It is always an essential condition in this investigation that we do not forget how small a space in time one generation occupies. The anomalies which shock us if we look from too near a point, disappear when we consider the whole; and then is verified the law which has just been enunciated. It appears that Nature has the most absolute disdain for the individual, and the most far-seeing solicitude for the species. We find in history something of this mysterious law; how many innocent descendants, individuals or communities, have paid the penalty for their guilty ancestors!

Considered thus, history becomes the great book of expiations and rewards; and in pointing out to the nations the close bond of solidarity that unites the past and the future, she can say to them, recalling the Jewish doctrine: "As you do good or ill, you will be rewarded or punished in your posterity to the seventh generation!"

This doctrine of historical responsibility is not new; it was familiar to Polybius. He seems like a contemporary, notwithstanding the twenty centuries which separate him from us, belonging to us as he does by his intelligent curiosity and by the necessity that he feels of understanding everything that he sees and hears. He still further belongs to us by the moral character of his narratives.

¹ Μηδεμίαν έτοιμοτέραν είναι τοίς ανθρώποις διόρθωσιν, τής τών προγεγενημένων πράξεων έπιστήμης . . . 'Αληθινωτάτην μέν είναι παιδείαν και γυμνασίαν πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις, τήν εκ τής ιστορίας μάθησιν (Polybius, i. 1).

This pagan carried in his conscience "the witness and the formidable accuser"¹ which he wished that all men had in theirs; and hence he had no need of the gods of the multitude. He banished them from history, as our investigators, in building up their sciences, have banished the capricious powers which antiquity and the Middle Ages had placed everywhere. He does not believe in Fortune (that divinity so much adored by the ancients, and not without her worshippers at the present day), nor in Chance or Destiny,—convenient words for weakness and ignorance. His thoughts are in a nobler region. He seeks the motives of human events in human souls, and not in the will of the gods. In his observation, states rise or fall according as they are well or ill governed; and nations, accomplices of the misdeeds committed in their name through the consent they yield to them, are the artificers of their own destinies. It is not, as a famous school asserts, that the strong destroy the weak, it is the weak who destroy themselves,—in the case of the individual by excesses, and in the case of governments by carelessness; and yet the melancholy doctrine that might makes right is often a lie.

Nowhere can the law of solidarity among generations, or the connection of causes and effects, be better grasped than in the history of the Roman domination, beginning at the foot of the Palatine in a child's cradle, and ending by including a world: *orbis Romanus*.

We have related the growth of this prosperity; let us now rapidly enumerate the causes which produced it, and those which destroyed it.

After Bossuet and Montesquieu there would remain nothing more to be said on this subject, were it not that revolutions have taught us to interrogate Rome on questions which could not have occupied the great minds of two hundred years ago. For example, in his *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, Montesquieu says nothing in respect to the attempt made by the Gracchi to save the Republic, and his mention of their name is only incidental. To the eyes of the traveller ascending a mountain, the horizon widens, and, without any improvement in his power of vision, he discerns localities whose existence he could not even suspect while in the plain. Time renders the same

¹ Polybius, xviii. 7.

service to history : it gives revelations that it alone can give : and for this reason her work must be often begun anew and enlarged.

II. — GEOGRAPHY.

THE first power that acts upon a people is that of its surroundings, and geography — that is to say, the sum of the physical influences derived from the soil and the climate — explains half its history. A special virtue is even attached to certain places. "Constantinople deserves an empire," Napoleon said ; and men think so still. Place Rome at Naples or at Milan, and there would be no Roman history, as there would have been no England had the two shores of the Channel been united.

Between the plains of Latium and those of Etruria, at the foot of the Sabine mountains, stood the city which was to be the mistress of the world, five leagues from the sea, on the bank of the Tiber, the largest of the rivers of peninsular Italy, and upon seven hills, easily to be defended, and above the malarial level. Northward and southward rich lands invited to pillage ; the mountaineers dwelling eastward were to render the army invincible, keeping it constantly on the alert by incessant but not formidable attacks. Placed on the edge of three civilizations and three languages, — the Rasena of Etruria, the Ausones of Latium, and the Sabellians of the Apennines. — Rome became, by reason of her situation, the great asylum for all the Italian populations. She was the city of war, for all around her were foreigners and foes ; the city "rich in men," of rigid morals and frugal and laborious lives, for her territory gave her nothing except by severe labor, which for six hundred years kept indolence away. Near enough to the sea to know it and have no fear of it, far enough not to be a prey to Greek and Volscian and Etruscan pirates, she was neither Sparta nor Athens, neither exclusively maritime nor exclusively continental. Neighbors to the mountains, to the plains, and to the sea-coast, the Romans, without being shepherds or agricultural laborers or sailors, united these three characters of the Italian races, so that there never existed between them and these populations that opposition in manners and character which

would have prevented the formation in the peninsula of a great state strongly bound together. To each one of her neighbors Rome could, after the battle, show a well-known face and extend a friendly hand.

As Rome was in the centre of Italy, so Italy was in the centre of the ancient world, very much exposed in consequence to attacks from without, but impregnable if it contained a people capable of making it a fortress; and such a people the Romans were. Furthermore, the only enemies to be feared—the Greeks and the Carthaginians—had turned their ambitious designs, the former towards the East, the latter towards the West; and the Gauls in the valley of the Po threatened incursions only, and not permanent conquest, among so many cities surrounded by cyclopean walls. That they came once to the foot of the Capitol was because the Romans were taken unawares; and that day was the only one when the legions yielded to panic. Rome, therefore, had the time, before the great assaults of Pyrrhus and of Hannibal, to subjugate the peninsula and organize it. Thenceforward she had only to designate to her consuls to what point in the world surrounding Italy they should go to seek new subjects for her.

III. — THE PEOPLE.

To geographical influence we must add that which springs from hereditary instincts, if the people belong to the same ethnic group; the traditions which it brings from its various homes, if it be a mixture of many tribes; the reactions of these various elements upon each other, which constitute the national character; and lastly, the historic circumstances—that is to say, the exterior influence—which determine the course of its destiny. Let us apply these rules to the Roman people.

The seven hills were a camp of refuge standing ready. Latins, Sabines, Etruscans, emigrants from every Italian country, hastened to it. How was the blending of these peoples effected? Traditional history states it distinctly; positive history vaguely discerns it amid the darkness of the legendary age. It is, however, during the royal period—which came to an end with the brilliant reign

of a Tuscan who was half Greek, Tarquinius Superbus—that the manners, the religion, and the civil and political institutions of the Roman people assumed definite form. At that time they already had two virtues, which were destined long to remain the basis of their character,—the spirit of order, and the spirit of discipline.

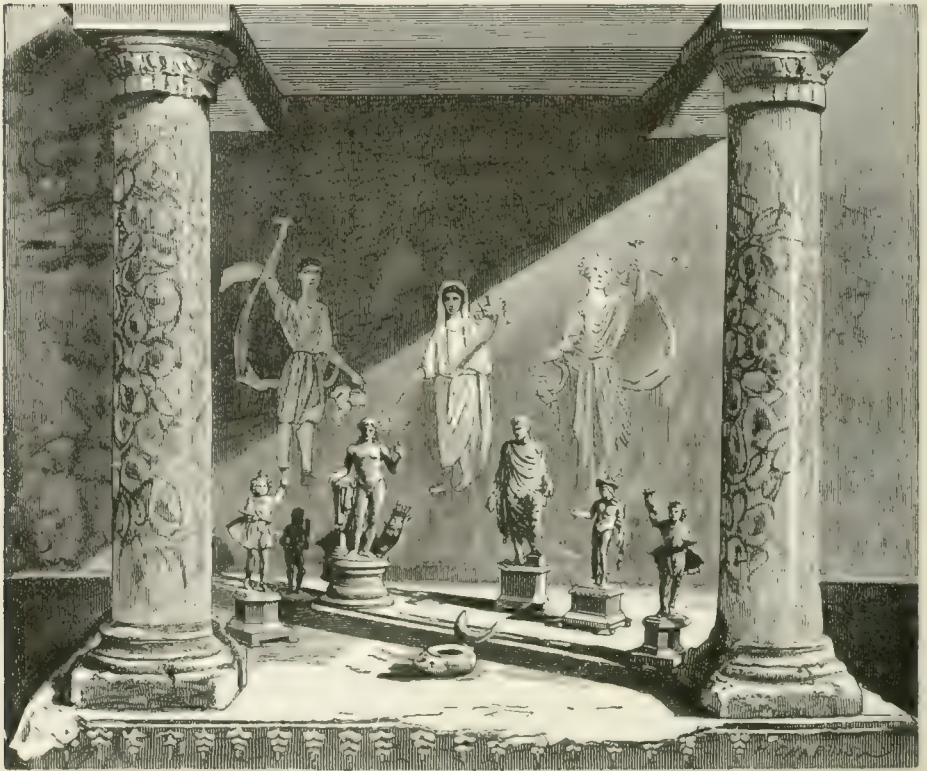
To cause these foreigners—whom Rome had received, willingly or unwillingly—to live in peace, it was necessary for her to determine strictly, by a slow process of interior organization, the relations of the citizens among themselves. This was the original work of the centuriate constitution. To resist the enemies who surrounded her, it was essential for her to recognize the omnipotence of the state, and its right to claim, at need, the courage, the property, and the life of the citizens,—a servitude which was general in Graeco-Latin antiquity, but nowhere, except at Lacedaemon, so strong as it was at Rome. From the time of Servius Tullius the city was an immense fortress, and its population an army always ready to take the field.

The life of this Roman of the early period is severe, frugal, industrious; his religion—that of the peasant stooping over the furrow—is destitute of grandeur, as his mind is without ideality, for the reason that his sole care is to defend himself and to exist. His gods are of a humble class; his prayers concern his own interests; the sacrifices which he offers are a bargain with Heaven. He gives to the gods on condition that they give to him; and he is always ready to say what a pontifex maximus on one occasion said to Jupiter: “If not, not.”

On the field of battle no one equals him in courage and in tenacity; but in every-day life all things terrify him,—the bird which flies past, the mouse running, the unusual noise which he hears. This low-minded superstition, this devotion which cannot soar, and limits itself to the repetition of formulas and rituals which it does not comprehend, takes from him all poetry, all gaiety of heart. He can never dream nor sing, for he has never been young. The Greek, even he who has lived long, is often still a boy of twenty; the Roman is never less than forty years old. Look at the Trasteverini of the present day; they have the same sad gravity, and the same selfish religion.

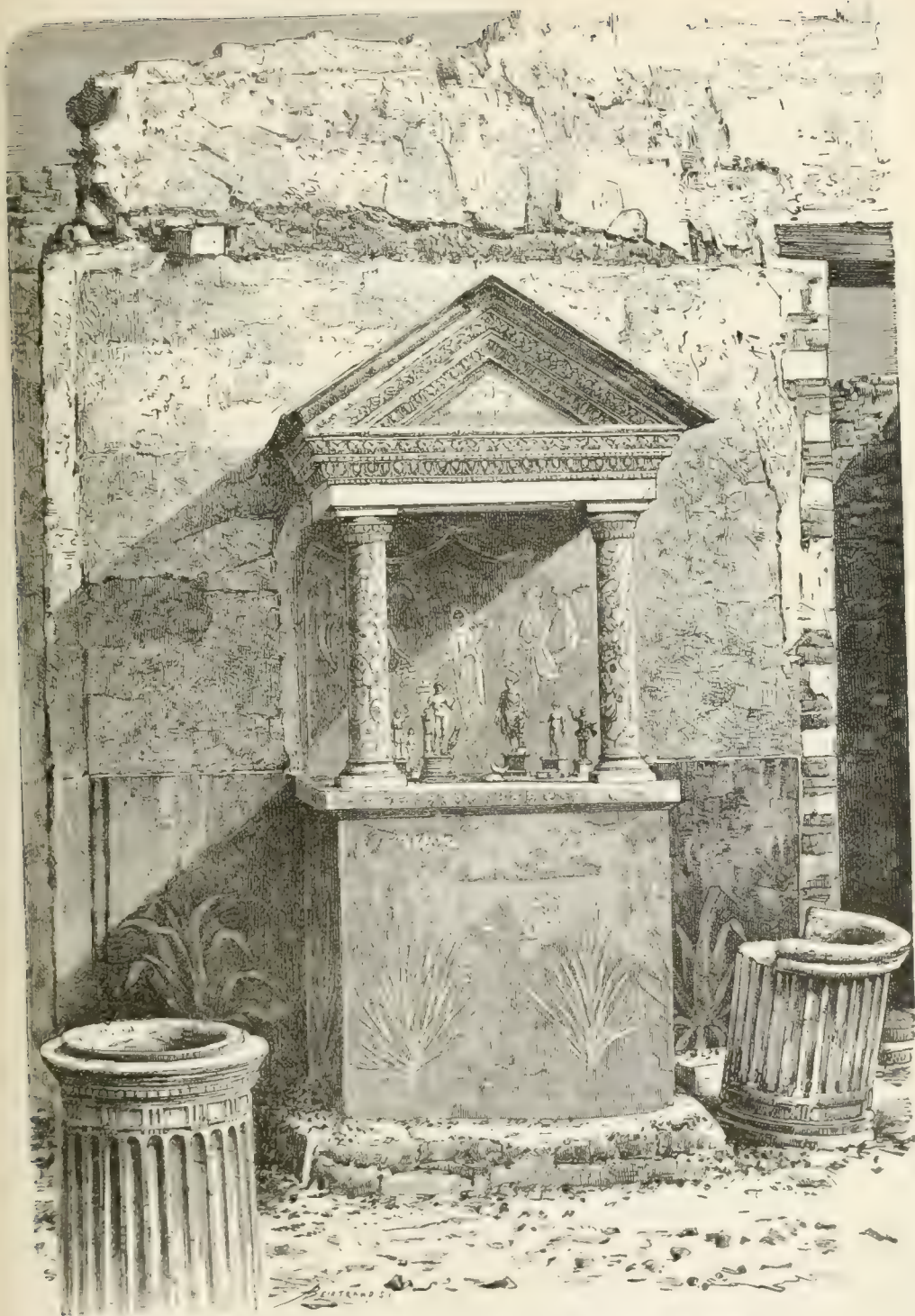
The early Roman placed the god Terminus at the edge of his

field that the divinity might guard it for him and give to his land a sacred character; therefore woe to him who touched the statue, even in reaping (*Cereri necator*)! Woe also to the poor man who cannot pay his debt! Of this unfortunate the Twelve Tables make a slave; and Valentinian I. punished with death the insolvent debtor to the public treasury, as perhaps the individual creditor in ancient days was allowed to do: *si plus minusve se-*



GODS PLACED ON THE ALTAR OF THE DOMESTIC TEMPLE DISCOVERED AT POMPEII IN 1882.

cuerit, sine fraude esto. For five centuries and more, the Roman writes nothing except dry annals to mark chronology; and he has no curiosity of mind. There is no extensive commerce at this period, although Rome has her seaport Ostia, and has made a treaty with Carthage; there are no journeys made for pleasure or business. Of what goes on beyond her horizon the Roman knows nothing; his field, his vineyard, his harvests, and the care of getting the most for his money, occupy him entirely.



DOMESTIC TEMPLE DISCOVERED AT POMPEII IN 1882.

But how well ordered is his life! The same discipline prevails in the family and in the community. In the house the *paterfamilias* is the priest of the gods, and he is the absolute master of his wife, his son, his slaves, as the *patres gentium* are the masters of the republic. In the state he has the position which his birth and his property give him; nothing is left to accident. On days of election or of battle, each man takes his own place in the comitia or in the army, and all have, as citizens, the sentiment of duty which this inexorable discipline imposes. It is because the Romans preserved this sentiment for ages that they became a great people.

Another sentiment plays an important part in their history. The whole community was under the sway of a religion which suffered no important act of public or private life to be performed without consulting the gods. In other lands this disposition of mind would have given birth to a sacerdotal class; but at Rome, as the head of the family was the priest of the house, so the magistrates were the priests of the state; and hence it came about that the established religion, the docile servant of the state, was less a cult than a system of administrative machinery. Rome had therefore neither a clergy, strictly speaking, nor religious instruction, nor spiritual control; the *jus pontificum* was the rule of religious ceremonies, by aid of which men could compel the divinity to assist them. Accordingly, we find in her history no religious wars, nor are there persecutions, — except against secret societies like the Bacchanals, whose proceedings were criminal in their character, or against Christian communities, whose doctrines were the absolute negation of the state cult and the renunciation of all civic duties.

This faith in the continual interposition of Heaven in their affairs had for the Romans another effect: the gods being the givers of victory, the consul, although he had the honor of success, was not responsible for defeat. Carthage sent her unlucky generals to execution: nor was this always an act of injustice. The Roman Senate went out to meet Varro, whom the gods had vanquished. Relieved from all anxiety as to the results of a rash expedition, the consuls were more daring: and this audacity, which alarmed nations and kings, enabled Rome to obtain great results

with a small expenditure of force,—as when, for example, two legions were enough to drive the Macedonians from Greece, and Antiochus from Asia Minor.

IV. — THE CONSTITUTION BEFORE THE PUNIC WARS.

THE diverse elements which composed the Roman population combined at first in a manner to form two peoples absolutely distinct,—patricians and plebeians. The patricians were: 1, the descendants of those who had founded the city; and 2, those whom they had admitted, voluntarily or under compulsion, to share these rights. They owned the land which their clients and their slaves cultivated. Their chiefs, assembled in the Senate, deliberated on public affairs; and they all, assembled in the curia, appointed the magistrates and voted upon the laws. It cannot be said that the patricians formed a nobility, an aristocratic body; they were, alone, the Roman state.

Beneath them, excluded from the political city, were the descendants of the early occupants whom they had dispossessed; foreigners who had come to Rome to seek an asylum or the means of support; the conquered on fields of battle who had been brought hither after the destruction of their own homes,—all, in a word, whom Rome either attracted or held by force, and whom the patricians had not received into their *gentes*.

Such a duality was dangerous. A wise ruler, Servius Tullius, attempted to unite these two peoples, by substituting, as the principle of social organization, the consideration of fortune, instead of that of birth or origin. The citizens were divided, according to their property, into classes and centuries, in a manner to give the rich the majority of votes in the comitia, and, in the army, the better equipment and the more important posts. From this it resulted that in the assemblies the majority was always made up before the poor were called to vote, and in respect to the army, that those citizens who had no guarantees to offer the state, in leaving some property behind them in the city, were excluded from the ranks. Those who, without being rich, were not absolutely destitute of property, had lighter weapons, armor that was less expen-

sive, but also less defensive, and military duty of an inferior order, where there was no opportunity to gain distinction. The constitution of Servius Tullius did not then bring the plebeians into power; for the soil — the sole wealth of that day — remained for the most part in the possession of the patricians, and the new assembly could commit no acts of rashness, restrained as it was by legislative prescriptions and old usages made sacred by religion. Was a resolution under discussion, the magistrate spoke last, — it was the defence coming after the attack, and reducing its power. In voting, the *seniores*, much less numerous than the *juniores*, had the same number of votes with the latter, so that wisdom tempered inexperience. In elections the presiding officer received votes only for the candidates whom he had presented, and whose election had been judged by the senators useful to the state, and by the augurs agreeable to the gods. If the election seemed to be going the wrong way, some alarming presage occurred; in case of need, Jupiter thundered, or the pontiffs — if no one else — saw a flash of lightning. Or, finally, if the choice had fallen upon a person displeasing to the patricians, the curia had the right to refuse him the *imperium*; that is to say, the necessary authority for the exercise of his office. The election was, in fact, a *co-optatio* which the assembly merely ratified.

The laws of Servius left indelible traces upon Rome. To the latest hour of the Empire she favored, as to the exercise of power, the nobles; but also, and above all, the rich. Even when the plebeians had invaded every office, the constitution still preserved an aristocratic character which gave room for prudence in plans and perseverance in their execution. With these qualities a government does great things, and such the Senate did.

Numerous as were the restrictions placed upon liberty as we understand it, the so-called Servian constitution attained its end; the two peoples were henceforth one, divided into two classes, — patricians and plebeians, the rich and the poor. It was even liberal; for though no man can change his origin, it is possible for him to increase his fortune, and in acquiring the necessary *census*, the Roman rose to higher rank. This is the first manifestation of that wisdom which gave a place in the state, first, to the plebeians; then, to the allies; later, to provincials, and even to freedmen.

The edict of Caracalla, granting citizenship to all the inhabitants of the Empire, was only the final act in a policy inaugurated eight centuries earlier.

The Roman people appears, with the principal organs of its social life, only after the expulsion of the kings and the establishment of a republic. The revolution had been made by and for the patricians; accordingly, in the new institutions everything was calculated to prevent the return of a master. Instead of a king ruling for life, were substituted two consuls annually elected, who must in all cases be of patrician race.

Invested with equal powers, the two consuls balanced each other, for either had the right to arrest the acts of his colleague by the simple declaration that he opposed them. This right of *intercessio* and the brief duration of the magistracy rendered usurpation so difficult that for more than four centuries it was never seen. As a last resource against danger which might menace the state or the constitution, the Senate re-established a temporary and absolute royalty, the dictatorship; but its legal duration was limited to six months, and, in fact, until the time of Sylla, it usually lasted but a few days. The dictator alone excepted, Rome had no single magistrate. All the offices had many incumbents at once; the censorship, the consulship, the praetorship, the offices of aedile and of tribune, and the priesthoods, formed so many *collegia*, in order that the application of the *intercessio* might be always possible. This latter principle entered so profoundly into Roman policy that it was extended to the colonies, where a right of veto was exercised by the magistrate of equal or superior rank (*par majorve potestas*). The *provocatio*, or right of appeal to an assembly of the people, was for the citizens another and powerful guarantee.

In possession of the consulship and the dictatorship, being the religious, military, and judicial heads of the nation, and having, by the Senate and the centuriate assembly, the control of public policy and of legislation, the nobles, after the expulsion of Tarquin, became the actual masters of Rome. This government by the patriciate was the first form of the Roman republic; ¹ the second will appear when

¹ A few plebeians were admitted to the Senate in 509 B. C., probably under the right of the *gentes*, which gave admission, at about that time, to the Sabine Atta Clausus (Appius Claudius); others entered the Senate after having held the consular tribuneship; but until 367 B. C. that assembly preserved its patrician character.

the plebeians are admitted to public office; the third, after the great conquests which favored the return of an oligarchy.

Upon the establishment of the republic the patricians had reason to feel that their position was impregnable. War rendered it insecure. The dominion reared by Tarquin fell to pieces after his exile. The subjects and allies of Rome under the kings became the enemies of republican Rome. In order to make a stand against Tarquin and Porsenna and the confederated Latins, the aristocracy had need of the plebeians. The latter did not refuse to come to the defence of the patriciate, but they obliged it to pay them for their assistance, by wresting from it the right to have rulers of their own choosing, the tribunes of the people. Of all the Roman revolutions this was the humblest in its beginnings, and the most important in its effects.

Servius divided the Roman territory into thirty districts or tribes. The inhabitants of these thirty *regiones*, united by common interests, held assemblies which the new popular leaders organized: and these *comitia tributa* finally became strong enough to obtain from the Senate the recognition of a legislative power. — namely, the right of voting the *plebiscita*. The voting was *per capita* in this assembly, the majority making the law, while wealth made it in the *centuriata*. The interior history of Rome is the story of the struggle between these two assemblies, which at last were united into one. On both sides this warfare, characterized by no extreme violence, was conducted with great ability: on the part of the tribunes there were persevering efforts and legitimate demands; on the part of their adversaries, an able resistance, which yielded at the right moment when there arose danger that some sudden revolution might sweep everything before it. Slowly and one by one, the Senate abandons its privileges: it even opens, imperceptibly, the gates of the patrician fortress, to admit a few of the popular chiefs, and by these concessions strengthens rather than enfeebles the aristocratic body. New blood is infused into it; its policy becomes more sagacious; and the classes are brought nearer each other, the people losing none of their respect for this aristocracy, which, while they oppose it, they honor still, because they see in it the pontiffs specially beloved of the gods, the military leaders who fight always under favorable auspices, and

the guardians of the good old customs (*mos majorum*), that were a second religion to Rome. Like a disciplined army, formidable even in its defeat, the nobles fell back step by step as the plebeians advanced, and they again made a stand in a position whence they were long able to bid defiance to the attacking force. Progress and conservatism are the two poles between which this history oscillates. Domestic dissensions, in turn stimulated and restrained by the two factions, the popular and the aristocratic, never reduced the country to becoming an easy prey to a foreign foe; and they served as a political education for the people, who, fortunately for themselves, were not suddenly precipitated into victory.

The successive epochs of this long campaign, wherein was trained the Roman people in its sturdy youth, are marked by the promulgation of a written law, and by the authorization of marriages between the two orders,—or civil equality; by the creation of the tribuneship, the political organization of the tribes, and the admission of the plebeians to all curule offices,—or political equality; and lastly, by the sharing of the priestly offices,—or religious equality. The advantage even was on the plebeian side, for the patricians could never be tribunes of the people or plebeian aediles.

These political conquests fell, as spoils of war, for the most part to the share of the men who had so ably conducted the popular campaign: their sons married into patrician families, and they themselves obtained seats in the Senate by the side of the descendants of the gods; but the people themselves also obtained some advantages. The eternal problem of poverty agitated Rome, as it convulses our modern communities; in their claims the tribunes had included those interests whence social questions arise. The institution of the soldier's pay, and the sending out of colonies into conquered lands, diminished poverty; the laws in respect to usury, and the seizure of the person, protected debtors; and the Agrarian Law, which for a time prevented the occupation of the *ager publicus* by the nobles, left lands to the plebeians for pasturage and tillage. There was therefore in the state more justice and less poverty; and the circle whence the state drew those whose services it accepted, became larger, so that every man signalized by his merit could enter it. At the close of

this long work of social ameliorations which was the triumph of good sense applied with perseverance to public affairs, the two orders were reconciled, the distance between rich and poor was lessened, and the Roman territory was covered with petty land-owners, who in the *comitia centuriata* counterbalanced the votes of the nobles, and carried into the *comitia tributa* the wisdom, short of range, but positive, of the peasant, whose hard hand, on days of assembly, the patrician grasped. Protected in his liberty by the *provocatio*, the right of appeal, and the abolition of preventive detention; in his dignity by the abolition of corporal chastisement, the inviolability of the dwelling, and by religious freedom and political equality, — the citizen was ready to make any sacrifice for a city which secured to him advantages so precious. For more than a hundred years peace reigned in the Forum, and tremendous blows could be delivered against the foreign foe. This was the golden age of the republic.

V. — THE ARMY AND CONQUEST.

THE magistrates were of annual election at Rome; each one in his turn was eager to celebrate his period of office by some military exploit which would give him a triumph, and the citizens gathered gladly about the standards, in the hope that the expedition would give them either rich spoils, which were shared with religious fidelity, or else fertile lands abandoned by the conquered enemy. The city being surrounded by plunderers, occasions were not lacking; and each year, when the corn was ripe, the Romans were called upon to defend their own harvests, or else to carry off those of the enemy. To the Aequi, the Sabines, the Volsci, this predatory warfare taught nothing; the Romans, a serious and reflective people, learned continual lessons from it. As they had borrowed from one neighboring nation its gods and its religious rites, and from another its festivals, its sacerdotal colleges, and the insignia of its magistrates, so the Romans copied the Sabine shield and the Samnite weapons, and, making a study of the art of war, they devised an admirable instrument of warfare: namely, the legion. None of the military organizations of anti-

quity, neither the army of Sparta nor that of Athens, neither the sacred battalion of Epaminondas nor the Macedonian phalanx, is comparable to this flexible and vigorous body, equally adapted to rapid movements and to attack *en masse*, which, every night, in an enemy's country, surrounded itself by an intrenched camp, and by day marched at the rate of nearly four miles an hour, the soldier carrying his weapons, five days' rations, and his intrenching tools. Composed of the very best of the population, the legion admitted neither the foreigner, nor the freedman, nor the *proletarius*; it received pay, and therefore could make long campaigns, and the standards were its gods (*numina legionis*). "Some divinity," says Vegetius, "gave the Romans the legion." But the gods were never so gracious. The same spirit which had constituted the state organized the military service: the legion was the city under arms. Two things made its strength: it received only vigorous men, trained in all military exercises, ready for any kind of labor; and the noblest Roman could not fill any office in the state till he had made ten campaigns.

The expulsion of the kings had cost Rome a third of her territory and all her allies. A hundred and sixty-five years of warfare was needed before she could regain the frontiers that she had lost. Very slowly then did she recover herself; but it is a slow growth that attains durable greatness. In these long wars she acquired the military and political virtues which, later, placed the world at her feet.

The struggle against the Samnites, in which Italy lost her liberty, took eighty years more, every year of which was marked by heroic devotion or cruel sacrifices for the strengthening of discipline. This is the period of dictators taken from the plough, of consuls who receive seven acres of land as the recompense accompanying a triumph, and in which the Senate replies to the ambassadors of victorious Pyrrhus: "Let him first leave Italy; after that we will talk of negotiations." This Senate, so haughty in defeat, after a victory is the wisest of conquerors. In the organization which Rome gave to the Italian peninsula, is revealed a political sagacity which, existing up to the time of the first Emperors, held a multitude of nations united, without regrets, under the sway of a single city.

We find the reason in this: the city of Rome possessed the most difficult of all virtues, — moderation in victory. Sparta, Athens, Carthage, who never forgot their municipal pride, were never anything more than cities; Rome, which often forgot it, became an empire. With the same sagacity that had opened the patrician citadel to the plebeians, she opened her gates to the conquered, and conferred her citizenship upon some of them, so that defeat brought them up to a level with their conquerors, — a new example in that harsh world of old days. But, also, she had then thirty-five tribes, extending from the Ciminian Forest to the centre of Campania, and in this vast territory her censors counted three hundred thousand citizens who were trained soldiers. She was already the greatest power in the West; and this empire stood by its own strength, without an oppressive administration or burdensome taxes.

To the Italians not included in the Roman tribes she made, by favors or severities, unequal conditions, that they might thus be prevented from coming to an understanding with one another for any concerted action. In order to have around her vigilant sentinels, and ramparts which must be forced before she herself was reached, she placed among these Italian communities seventy colonies to watch and control them (*specula et propugnaculum*); and she connected these fortresses with one another by military roads, which her soldiers, unwearied on the march, traversed with great rapidity. And lastly, inasmuch as she had in almost all cases respected the gods, the laws, and the municipal autonomy of these conquered peoples, they willingly became her allies, and in cases of common peril were ready to serve at the side of her own legions. Thus in 225 B. C., when a formidable Gallic invasion threatened Italy, seven hundred and seventy thousand men took up arms to prevent it. No power in the world at that time had any such military force.

Bossuet, who had so little confidence in human wisdom, marvels at these results of political sagacity: “Of all nations of the world,” he says, “the proudest and boldest, but withal the most settled in its counsels, the most constant to its maxims, the most circumspect, the most laborious, and, lastly, the most patient, was the Roman people. Hence her army was the best, and her

policy the most far-seeing, firm, and consistent that has ever been known."

Pyrrhus caused the Romans alarm; but he was only an adventurer, while the Romans were a people. He ran incessantly from one enterprise to another, while the Senate followed one design persistently; between them the game was not played on equal terms.

Between Carthage and Rome it appeared to be so. And yet that queen of the Mediterranean had not been able to complete the subjection of Syracuse; and her empire, stretching along an immense sea-coast, but having very little depth, and easily to be cut at any point, was a badly constructed state, and difficult to defend, because to the party divisions in the city was added the hatred of the subjects in the provinces. How different from Rome, where all classes were at this time united in one thought; where the conquered nations had been transformed into allies; and where the city herself, placed in the centre of her territory, was protected by many concentric lines of fortresses guarded by her armed colonists! By a bold push, it is true, the enemy once came within sight of her walls; but the incident caused not one defection among all her partisans. Within this formidable circle Pyrrhus, and even Hannibal himself, held nothing more than the space their camps covered from day to day; and sometimes, even, they were forced to abandon the encampment in all haste before it was completed. The strength of Rome was in the geographical construction of her empire, in the liberal policy that she followed as soon as the work of war was ended, and in the close bonds which united all parts of the state, — a homogeneous mass difficult to break, and sure, in a collision, to destroy whatever ventured to dash against it.

Thanks to the son of Hamilcar, Carthage for a moment seemed to be victorious; and there is not in history a grander spectacle than this duel between a great man and a great people. The Roman tenacity triumphed over the genius of Hannibal. Carthage, the mercantile city without art, without literature, gathering in the wealth of the nations and giving them nothing in return, could not, with her mercenaries serving her for gold, triumph over these armies of citizens fighting for their country and for themselves.

Ought we to regret this? Carthage being destroyed, there was one less trading-house in the world; Rome overthrown would have been the inheritance of Greece wasted, the second classic civilization lost, and the West for centuries abandoned to barbarism.

After the Punic wars, the conquest of Greece and part of Asia was but a trifle; for Greece was depopulated, and Asia had only multitudes, not men. Rome needed but to touch with her finger these worm-eaten monarchies, and they fell in ruins; she employed towards them, however, a false and treacherous policy not befitting her strength, and not necessary in the case. Macedon alone, behind its hills, made a serious resistance; the country of Alexander perished with honor at Pydna; and the fate of Perseus and of Jugurtha, the insolence of Roman triumphs, the hundred and fifty thousand Epirotes sold as slaves, made kings tremble upon their thrones, and peoples behind the walls of their cities. That Mithridates for a moment shook the Roman dominion in Asia and in Greece, was due to the fact that Rome was then expiating in a civil war her too brilliant fortune and the scandalous excesses of her proconsuls.

VI. — RESULTS OF THE CONQUEST OF THE WORLD; THE RULE OF AN OLIGARCHY.

AFTER the fall of Carthage and of Macedon, the Romans possessed an empire; but they no longer had the manners, the religion, and the institutions which had founded that empire. They had become enamoured of the arts, the literature, and the philosophy of Greece; and dying Greece avenged herself for her defeat by imparting to them the corruption which had disgraced her old age.

In the East — where for centuries commerce and industry had been heaping up enormous wealth, which victory now gave into the hands of the conquerors — the proconsuls lost the moderation which had characterized their fathers. Returning to Rome with the spoils of the provinces, they displayed there a royal luxury, vices hitherto unknown, and a contempt for all that was beneath them. These rough Romans, who had lived so long without agitating any one of the great problems, dazzled by the splendor of Greek civilization.

now set themselves to learn from that philosophy, which at the moment was accomplishing a destructive work in respect to the national religions. It became the fashion with the Roman noble to read Emnius, the translator of Euhemerus, and to applaud Pacuvius or the fiery Lucilius scoffing at the aruspices or at the twelve great gods. The people did not go so far as this; but they went elsewhere, — namely, to the gods of the East, who one after another were received into Rome, and gained there a popularity fatal to the old divinities of the Republic. Thus one of the foundations of Roman society crumbled away; and shortly after another was also destroyed.

The middle class of petty land-owners, the class which had made the strength of Rome and her liberty, wasted by so many wars, was now disappearing. A fatal gap, therefore, existed in the state between the nobles, to whom the pillage of the world had given royal wealth, and the poor, who, recruited in their numbers by enfranchised captives, had nothing left of the early days, — neither sentiments, nor memories, nor habits of industry, and respect for the laws. As after Charlemagne's great wars there were left no free men in the empire of the Franks, but only lords and vassals and serfs, so at Rome, after the conquest of Africa, Greece, and Asia, there were only nobles and clients and proletarii, with an immense number of serfs, — a single citizen possessing twenty thousand of them. Now, it is a law of history that a middle class cannot exist in states where slavery prevails to a great extent. This class had been the ballast which held the ship steady; it being lost, everything became insecure.

The army had changed as well as the people, — not in its organization, but in its spirit. Since the soldier was obliged to follow his general into remote provinces, and remain there ten or twenty years, the military service ceased to be a patriotic duty, and became a trade; instead of citizens in arms, there were mercenaries. And so it becomes easy for those who wish to overthrow the new order to find in the hungry crowd that fills the city the tools of sedition; and their mercenary legions gave the generals the means of throwing the state into confusion. In the last century of the Republic we see the soldiers of Marius and of Sylla, of Pompey and of Caesar, but no longer the army of Rome.

The constitution also was modified, although it appeared to

remain in its ancient form. The Senate had naturally taken possession of the government of this vast empire, which could not be ruled by a popular assembly. Empowered to treat with kings and nations, to assign the command of armies and provinces, to determine the amount of tribute that conquered nations should pay and the manner in which it should be employed, the Senate held as high a position in public estimation as in its own; and an ancient Roman juriconsult speaks thus: "As it was difficult to assemble the people, of necessity the care of the state passed to the Senate, and all which it decreed was obeyed."

This assembly, which the force of circumstances had rendered so powerful, became the citadel whence a new nobility, resulting from the union of the patriciate with the great plebeian families, dominated the state. The nobles had now no longer to dread the political opposition of the tribunes, or the popular justice of the comitia; they filled all judicial positions, and they had annulled the tribuneship in causing themselves to be elected to that office by their clients, who were now substituted in the Forum for that middle class which had ceased to exist. They had thus invaded everything, — all military and civil commands, access to which they denied to the new men; the public lands, which the connivance of the censors gave up to them; small estates, wrested by force or bought at trivial prices from their ruined owners; and they were heaping up those colossal fortunes which later they tortured their ingenuity to expend in monstrous amusements and an insane extravagance in building: *pecuniam trahunt, vexant*.

Rome now found herself subjected to an oligarchy, which was the third form that the republican government assumed. The history of this new aristocracy is marked by the exactions of Verres and Appius; by the revolt of the Italians, the slaves, and the provincials; by civil war, proscriptions, and the overthrow of private fortunes; and finally, as a last disgrace, it became necessary to call out all the military strength of the Roman people against pirates and gladiators. Even the sagacious policy of the early Senate for the extension of the Roman community was abandoned. The Italians obtained citizenship only after a sanguinary conflict, and up to the time of Caesar two Italian regions, Sicily and the Transpadane, had not yet obtained it.

Beneath this nobility, whom Sallust calls "the faction of the great," and above the disinherited crowd, appeared an element which was entirely new at Rome, money-handlers. The Senate farmed out the taxes and the public works. Men who came from shops and counting-houses, constructors and army-contractors, and members of the equestrian order whom the Senate jealously excluded from public honors, formed themselves into companies, which sent their agents throughout the provinces collecting the taxes; these were the publicans. Interfered with in their speculations by the civil war, this was the class that aided Julius Caesar and Octavius in re-establishing order in the state, and security in business transactions.

VII. — THE GRACCHI AND THE NEW POPULAR PARTY.

IN the middle of the second century before the Christian era there existed no longer, to speak truly, a Roman republic or a Roman people. Good and patriotic men strove to reconstitute both: to restore liberty by reducing the power of the oligarchy; to reconstruct a middle class by distributing among the poor the public lands of which the oligarchy had wrongfully obtained possession; and to heal the plague of pauperism by requiring land-owners to employ on their estates free laborers instead of slaves: and with the Roman theory of the rights of the state, all these reforms were possible. To the Gracchi belongs the honor of attempting the regeneration of the people by ownership of land and by labor, without taking from the rich anything which was legally theirs. The two brothers were killed, their friends murdered, their laws abolished; the peaceful reform failed, and the era of revolutions began.

The Gracchi were not, however, demagogues; they belonged to the best nobility, and for their friends and advisers they had had some of the most respected persons in the state. In the midst of the oligarchy there were — as there have always been in England — families who had been for many generations pledged to the defence of the popular interests: and there were the ambitious men, — whom every age and every nation produces, — who.

despairing of the attainment of their ends with the support of the nobles, sought advancement by the aid of the people. The former, seeing the provincials oppressed, the Italians dissatisfied, the mass of the citizens reduced to poverty, and the military strength of Rome impaired by the lessened number of those legally liable to be called into the service, feared not only the loss of liberty, but the loss of empire. The latter regarded this twofold danger with anxiety, perhaps; but, in addition to this, they desired to play in the state the part which they believed due to their merit, and to obtain a share of the honors and the profits which were refused to them. The formation of the oligarchy had had, then, as its inevitable consequence, the reconstruction of a democratic party, with nobles at its head as leaders; and the Gracchi, in restoring to the tribuneship its early vigor, had shown what weapons could be employed for the new conflict. After their time there was always on the tribunes' bench an heir, if not of their political views, at least of their factious power to act upon the masses of the poor or of the Italians.

A man who had been a client of the Metelli, and was later the conqueror of the Cimbri, avenged the Gracchi upon the sons of their murderers. To the proscriptions of Marius, decimating the nobility, those of Sylla, who believed he had destroyed the popular party, were the reply. But the crowd cannot be killed, still less can justice be annihilated. The dictatorship of Sylla, his murders, his laws, could not silence the question which rapacious men, and not only they, but honest men also, asked themselves: Why should a small minority of citizens enjoy alone the profits of a conquest which all had shed their blood to obtain? Why should consulships and praetorships and lucrative governments and triumphs be the hereditary patrimony of certain houses? Why, finally, should the upward movement, which, to the great advantage of the state, had carried so high the virtue, the courage, and the sagacity produced on lower levels, be now arrested? When these ideas become topics of conversation, a revolution is at hand. And it was the more certain since the feeble followers of Sylla, having retained of his political spirit no trait except his contempt for human life, made no secret of their resolution to make an end, as he had sought to do, of the popular party by murder.

VIII. — CAESAR.

THAT which votes had not been able to do, the sword accomplished; the soldiers took the place of the people, and generals were the successors of the tribunes. Three of the most famous of these, kept in the background by the nobility, or feeling themselves insufficiently recompensed for their services, made common cause of their displeasure or their ambition to overthrow the oligarchical government which, detested by the people, had just now alienated from itself the equestrian order by refusing a needed modification in the contracts subscribed by the publicans. Caesar, elevated to the consulship by a coalition of all the adversaries of the party of the nobles, proposed laws of extreme importance: to the poor, a distribution of the public lands, and if these were not enough, freeholds bought with the wealth taken from Mithridates and Tigranes; to the provincials, valid guarantees of an upright administration; towards dishonest officials, severities sufficient to intimidate them; and, as to the publicans, a diminution of a third in the taxes of the province of Asia, which had been ruined by the recent wars. We have here the spirit of the Gracchi animating a man of genius. Three of these measures were excellent reforms needed by the people and by the state; the fourth was an act perhaps of self-interest, but also of justice. The Senate, not unreasonably, regarded them all as directed against itself, and opposed them. The popular assembly voted them, and rewarded their author by the brilliant but difficult mission of arresting a formidable Germanic invasion of Gaul.

While Caesar was gaining, on the other side of the Alps, the renown of the greatest of Roman generals, another of the triumvirs, Crassus, lost his life through his own folly in a war with the Parthians; and the third, Pompey, offended at the increasing fame of the conqueror, went over to the oligarchy. The situation was simplified, the contest being now not so much between two parties as between two men: Pompey becoming the head of the faction of the nobles, and Caesar remaining the representative of

the popular interests; and both, for very different reasons, resolved to hold the first rank in the state.

The one, remarkable for his vanity, having no other political idea than his own personal aggrandizement, had served all parties; and after having aided in destroying the aristocratic constitution established by Sylla, he now returned to those whom he had disarmed. To display in Rome the toga of the triumph sufficed to this barren pride. The other, no less ambitious, but with a nobler ambition, sought supreme authority in order to rule, and also in order to act. He perceived that a century of civil wars and murders had brought about an extreme need of repose and security. The people being unable to govern in their comitia this vast empire, and the oligarchy governing it badly, there remained but one solution of the problem; namely, a republican monarchy, whose head should bring back the policy of the early tribunes for the protection of the people, and the wisdom of the early Senate for the progressive conversion of Roman subjects into Roman citizens. Like all solutions, this had its dangers; but with existing circumstances it was the best. So Tacitus judged, and our judgment agrees with his.

In the faction of the great were men whom we respect to this day for their character, their virtues, or their talent; but the prime quality of statesmanship is sagacity, not virtue nor eloquence: these indeed give the public man more authority; they do not necessarily give him a comprehension of the true needs of the state. The oligarchy which could neither direct its own course nor that of the state, expiated its errors at Pharsalia: and with it fell that government which, under the deceitful words, "the republic" and "liberty," proposed that Rome and the whole world should remain in the possession of a hundred families.

Rome abdicated into the hands of Caesar; the people and the Senate gave up to him all their authority, and by this concentration the interests of the governed and those of the governing came at last to be identified. But civil war and assassination left little time to the dictator to execute the reforms which he planned. The few of these which he was able to accomplish are, however, significant.

To the poor of Rome whom the civil wars had thrown out of

employment he gives a year's house-rent; to eighty thousand of them he distributes lands; for those who remain in the city he regulates the *annona*; and he renews the obligation imposed by his consular law of employing at least one third of free laborers.

To the provincials he opens the Senate, the equestrian order, and citizenship; and the *jus civitatis*, which raises the subject to a level with those who have conquered him, is now so widely extended that in a short time the number of citizens has been increased tenfold.¹ When the state had but a small number of citizens and millions of subjects, it was like a pyramid placed upon its apex; now the pyramid stands upon its broad base, which the Empire was to make still broader.

The citizens can defend themselves by the cry, *Civis Romanus sum*, and they have the right of appeal; but the subjects are destitute of these advantages. To protect them against the arbitrary conduct of judges, Caesar causes a codification of the praetorian edicts to be begun; and he pays the governors of the provinces, to the end that they may cease to pay themselves.

To what causes shall be attributed the success of Caesar? To his personal merits, doubtless, to the devotion of his soldiers, and to the universal lassitude of the time; but it was still more due to the incapacity of the oligarchic government, most faithfully represented at the moment by that Bibulus, colleague of Caesar, who sat, the whole year, silent in his curule chair, as if, like the ancient consuls, he were waiting there till the Gauls should come.

IX. — AUGUSTUS.

LIKE the Gracchi, Caesar perished by the hands of the nobles, and the state relapsed into fourteen years of the most frightful disorder. Augustus, with less genius and more suppleness, reduced the distracted world to peace. He took into his own hands all the republican authority, but he allowed almost all the republican offices

¹ 4,003,000 in the year 28 B. C., in place of 450,000 forty-two years earlier. The number is given as 900,000 by the most ancient manuscript of Livy, that of Heidelberg; if this be authentic (cf. Mommsen, *ap. Borghesi, Œuvres épig.* iv. 9), it would indicate an increase much less remarkable, but still sufficient to show the tendency of the imperial government to increase the number of citizens.

to remain; so that to the superficial observer it seemed only that Rome had one magistrate more. "The world, wearied with civil disorder," says Tacitus, "accepted Augustus as master, and the provinces hailed with acclamation the fall of a feeble government that could repress neither its rapacious magistrates nor its insolent nobles." Augustus shared the provinces with the Senate; but the Senate had not a single soldier in all its provinces, while in those of the *imperator* was established a permanent army of three hundred thousand men. A treasury replenished by new taxes, and of which Augustus held the key, secured to the soldier his regular pay, and to the veteran the advantages promised him. This army, in garrison along the frontiers, protected the Empire against the Barbarians, and the Emperor against conspiracies, until the day came when the soldiers themselves were conspirators.

At Rome this master of twenty-five legions lived like a private citizen, and seemed to have no other desire than to restore order in all things,—in ranks, conditions, dress; he even sought to re-establish it in morals and in religion, though not himself a model in respect to either. This perpetual tribune, who pacifies eloquence and makes the Forum a desert, desires to have a community decent in its behavior, and subjected to a severe hierarchy. He classifies and divides. He reconstructs a senatorial nobility, for whom are reserved all the offices of state, and an equestrian order, which he separates into two classes,—the sons of senators and heirs of their fathers' honors, and the mere knights of the gold ring, who fill the judicial offices. The plebs has its nobles and its serfs: those who possess two hundred thousand sesterces (*ducenarii*) compose a fourth decuria of judges, and occupy the countless quartenarian positions; those destitute of that amount of money are recipients of public alms, and are relegated on festivals to the last seats in the amphitheatre. Money determines a man's condition; a fixed census makes a man senator, knight, or *ducenarius*. Even where there can be no question of fortune, Augustus established distinction in civil rights; for instance, in enfranchisements, and in the penal law, which places in different categories "the man of naught" and those who are *honestiores* because they have wealth. *Ordinavit*, says the biographer of Augustus: this is the whole political system of this revolutionist turned conservator since his own fortune is made,

who gives back to Roman society the aristocratic character which the late storms seemed to have taken from it. One of his juriconsults wrote: "The poor man (*humilior*) cannot be admitted to testify against the rich."

The successor of Julius Caesar had then no affection for those whom his favorite poet calls *ignobile vulgus*; at the same time he retained an institution which had been created by the Gracchi, was developed by Cato, the leader of the aristocratic party, and regulated by Caesar, and of which we find traces in certain customs of the patrician Senate. In early days the patron was obliged to give his clients a small portion of land; Augustus, now the general patron, gave to his a morsel of bread. Even the oligarchy itself had not refused this to the poor.

However little claim the proletariat of the city had to be called the Roman people, it had inherited the popular right to derive advantage from the conquest of the world. The provincial territory having become Roman property, the subject provincials had retained the use of it only on condition of paying taxes in money and in kind. They furnished gold for the public expenses, and they gave up a portion of their harvests to feed the army, the officers of government, the imperial household, and the population of the city. Every citizen resident in Rome had a right to share in the distributions, and even consuls had been seen to accept their portion of the annony corn. This institution shared in the general reorganization which took place under Augustus, and the number of recipients was fixed at two hundred thousand, the vacancies made by death to be filled from the list of applicants who had had their names inscribed for the purpose. The monthly ration of five *modii* (about one and one sixth bushels) could no more feed a family living in idleness than can the three francs a month which is given in Paris as out-door relief.

Another duty of the Roman magistrates had been the celebration of games, which in their origin were religious festivals; they were promised to the gods in return for a victory, and the statues of the divinities were carried into the circus on the principle that, having fought for Rome, like the Dioscuri at Lake Regillus, and endured the hardship, they deserved to be present at the celebra-

tion. Combats of gladiators had also had the character of a religious ceremony; this rite, originally performed at the tomb, was designed to appease the Manes "who love blood." These festivals Augustus retained. In fulfilling obligations which were a legacy from the Republic, and not the price paid for a necessary usurpation, he by no means made a bargain, as has been asserted, with a Caesarian demagogy, — the Empire in exchange for bread and games; after the battle of Actium the people had no other share in politics than that of dragging to the Gemoniae the victims of the law or of imperial caprice.

But these games and these distributions had disastrous consequences. The state charity of the *annona*, while costing far less than our public charities, made a population of beggars whom the rich despised; the games delighted their idleness without awakening any religious sentiments, and the gladiatorial combats stimulated their native ferocity. Juvenal was then in part right with his accusing cry: *Panem et circenses!* If the populace had not been habituated to these sanguinary amusements, which the Greeks, with their refined nature, never adopted; if they had not seen so many thousands of captives thrown to wild beasts, — they would not have been so ready with their cry: "The Christians to the lions!"

In the provinces Augustus followed the prudent policy of the republican Senate and of his adoptive father: to the subjects of Rome, justice; and to the privileged peoples, a respect for their rights. These latter were the residents in the allied or the free cities in the Roman or Latin colonies, and in the municipia lately organized in Gaul, in Spain, and in all those countries where municipal life had been hitherto unknown; and they had the necessary rights. — namely, a senate, a popular assembly, elections, the *duumviral* jurisdiction, the care of preserving order in their territory, and also their local laws, except where they had copied those which Caesar had prepared for Italy. Augustus added strength to this great municipal system by two innovations, — one very singular, the other very judicious, and both accomplished by aid of the old ideas which existed everywhere. Above the local religions, with which he did not interfere, he established a state religion, that of Rome and the Augusti, which appeared to the peoples themselves

a natural consequence of the worship of Genii; then, making general a custom dear to the Greeks, and in earlier times practised by the Italians, he authorized the deputies of the cities, freely elected by their fellow-citizens, to meet annually in provincial assemblies; and these assemblies were empowered to send to the Emperor any complaints made by the province against their governor. This was, in a certain degree, placing the successors of the Republican proconsuls under the censorship of the subjects.

If we add to this measure of protection the defence which later will be furnished to the cities by their *syndicus*, or municipal advocate, and by the *defensor civitatis*, it will become apparent that the patronage of the weak was an old Roman custom which, under different forms, recurs in her history from the day when Rome first had subjects, to that when she ceased to have them.

Observe, further, that Augustus laid upon the citizens, and not upon the provincials, the taxes recently established for the maintenance of the army; and also that the military roads which he laid out in all parts of the Empire effected, for traffic and for the general prosperity, a revolution analogous to that effected by railways in our own day.

From all these measures there resulted for the world a long-continued prosperity; and in the cities — which remained, as to their interior administration, true republics — men were trained who, after being the Emperor's best lieutenants, became themselves Emperors, under the name of the Antonines.

The most illustrious city in the Empire had not these liberties. Satisfied with her incomparable grandeur, Rome never claimed that municipal senate which the humblest towns possessed; and to the latest day of the Empire she remained subject to an exceptional rule.

The administration of Augustus, wise and paternal in a degree, secured to him a peaceful reign of forty-four years. What, however, were the guarantees for the future? The Republic had had only a municipal constitution; the Empire should now have been constituted as a state. Augustus was not entirely blind to this problem, and he strove to solve it; but the difference of condition established by him, and his rigorous classification of individuals, succeeded no better than did the state religion and the

provincial assemblies in forming a true state. His monarchy remained an assemblage of cities subject to the same authority, without being animated by the same spirit. In the early days there had been a Roman people: the Empire had no such population: and without a people united by hereditary memories and affections, patriotism cannot exist. The men who were still called Romans were often ready to make sacrifices, each for his own municipium; but they made none for the state.

The permanent army was a successful conception; for two centuries and a half it victoriously arrested the Barbarians. But in requiring twenty years of service, and often more than that, Augustus rendered the annual recruitment so small that the population became disused to weapons; after the disaster of Varus no man in Italy was willing to enlist. On the other hand, soldiers constantly kept together in camps where they could see their own strength and could come to an understanding among themselves, became aware that the Emperor and the public treasury were at their mercy. Accordingly, we find almost as many seditions in the army as accessions of Emperors. In three centuries and a half, out of forty-nine Caesars, thirty-one were assassinated,—not to speak of “the Thirty Tyrants,” who, with the exception of one or two, came to a violent death. So many murders prove that the imperial constitution was unfortunate not only for the Emperor who was assassinated, but also for the Empire which suffered a shock. For a monarchy, monarchical habits and institutions are needful. These Rome had not: and since the Republic seemed to be preserved, men still spoke of liberty: some believed in it and sought it poniard in hand. One man alone, without court, without priests, without a nobility, destitute of everything which could protect him by standing between him and the nation, was master of the world; he was surrounded by dangers: *assidue in eum conjurationes*. He relied upon the legions for protection; and as, in memory of the gifts that the Republican generals were wont to make to their soldiers on occasion of triumphs, each newly proclaimed Emperor emptied the treasury into the hands of the soldiery, the latter multiplied vacancies of the throne, in order to multiply “gifts of happy accession.”

To conclude: the new constitution had in reality no other

principle than the Emperor's will; so that in a country where there were no great political bodies capable of imposing a certain discretion upon the ruler, the Empire was at the mercy of the philosopher or the madman, of the able general or of the cruel and capricious boy whom a barrack-riot or an unfortunate hereditary succession had raised to power. The *lex Regia* and the definition of the imperial authority given by Seneca are a complete formula of Oriental despotism. This *régime* slowly freed itself from the republican exteriors under which Augustus had concealed it; and before it disappeared it was destined to give to the world the singular spectacle of an empire of a hundred million men, armed upon its frontiers, and governed in its interior without one soldier,—a marvel due doubtless to the impossibility of a successful revolt, but also and especially due to the gratitude of its subjects towards a government which, in general, exercised at that time only a broad and salutary protection, without interfering vexatiously in the administration of local interests.

X. — THE DECLINE.

ROME had its detestable tyrants, like Caligula, Nero, Caracalla, Elagabalus, whose vices and cruelties can only be likened to the sanguinary orgies of certain Asiatic courts; but it had also its good Emperors, who threw a new lustre upon the state and retarded its decline. At first the Emperor governed, he did not administer; and the flourishing municipal system brought forward men of talent and experience, of whom the Empire had need to direct its great affairs. After the first Flavii, exhausted Italy never again furnished an emperor; and the reign of the provincials began.

These heirs of Augustus, born far away from the old Saturnian land, are, first, the famous Antonines, natives of Spain and of Gaul, and then, the African, Septimius Severus. Recently called to the Roman life, these provinces had embraced it with so much ardor that they had already sent to the banks of the Tiber orators, poets, and philosophers; and they have preserved — the ineffaceable stamp set upon them by the genius of Rome — the most numerous

and most beautiful ruins of Roman work that can be found outside of Italy. The reigns of these monarchs make the brilliant period of the Empire, and humanity has never known one more prosperous. Charity to the poor, so little known in ancient states, entered even into the administration of the state: the great alimentary institution of Trajan was a noble effort of public benevolence that many cities and private individuals imitated. At that period the Emperors were the servants of the country which in the fourth century became the servant of its Emperors. They maintained discipline in the army, liberty in the cities, justice in the administration; and they held the Barbarians in awe of a dominion which seemed unassailable. Their jurisconsults were called "the priests of justice," and the Senate was recruited by all the distinguished ability that appeared in the cities, in public office, and in the legions. Hence at the thought of a different fortune Tacitus is filled with terror: "If the Romans should disappear from the earth, — may the gods avert this misfortune! — what else would be seen henceforth but universal war among the nations?" And this was, in fact, what followed when the colossus fell.

About the middle of the third century untoward circumstances caused the imperial dignity to pass to men born in countries of the old civilization or of coarse barbarism, — to Syrians, corrupt or effeminate, to a Goth, and even to the son of an Arab robber. With them began, in the political order, convulsions which threatened the Empire with approaching dissolution, and, in the religious order, the invasion of Oriental cults which changed the soul of the Roman world. After the Thirty Tyrants, rude soldiers from the warlike regions of Illyricum appeared to restore to the state its early vigor. But it was a world of ruins, — ruins of cities and of countries; ruin of the human mind also, which is enfeebled or perverted! Why was it impossible for brave and strong rulers, like Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian, Constantine, to arrest the decline of the state? It was because a silent revolution, whose germ lay in the constitution of Augustus, had developed in the heart of the Empire, vitiating all its organs.

The Emperor was no longer the magistrate who lived like other citizens, who had his friends, and went to dine where he was asked, unattended by any guard: who wore woollen stuffs that his wife and

his daughter had woven; and whose dwelling was distinguished in no way except by laurel-branches over the door. His palace is now a city; his attire is of silk, with precious stones and gold; his servants are an army; and men approach him only with adoration of his tremendous majesty. This man, in favor of whom the people, the Senate, and the gods have abdicated, is an Oriental monarch: *in Tiberim defluxit Orontes*; and, in turn, he abdicates in favor of the courtiers and eunuchs who hide the Empire from him, direct his will, and reduce all his policy to the demanding 'every day new resources from his subjects for expenses which daily grow greater.

The Senate—at first the high council of the Empire, and an incomparable school of statesmanship, but too numerous a body and too unsafe for all questions to be submitted to it—had ceased, from the time of the Antonines, to be the central point of the government, the pivot of the state. This part was now played by the Emperor's council, which later became the imperial consistory; and the senators, excluded from the army, and later from all active functions, had now only a show of authority, without its substance.

While this assembly which had conquered the world was slowly sinking into darkness and silence, the imperial administration day by day developed and invaded everything.

At the beginning the Empire had had but a very few functionaries; and although in the tributary cities nothing was done except by the governor's will, the privileged cities, of which there were a very large number, conducted their affairs with complete freedom. But, obeying the instinctive tendencies of absolute power, the government found itself led to look closely into matters in which at first it had taken only a remote interest. Assuming that it could conduct the affairs of its subjects better than the parties interested could do, it multiplied its agents, it increased their powers, favored as it was in its involuntary encroachments by the movement of concentration which had spread from Rome throughout the provinces. Under the influence of the imperial officers, but with the unconscious assistance of the populations themselves,—especially of their more important men, who aimed at constituting an urban nobility as Rome had constituted an imperial nobility,—the municipal system of the first century was greatly altered.

Very ancient customs required that the service of officials should be gratuitous. When the cities, favored by the increasing security and the general prosperity, sought to adorn themselves; when they built aqueducts, thermae, circuses, and amphitheatres; when they, finally, assumed a really metropolitan character, having each an extensive territory to govern, the citizens strove among themselves for the titles of decurion and duumvir, which might lead to greater honors; and it was the money offered, the statues promised, the games and festivals given, which decided the elections. The rich alone could make these sacrifices, and expose themselves to the heavy financial responsibilities which the magistrate incurred in his administration. The aristocratic character of Roman society grew therefore every day more and more marked in the provinces. Manners and institutions alike led to it; and in the cities, as in Rome, the people at last came to be of no importance whatever. By degrees the ancient liberties disappeared; the public assembly and the elections fell almost everywhere into desuetude; the curia, kept full by *cooptatio*, appointed the duumvirs; the condition of the *curiales* became in fact hereditary, and the poor man was shut up within his humble condition by the civil law, which debarred him from municipal honors, and by the penal law, which laid upon him penalties from which the rich were exempt. Although the edict of Caracalla seemed to establish equality among all the Romans, the very great majority of the inhabitants of the Empire continued to form the class of *humiliores*, whom their despised condition prepared for every form of servitude,—that of the soul as well as of the body.

But some of those who paid heavily for municipal honors knew how to secure for themselves compensation. The abuses which had sprung up in Rome when the oligarchy had held sway were repeated in the cities; the Empire had many a municipal Verres,—as had the French communes of the mediæval period and the free cities, and as Ireland still had not long ago. Some committed breaches of trust, others allowed themselves indemnities out of the public funds, notwithstanding the absolutely gratuitous character of their functions; and this usage began very early, for it is prohibited by the law *Genetiva Julia*, of the first century of the Christian era.

This urban nobility — separated from the people by its wealth, its privileges, and its pride — gave occasion, by its bad administration, for the constantly increasing interference of the general government in the affairs of the cities. As early as the Antonines, curators had been appointed for certain cities to restore order in their wasted finances: the municipal jurisdiction was restrained for the purpose of withdrawing the administration of justice from the influence of local passions; taxes could be instituted and public works executed only with the consent of the imperial lieutenant; and appointments and decisions of the curia were annulled if they were displeasing to the governor (*ambitiosa decreta*). In place of the proud language of the *lex Genetiva Julia*, permitting the decurions to call out the citizens in arms to maintain order within the territory, under the command of a duumvir invested with the powers of the legionary tribune of Rome, the *Code* of Justinian contains regulations obliging the curia to submit the appointment of the *irenarcha* (the guardian of the public peace) to the approbation — that is to say, to the choice — of the imperial magistrate. The disorder that arose from liberty had rendered an administrative guardianship necessary; and this latter, exaggerating its proper function, changed the once living city into a body without a soul. It was not until the Empire fell, and all this administrative interference came to an end, that the municipal system — like a robust trunk which, after the whirlwind, puts forth new branches — recovered in many parts of Italy and France its early vigor.

The cities where the forum had been reduced to peace, and the senate was docile, appeared to the central authority susceptible of being usefully employed to perform a function of the state. The *curiales*, whose duty it already was to have charge of public works, of the supplies for the imperial post, of the collecting of the *annona*, or tax in kind, and even of the levying of recruits when the government called for them, were further intrusted with the collection of the land-tax, payable in money, with the threatening condition attached that any deficiency which might occur must be made up from their private means. To these state services were added those which the city imposed. — namely, the administration of its financial affairs; the repair of its public buildings, bridges, and roads; the celebration of games and festivals; the purchase of

the corn and oil required by the city, and the superintendence of their distribution at the price paid or at a lower price; the providing of lodging for the imperial magistrates, and for troops who passed through the city; the defence of the municipal interests in court or before the Emperor (which latter case involved a long and difficult journey): in a word, the innumerable obligations comprised under the terms *munera personarum*, which were to be fulfilled in person, and *munera patrimonii*, which comprised expenses in some cases very large. This long enumeration proves that all the social vitality of the Empire was in the local senates. Hence, two consequences, — occurring, one in the Early Empire, the other in the fourth century: when these senates are in good condition, everything prospers; when they are hampered and in distress, everything suffers.

The Empire suffered in two ways from the discomfort which its own demands caused, — as the cities grew poor, the general wealth also diminished; and from the day when the *curiales* had to guarantee the larger part of the Emperor's revenues, they became the objects of his incessant solicitude. The *Theodosian Code* alone contains, under the head *de Decurionibus*, a hundred and ninety-two decisions, of which the aim is to compel every man who has wealth to enter the curia, and to prevent him from leaving it. The *curialis* was chained to his position. He could not become a soldier or a priest, except on condition of relinquishing his property to the curia. He was also forbidden to become a member of the imperial administration; and a law at last prohibited him even from entering the Senate of Rome or that of Constantinople. From all these measures it resulted that the upward movement which in the first two centuries invigorated with new blood the devitalized stock of the governing class, came to an end; public offices were no longer filled by men well trained for such duties, and the moral tone of the administration was lowered. The history of the Empire thus repeats that of the Republic: after the Licinian laws, — the accession to power of the plebeians and the grandeur of Rome; after the first Emperors, — the accession of the provincials and the prosperity of the Empire; then, the former crowded back into obscurity by the consular oligarchy, and the latter by fiscal tyranny. But at the end of the

first of these two periods Caesar came; at the end of the second came the Barbarians.

Diocletian and Constantine did not effect a political revolution; the changes which they made were great administrative measures. They co-ordinated the institutions which had been bequeathed to them, added to these a few others, and gave the imperial monarchy its final form, that of the Byzantine Empire, characterized by weakness and cruelty, — a not unusual combination; and Rome, which had begun with the mildest penal legislation, ended by having the most severe.¹

The new government, like the old, relied upon the army, but it depended still more upon an administration which penetrated everywhere, in order to keep watch upon and control everything. Active and fruitful life had formerly been scattered over the entire surface of the territory; an extreme centralization now restricted it to the bureaux (*officia*), which were filled by the agents of the Emperor, — an innumerable army, whose chief duty was to obtain money for the Emperor by means of taxes, and who obtained it for themselves by venality. This icy hand stretched out over the Empire chilled all the springs of life, and everything became motionless. As the *curialis* was the serf of the state, and the *colonus* that of the land, so the workman of the imperial manufactories was bound to his trade, the soldier to his cohort, the artisan to his corporation; and that they might be easily recovered if they should make their escape from the camp or the workshop, they were branded on the arm or hand, like cattle kept in droves by the farmer. The servitude of the Middle Ages was beginning.

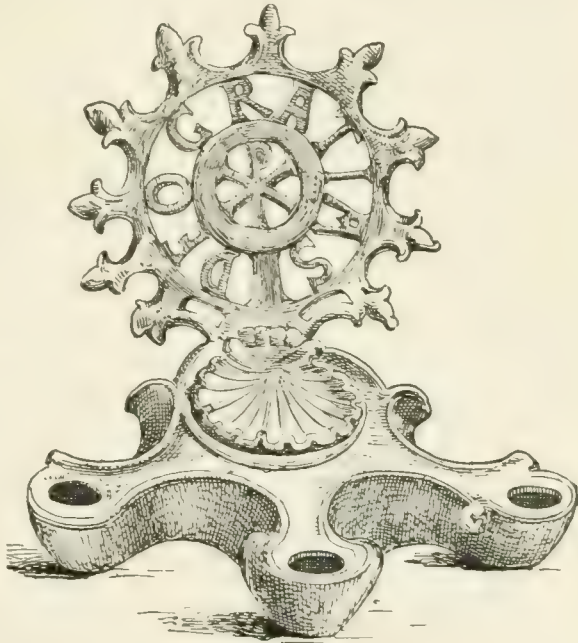
XI. — RUIN.

MOTION, the great law of the physical world, is also the law of the moral world. This society, like a human body sinking under the weight of the fetters with which it is bound, no longer acts or thinks. It has now no writers or artists or poets to charm

¹ *Nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas* (Livy, i. 28). Under the Republic the death-penalty had been abolished in the case of citizens. Cf. Vol. II. pp. 341, 342, 474, and Appendix of this volume, I., B.

and stimulate it by the presentation of an ideal,—the *sursum corda et spiritus* which renders nations glorious. The sentiment of patriotism has disappeared; the gods are dead; and like a worn-out soil no longer bearing fruit, the pagan world no longer produces men. From this history a great lesson is to be derived: where the government chooses to do everything, there the citizens do nothing. The state had aimed to secure industry, by organizing it in corporations and establishing hereditary conditions for it; what it accomplished was the organization of public destitution.

In the midst of a world thus perishing there were, however, men who both acted and thought: but their attention was directed to heaven, not earth; their whole solicitude concerned the life after death, and not this present existence. The



CHRISTIAN LAMP.¹

earliest Christians were perfectly indifferent to the various forms of servitude which had taken the place of the free life of the old Graeco-Roman cities; they had at first sought nothing but the peaceable exercise of their religion, were it in the most obscure retreats. To them the Roman world was "the great whore" whom their Scriptures had condemned. They fled her honors; they would not fulfil the duties she imposed; to her woes they were indifferent; and not regarding the Barbarians as enemies, they refused to

¹ Bronze lamp found at Selinonte in 1882, bearing the Christian monogram and the legend DEO GRATIAS (*Notizie degli Scavi*, etc., 1882, p. 332). Another antique bronze, found at Syracuse in 1870, and published by Mr. Lewis of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, represents a lamp, which at one end has the head of the serpent, the principle of evil. The foot of a cross surmounted by a dove pierces the serpent's head, while at the other end of the lamp is the flame, the symbol of Christ's victory. See Vol. VII. p. 578.

fight against them. As soon as the fear of persecution was re-



IVORY OF THE SYMMACHI (SO CALLED).¹

moved, they entered upon sharp disputes concerning their creed, which lasted for a century with no profit to the state; and during that century the Germans arrived. The Gospel had produced saints, but it had formed neither citizens nor statesmen. For the pagan Empire the Christians were an element of dissolution; and when they were its masters they knew not how to defend it. The rôle of the Church as a social element did not begin until the Middle Ages, when in the midst of feudal barbarism she became the champion of the rights of the human soul, when she opposed election to hereditary succession, justice to force, learning to ignorance, charity to the selfishness of brutal passions, and when, by dint of preaching the improvement of the soul, she opened the way for those who aimed at the improvement of society.

These merits, which the Church has not always retained, she pos-

¹ Scene of sacrifice represented on one leaf of a diptych, formerly at Montier-en-Der, bought in 1865 by the South Kensington Museum. The other half, representing a young woman holding two reversed torches, with the inscription, *Nicomachorum* (which has not yet

sessed in the fourth century; but the men of that time gained little thereby, those excepted who learned of her resignation in suffering, serenity in the terrible hour of death, and the hope of eternal blessedness. She had peopled the world with guardian angels who made glad the hearts of the devout; but she had also sown broadcast the fear of hell, and the Evil One, prowling under a thousand forms, made existence frightful. From the union of these hopes and these terrors monachism originated,—a conception of life and an ideal of perfection, now offered to the world, which was in absolute contradiction with the sentiments which had filled the patriotic souls of the Romans of early days.

Further, in the history of this great ruin we must take into consideration the economic conditions of Roman society.

As the government seeks its principal resources from the land-tax, and for the payment of this tax are pledged the property and the persons of the land-owners, overburdened agriculture deserts whole provinces; for example, fortunate Campania, which up to this time has never yet seen a Barbarian, over a space of nearly three hundred thousand acres has neither a man nor a house. The indirect contributions of the Early Empire had made it rich; in the fourth century very little was obtained in this way, for the reason that, industrial life being fixed in corporations, labor slackened, the production became less, and traffic ceased. The exhausted mines did not replace the specie sent out of the country for imports and pensions to Barbarians, or lost at home by being buried in the ground, as was done every time an invasion was apprehended. This scarcity of the precious metals gave capital a crushing preponderance. He who possessed it used it as the Roman of early times did,—the great industry of the day was money-lending. In three years the interest had doubled the debt, and the borrower, quickly ruined,

been explained), is in the Museum of Cluny. It is impossible to say to what period this diptych belongs, nor why it bears the name of the Symmachi. They were a great pagan family of the fourth century; six individuals of that name are known in history,—the earliest, a proconsul of Achaia in 319; another, prefect of Rome in 364, was honored by the Senate in 377 with a gold statue; the third is famous by his *Letters* and the fragments of *Discourses* that have come down to us, and especially by his contest with Saint Ambrose about the altar of Victory in the Senate. The last known was converted to Christianity, and was put to death by Theodoric about 525. This thoroughly pagan diptych seems, by the elegance of the head and of the draperies, to be anterior to the fourth century; it doubtless was the property of the pagan family whose name it bears.

abandoned house or land to his creditor. In the time of Pliny the *latifundia* extended all over Italy and the provinces; in Africa six land-owners possessed the entire proconsular province. It could not be otherwise in a society where, credit not existing and industry being precarious, the poor man became every day poorer, and the rich, who had capital at his command, constantly richer. Atticus Herodes had wealth enough to pension all Athens; Didius Julianus and Firmus, to buy the purple with ready money; Tacitus, to pay the armies from his own purse; and Symmachus spent cheerfully, on the festivals of his praetorship, two thousand pounds weight of gold. We see, therefore, in the Empire a few colossal fortunes, and at the side of them extreme destitution; that is to say, the contrary of what should be the case in a well-ordered society.

The new religious teaching — an energetic and salutary reaction against pagan sensuality and the egotism of the great — did well in advocating charity. But instead of saying, with Septimius Severus, *Laboremus*, which is the password of civil society, the Church asserted that to sell one's goods and give to the poor was the means of laying up treasure in heaven. Most frequently this was a waste of wealth, which relieved the poor but for the moment, and, far from reducing their number, only served to increase dishonest beggary.

Lastly, the population was reduced by pestilence and famine, by civil wars and barbaric invasions; and it was also lessened as a result of the preaching of the new clergy, who, imposing celibacy upon themselves, encouraged it in others, and induced Constantine to annul the privileges which the first Emperor had conferred upon fathers of families. We find even that the average duration of human life lessens in the fourth century; almost all the Empresses die young, and the Emperors who escape a violent death do not live to a great age.

A monarch intoxicated with power and adulation; courtiers and eunuchs seeking their own advantage from his favor; an administration already having the rapacious hands of Oriental functionaries; impoverished cities, languishing industry, once fertile provinces becoming deserts; and the constant lowering of the social level, — all these are evils which make the life of a state wretched, but they do not necessarily abridge it. The active causes of the destruc-

tion of Rome lie in the fatal policy which during four centuries peopled the frontier provinces with Germans; in the increasing strength of the Barbarians, who, no longer restrained, organized for the attack; and in the demoralization of the Roman army, which made resistance impossible.

When the Barbarians, having learned the art of war in so many campaigns, were in a position to plan and carry out offensive operations, then Rome had need of Trajan's soldiers; but she had under the standards only mercenaries undisciplined and treacherous. The legionaries of early days had conquered the world with the pick as much as with the sword; their unworthy successors are incapable of laying out a camp. The old arms have become too heavy for their indolence: they must have small shields and lighter helmets; even on a campaign they propose to live comfortably, and to this end they encumber themselves with an immense baggage-train and convoys bearing the provisions which the soldier himself no longer carries. The Roman army cannot march; it takes months for Constantius and Theodosius to come up with their adversaries.

This decay of military virtues was in itself a very serious evil; more fatal still were the changes in the composition of the army. The dread of senatorial conspiracies, and the absolute necessity of holding the *curialis* to his too numerous duties, had led the Emperors to prohibit military service to the nobles of the state and of the city. The army for a time was recruited from the dregs of a population still in part Roman; but in the fourth century it was almost entirely from the Barbarians that soldiers were obtained. An Aleman could be bought cheap, while government sold at a high price to the *possessores* exemptions from furnishing recruits. The treasury thus made a twofold gain; but this financial expedient deprived the Empire of national troops. Franks, Alemanni, Goths, Vandals, command the Roman army, and their soldiers, of the same origin with themselves, often betray their plans; while deserters instruct the enemy in Roman discipline, forge weapons for them, and reveal to them the propitious moment for the invasion of some province. The protection of the Empire is intrusted to those who are about to dismember it. Does any man know the number of defections at the battle of Hadrianople, that

second field of Cannae, whence a portion of the Roman army fled without fighting?

From the time of Augustus it had been believed that the advance of the Barbaric world could be arrested by establishing Barbarians on the left bank of the Rhine and the right bank of the Danube. With a truly Roman army the danger might have been averted; it became formidable when the army itself was Barbarian also, and its officers, appointed by the Emperor dukes, counts, members of the imperial consistory, even consuls, held the fate of the Empire in their hands. A peaceful invasion of the provinces and of offices of state came first; then followed the armed invasion: and the one prepared the way for the other. Jordanes calls Theodosius "the friend of the Goths," and the Emperor deserved that title: Alaric, who later took Rome, had been one of his generals.

Following the monarch's example, the Church opened her arms to the Barbarians; and of these men, whose deep degradation Gregory of Tours describes, she already made a predestined race. A few years later an eloquent priest exclaims, amid the crash of the falling Empire: "In Saul, accursed and dethroned, behold Rome! In David, blessed and victorious, behold the Barbarians!" We have long been simple-minded enough to repeat this sentence of Salvianus, which is perpetually reiterated by the descendants of these great destroyers; in their judgment the world has known but two civilizations,—that of antiquity, and the *Germanenthum*.

Could Rome have escaped this destiny? In a certain degree she could, if Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian had had heirs instead of unworthy successors. But in human affairs there is a power of circumstances which skilful men employ to advantage, but which bears all before it when demagogues have taken the place of wise statesmen. The Oriental monarchy of the Later Empire proceeds from the half-republican kingship of Augustus; and the formation of an innumerable administrative *personnel* naturally followed from the absolute power of the ruler, who to bring order into everything, introduced everywhere his individual will, his agents, and servility. The expenses of a luxurious court; the salaries of an army of functionaries; the subsidies furnished to the Barbarians to keep them peaceful and to obtain from them soldiers; and, finally, the enormous destruction of capital caused by revolutions and by

invasions, — rendered it necessary to increase the taxes. Landed property, traffic, industry, were overwhelmed by them, and usury incessantly devoured what the state had spared. Hence the populations ceased to love a government which ruined them and did not protect them. They had shown their gratitude for that “Roman Peace” which gave each man the opportunity to live securely under his own vine and fig-tree; but smothered rage was in their hearts, and curses were upon their lips, against the rulers who suffered Barbarians to range the provinces with impunity, like troops of wild beasts. The horizon of men’s minds grew narrower; each man shut himself up in his own city. In vain Marcus Aurelius wrote: “The Athenian said, O city beloved of Cecrops! and canst not thou say, O city beloved of Jupiter!” Men were citizens of Tours, of Seville, of Alexandria, of Antioch, and not of the Empire; and they cared nothing for the disasters which others suffered. One of the latest of the Roman poets extols Rome falsely in saying that she has made the whole world one city: *Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat*. The thousand cities of the Empire, strangers one to another, had not that community of feeling which makes the hearts of millions of men, mutually unknown, beat as one; at the same time the state’s supreme power weighs heavily upon each city. Notwithstanding the ties, at once fragile and yet burdensome, with which government had enwrapped society, all things went to pieces under the hand of the Barbarians; and the Empire fell, a colossus made of sand. Municipal isolation and the extreme of centralization are evils alike fatal. Greece perished of one, the Empire of the other, — or rather, we might say, of both; for it suffered at the same time from these two forms of social weakness.

It is common to date the fall of the Empire with the year 476. But old Rome was really dead much earlier; Theodosius is the last who can be called truly a Roman Emperor. After him on the throne of the West there are only shadows. The East is now the Byzantine Empire, and the Middle Ages begin; for the Germans are everywhere, and the spirit of the Gregorys and the Bonifaces reigns in the Church.

XII. — RESULTS OF THE ROMAN DOMINION.

SHALL we say that the Roman people are completely dead? It is with empires as with individuals: they live honored in men's memory only by the great deeds they have done. The sanctuary of art and of thought, Greece, like her poet,

“Est jeune encor de gloire et d'immortalité.”

Rome merits less admiration, and her people are not of those whom we love; but she remains to the world the school of statesmanship, of law, of administration, and of war.

In the early part of her history we see the happy results of a policy progressively liberal; in the later, the fatal consequences of absolute power ruling a servile society by means of a venal administration.

It was the very soul of the Empire which passed into the mediæval monarchies; which, after the feudal partition, reconstituted the great communities, giving the idea of a supreme organization; which made the descendants of Alaric take the title of chiefs of “the Holy Roman Empire,” and say, through Saint Louis, *Si veut le roi, si veut la loi*. — words which sovereigns still repeat. Two Roman principles made the mediæval kings masters of justice through appeals, and masters of the law by their legislative power: *constitutio principis legis vicem habet*.

In modern Europe has been imitated Rome's administrative organization, which shows how to rule great multitudes of men; and certain royal houses have copied the Byzantine court, which has enwrapped them also, as it were, in a shroud. But other nations, mindful of one of the oldest of Roman institutions, have taken up the popular protectorate: *tribunica potestas*.

The legions of early Rome, by their discipline and the labor they performed, might yet teach much to our modern armies; but we can learn nothing from those of Theodosius, who were a Barbarian mob, and not an army.

Roman law survived the invasion and spread itself beyond the

ancient boundaries of the Empire: the Barbarian kings transmitted it as their personal law to their subjects; Germany yet gives it a juridic value, and it has inspired many of the laws of France. The juriconsults of Rome laid the true foundations of justice and morals applied to communities when they placed at the head of their books this definition of law by Celsus: *Jus est ars boni et aequi*; or the three precepts of Ulpian: *Honesti vivere, Alterum non laedere, Summ cuique tribuere*. They took up the cause of the weak, gave rights to those who had none, condemned the use of torture fifteen centuries ago, and declared slavery a condition contrary to natural law.

The municipal system of Rome, which has bequeathed to us administrative rules still in use, lasted longer than has been generally supposed. The consuls of Marseilles, of Arles, of Nîmes, Narbonne, Toulouse, Périgueux, etc., were the heirs of the duumvirs, who themselves had taken the name and insignia of Roman consuls. And surely there is something in common, if it be no more than a remote association, between the States-general of the southern provinces of France in the Middle Ages and the provincial assemblies whose existence we follow from the first years of the Empire to its end. A recent French law, authorizing joint action of several Departments in view of a common interest, is found in the *Theodosian Code*. By a fortunate inconsistency, from out of the mass of ruins made by despotism have emerged some of our ideas of social justice, and perhaps our earliest liberties.

We cannot now return to the constitution of the family nor to that of the city as they were among the Romans. The city of the first centuries of the Empire was still a republic, and the family was a kingdom which the father, the priest of his household by the *sacra privata*, ruled with absolute power. But how many examples of patriotic devotion, of obedience to law, of generosity towards a man's fellow-citizens, we find in the history of their municipal system; and how strong was the family, how respected the father, even after the transformations which the ancient law underwent! Certain virtues, which are growing less in our time, might well be rekindled at the hearth of this ancient people.

The extent of the Roman dominion, the spirit that Greek philosophy had spread throughout it, the monotheistic movement

which prevailed among enlightened minds, and the wretched condition of the innumerable class known to the law as *humiliores*, had facilitated the spread of Christianity. The earliest Christian communities were sheltered by the law concerning funeral associations, and the Church in establishing her hierarchy utilized the mould of imperial institutions, as she preserved so many pagan customs which brought the peoples of the Empire so gently into her fold. Cities became bishoprics, provinces were metropolitan divisions of territory, provincial assemblies became synods, and later the Pope inherited the legal infallibility of the Emperors. A mass of materials were furnished by Rome for the construction of the great edifice which was to shelter so many generations, and wherein her dominating spirit still prevails.

In the theoretical sciences Rome accomplished nothing; the time for the great conquests of the natural forces had not yet come. In respect to arts and literature, — the spoils of war brought home to the banks of the Tiber, — she is in the second rank; but at least she fills it honorably. Pheidias was not born on one of the Seven Hills, and there is no Parthenon but that of Athens; at the same time, while copying the temples, the statues, and the medals of Greece, the Romans gave great importance to elements of art that Athens and Corinth ignored or neglected. — for instance, the arch and the vault, which in the best days of Hellenic development were not employed.¹ The Romans did indeed build, as did the Greeks, quadrangular temples; but in honor of their great soldiers, for the necessities of their Empire, and the amusements of their cities, they erected triumphal arches, the dome of the Pantheon, aqueducts, circuses, amphitheatres, and those military roads along which their legions and their commands went so rapidly to the ends of the world: and on the great rivers those bridges, all of which we have not rebuilt; and the Colosseum, and the Baths of Caracalla, mountains of stone which rest so heavily and with so much majesty upon the earth that we may take them as a figure of the Roman sway. In these works Greece had no share, — in some cases indeed the hand that executed may have been hers,

¹ The vault requires strong abutments, composed of heavy masonry in which strength, skill, and materials are expended uselessly for the general effect. The frugal Greek genius was averse to this prodigality.

but never the mind that conceived them. After Egypt and the East, the Hellenic genius created a new religious architecture; Rome created civil architecture, and made manifest the necessity of great public works. The art of mosaic is also Roman.¹

Although in literature Rome was but the echo of Greece, she civilized all the Western world, for which the Greeks had done nothing. Her language, out of which sprang the various languages of the Romance nations, is in case of need a means of communication among scholars of all countries, and her books will always remain — a wise selection being made — the best for the higher culture of the mind. They have merited above all others the title of *litterae humaniores*, the literature by which men are made. A cardinal, reading the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius (written in Greek, it is true, but written by a Roman), exclaimed: "My soul blushes redder than my scarlet at sight of the virtues of this Gentile." Suppose Rome destroyed by Pyrrhus or Hannibal before Marius and Caesar had driven the German tribes back from Gaul: their invasion would have been effected five centuries sooner; and since they would have found opposed to them only other Barbarians, what a long night would have settled down upon the world!

It is true that when the Roman people had laid hands upon the treasures of Alexander's successors, the scandal of their orgies exceeded for a century anything that the East had ever seen; that their amusements were sanguinary games or licentious plays; that the Roman mind, after receiving a temporary benefit from Greek philosophy, went astray in Oriental mysticism; and that finally, after having loved liberty, Rome accepted despotism, as if willing to astonish the world as much by her great corruption as she had

¹ A great number of mosaics have already been discovered in France, in England, and in Africa, and new ones are constantly being added to the list. The colored plate (frontispiece to this Section) represents one which was discovered at Nîmes in 1883. It is nineteen feet eight inches broad, and about twenty-six feet long. Caissons of very varied design surround a central composition about five feet square, representing the marriage of Admetus and Alcestis. Pelias, king of Iolcus, had promised to accept as his son-in-law that one of his daughter's suitors who should come riding in a chariot drawn by a lion and a wild boar. Apollo, driven out of Olympus on account of the murder of the Cyclopes, and condemned to serve a mortal for a year, kept the flocks of Admetus, a Thessalian king. By the aid of his divine shepherd Admetus was able to fulfil the hard condition. The artist represents the arrival of the suitor; Pelias, wearing his armor and seated on a throne, holds a sceptre in his hand. By his side stands Alcestis. Admetus has dismounted from the chariot drawn by the two wild animals. He is accompanied by two guards in cuirasses. Twenty animals are represented in the scrolls and leafage of the border.

by the greatness of her empire. But can we say that no other age or nation has known servility of soul, licentiousness in public amusements, and the conspicuous depravity in morals that is always to be seen where indolence and wealth are united?

To the legacies left by Rome which have now been enumerated, we must add another which ranks among the most precious. Notwithstanding the poetic piety of Vergil, and Livy's official credulity, the dominant note of Latin literature is the indifference of Horace, when it is not the daring scepticism of Lucretius. To Cicero, Seneca, Tacitus, and the great juriconsults, the prime necessity was the free possession of themselves, that independence of philosophic thought which they owed to Greece. This spirit, begotten of pure reason, was almost stifled during the Middle Ages. It reappeared



BRONZE MEDAL.¹

when antiquity was recovered. From that day the renascent world set forward again; and in the new path France, heir of Athens and of Rome, was long her guide, — for art, in its most charming forms, and for thought, developed in the light.

Upon a medal of Constantine his son presents to him a globe surmounted by a phoenix, symbol of immortality. For once, the courtiers were not in the wrong. The sacred bird which springs from her own ashes is a fitting emblem of this old Rome, dead fifteen centuries ago, yet alive to-day through her genius: *Siamo Romani*.²

¹ GLORIA SAECVLI VIRTVS CAES. Constantine II., standing, holds a trophy, and presents to his father a globe surmounted by a phoenix. At his feet a panther, in an attitude of submission, symbolizes the Barbarians. Reverse of a bronze medal of Constantine the Great (Cohen, vol. vi. p. iii, No. 164).

² The Trasteverini proudly call themselves *Romani*.

The first two volumes of this work were published originally in 1843 and the following year; the third was ready to appear in 1849. But it showed the establishment of the Empire by Julius Caesar and Augustus to be a necessary, and hence a legitimate, consequence of the errors of the Roman oligarchy. I feared lest it might appear a book written for an occasion, and I laid the manuscript aside. A professorship in the *École normale* and in the *École polytechnique*, the general superintendence of public instruction, and other high functions — due to an august confidence which I shall always gratefully remember — prevented me from resuming this work until after the fourth of September, 1870. This History of Rome, therefore, has occupied me for many years. Gibbon closes his great work with a proud and sad adieu to the old companion of his life. I have not his legitimate pride, but neither do I feel his sadness; for I have not yet parted from this book, which to me also has been a faithful friend. I shall still hope to make it more worthy. Must we not acknowledge that history, by the great discoveries daily made, is itself perpetually renewed?

A P P E N D I X.

TO this History I add, by way of appendix, the following papers: I. "On the Historic Formation of the two Classes of Roman Citizens designated in the Pandects as *Honestiores* and *Humiliores*;" and II. "On the *Tribuni Militum a Populo*." The Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres has done me the honor to include these papers in its published Collections; and in my judgment they treat of matters important to the student of Roman history.

The former seeks to explain how the Roman people, from the second century of the Christian era, came to be divided by the civil and the penal law into two classes of very unequal numbers; so that notwithstanding Caracalla's edict, which seemed to proclaim the equality of all Romans, the greater portion of the inhabitants of the Empire were legally retained in a condition of inferiority. This inequality, increased by the measures which the law-maker of the fourth century took for the rigorous classification of individuals, prepared the way for the servitudes of the mediæval period.

The second, of less general interest, confirms the theory that municipal liberties were very extensive under the Early Empire, and explains how order could prevail in the provinces while all the military forces of the state were stationed along the frontiers.

I further add two brief papers: one, upon a passage of Herodian, explaining why I cannot accept that writer's statement concerning the praetorian guards in the time of Septimius Severus,—a statement which hitherto has been universally received; and in the other, upon the measures of Augustus towards the Druids, I have shown that the imperial government very early decided upon its policy towards those religions with which the Roman polytheism could not harmonize, in all cases except those where, as with the Jews, a treaty had guaranteed the protection of the national faith.

VICTOR DURUY

I.

ON THE HISTORIC FORMATION OF THE TWO CLASSES OF ROMAN CITIZENS DESIGNATED IN THE PANDECTS AS *HONESTIORES* AND *HUMILIORES*.¹

A.

IN the Roman Empire the law admitted two classes of punishment—the one milder, the other more severe—for the same crime. We have the same thing in modern legislation, which, authorizing the plea of extenuating circumstances, permits the judge to diminish the penalty in varying degree. In modern times this system grows out of an idea of equity; at Rome the departure was from the exactly opposite principle,—namely, an idea of the inequality of human conditions, of which the law must take account; as though the poor man were already condemned by the gods. The decurion, for example, guilty of a crime which would send the *humilior* to the galleys, owing to the privilege of his station merely suffered a temporary removal from the curia.² By sentence of Marcus Aurelius, a Roman knight guilty of housebreaking was exiled for five years from his province,³ while for a like crime the *humilior* would have been sent for life to the Dacian mines or the Egyptian quarries. “Seditious persons,” says Paulus, “according to their condition, are crucified, thrown to the wild beasts, or transported into an island.”⁴ Lastly, the stake is expressly reserved for slaves, *plebei et humiles personae*.⁵ Thus certain persons could not be beaten with rods,⁶ crucified, burned to death, or thrown to wild beasts; while in case of condemnation these cruel penalties were the ordinary lot of the unfortunate man who had not been able to rise above his low condition.

This social phenomenon, whose consequences far outlasted the Empire, has never been, to my knowledge, investigated in the order of its historic formation.⁷

¹ Paper read before the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, Nov. 13, 1874.

² *Ordine ad tempus moveri* (*Digest*, xlviii. 18, 1, sect. 1).

³ *Dig.* xlviii. 18, 1, sect. 2.

⁴ *Sent.* v. 22; cf. *ibid.* 21, 23.

⁵ *Dig.* xlviii. 19, 28; cf. fr. 38, sects. 3, 5, 7.

⁶ . . . *Fustibus caedi solent tenuiores homines, honestiores vero . . . non subjiuntur* (*Dig.* xlviii. 19, 28, sect. 2).

⁷ M. Naudet, in his book entitled *La Noblesse chez les Romains*, pp. 115–117, has well marked the respective conditions of the *honestiores* and the *humiliores*; but the *Digest*, modern juriconsults, historians, and archaeologists, teach us nothing as to the historic formation of the two classes. The question does not appear even to have been raised. Walter, in his

It is my intention to examine under the influence of what ideas and what facts so monstrous an inequality could have come into existence among the Latin people,—a people ruled by laws which have been justly called “written reason,” and to whom we have been taught from childhood to attribute republican equality.

B.

In the first place, there never was—nor was it possible that there should be—any true equality in a community which had slavery and had not habits of industry; where extensive ownership of land had greatly reduced the petty holdings; whose traditions and whose laws recognized,—in the patrician, superiority of race; in the father of the family, absolute power over his household; in the master, unlimited authority over his slaves; in the patron, strict rights in the case of his freedmen. Such an organization of city and family left no place to the poor, save one of dependence upon the arrogant rich whom Martial calls “kings.”

This constitution of the family had determined that of the state. In the earliest times the plebs were excluded from the political city, and Servius gave them only the semblance of admission. As a reward for having in the year 304 B. C. shut up the *aerarii* and the *libertini*,—whom Livy calls the *humili*¹—within the four urban tribes, which were the least esteemed of all, Fabius, the most illustrious patrician of his time, received the surname Maximus, which his victories over the Samnites had not been enough to give him. This distinction between *honestiores* and *humiliores* had entered so profoundly into Roman ideas that at the taking of Carthage Scipio made two classes of the citizens,—the townspeople, whom he sent away free, and the artisans, whom he reduced to slavery.² It was in vain that at the time of the Punic wars the centuriate assembly received modifications of a democratic character; the nobles kept their disdain for the lower classes. “Do you walk on your hands?” one of them said when, on an election day, he touched a peasant’s horny palm. As soon as it was possible to do it, the nobles re-established the timocratic organization of the assembly, and up to the time of the civil wars the Roman constitution remained faithful to the axiom: *Ne plurimum valeant plurimi*.³

Histoire du droit romain: Rein, *Criminalrecht der Römer*: Marquardt, *Alterthümer*: Kuhn, *Stadt- und Bürgerl. Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, etc., have not referred to it. Savigny pays the subject no attention, and the *Encyclopédie* of Pauly does not even contain the names of *Honestior* and *Humilior*. Holzendorff (*Die Deportatio*, 1858) mentions them (p. 110), but only to state the fact of a different penal condition for rich and poor.

¹ ix. 46.

² Polybius, x. fr. 2.

³ Cicero, *De Re publ.* ii. 22: . . . *Quod semper*, he adds, *in re publica tenendum est*.

Livy says of the censors of the year 181 B. C.: "They ranged the citizens in tribes in accordance with race, condition, and property."¹ On the eve of the Empire, Cicero again speaks of classes formed according to station, age, and fortune;² and the phrase, "a man of the fifth class," was with him an expression of the utmost contempt.³

It will be remembered that the freedmen were excluded from the rustic tribes, unless they were rich enough to acquire landed property there,⁴ and that the censor Sempronius, the father of the Gracchi, proposed to take from them the right of suffrage. The addition to the urban tribes of men who had been slaves was not at all calculated to raise the position of those tribes. In what terms does Cicero speak of the common people, who are Barbarians in his eyes (*operarios barbarosque*),⁵ from whom can be asked, any day, murder, incendiarism, pillage, and whom Clodius could gather only by emptying the taverns!—"A noble image of Roman majesty," he says, "is this crowd of slaves, beggars, and assassins. . . . The true people, you beheld on that memorable day when the Campus Martius was filled with men who, to come thither, had closed, not the shops of Rome, but the cities of Italy."⁶ Cicero knows, however, that this rabble is the majority; for to designate a worthless man he says freely: *tenuis unusque e multis*.⁷

Thus in republican Rome the census determines ranks; and the citizen having nothing to inscribe on the register of the censors, makes part of what Lucian later calls "the vile multitude,"⁸ which plays a part in public affairs only when some demagogue stirs it up. And when one of these plebeians, who comes so near belonging to the rabble of wretches held in slavery, had any account to settle with justice, there would have been shown him the same severity used towards foreigners and slaves, had not the Twelve Tables established the principle of equality before the penal

¹ xl. 51: *Mutarunt suffragia, regionalimque generibus hominum, causis et quaestibus tribus descripserunt.*

² *De Leg.* iii. 3: . . . *Populi partis in tribus describunto, exin pecunias, aevitates, ordines partiunto.*

³ *Acad.* ii. 23.

⁴ Livy, xlv. 14, 15.

⁵ *Tuscul.* v. 36; cf. *De Off.* i. 42; and Seneca, *Ep.* xiii. 3.

⁶ *Pro domo*, 33, and *Ad Att.* i. 16: *Miseri ac jejuna plebscula.* This is the *tunicatus popellus* of Horace (*Ep.* I. vii. 65) and the *plebs* of Sallust, who live from hand to mouth . . . *cui omnes copiae in usu quotidiano et cultu corporis erant* (*Cat.* 48), who prefer *urbanum otium ingrato labori*,—a hungry rabble, depraved in manners, extravagant in hopes, *homines egentes, malis moribus, maxuma spe*, whose minds are filled with envy, *bonis invident*; it is a class recruited from all that crime and disgrace drive from neighboring cities to cast into Rome, as into the sewer of the world, *quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, hi Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant* (*Cat.* 37).

⁷ *De Fin.* ii. 20.

⁸ The *Tragic Jupiter*, 53.

law, and the *Lex Porcia*, that no citizen should be beaten with rods or put to death.¹

The urban populace, then, was held in great contempt in the capital of the Empire, except on days of popular tumult, without, however, any special scheme of penalties being established for it, up to the last days of the Republic.² It was to be expected that the Empire, so long represented as a crowned democracy, would elevate the plebeians; but, governed by an absolute ruler, administered by an aristocratic body, it left them where it found them. Nor was any greater interest manifested in the provincial cities in establishing equality, a distinction in rank being as much valued there as at Rome. This is shown by the senatorial register,³ where each man's position is marked, with the degree of honor due him; it also appears from inscriptions, wherein are enumerated all the offices filled and all the grades obtained.

Below these men who were placed in positions of dignity or had attained fortune and property in land,⁴ we find those who lived by the labor of their hands. Definite statements are wanting to prove that on days of comitia these successors of the old *aerarii* were placed in an inferior position; but all probabilities are in favor of this opinion. Chapter viii. of the *Table of Heraclia* contains the long list of those who are incapable of holding office in a municipium, and among this number are all the *humiliores* mentioned in the *Digest*. Inscriptions show in cities, in the first and second centuries of our era, the popular assemblies divided into curiae, which sometimes were subdivided, as in the very earliest times, into sections of *seniores* and *juniores*. If our information were more complete, we should doubtless find classes; for the census which served to form them had been instituted wherever the Romans carried their sway. In the municipal law Caesar took pains to renew the injunction to the magistrates of the Italian cities to make the census in accordance with the form which would be sent them from Rome, one question of which referred to the property of the individual whose name was entered. It was so habitual to fill out this schedule that inscriptions usually make answer to all the questions of the formula, one alone excepted,—that

¹ Livy, x. 9. We see in Cicero (*Pro Caecina*, 35) how in case of certain crimes the Porcian law was eluded.

² The triumvirs, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, established such a scheme when they decreed that the common man who did not celebrate Caesar's birthday should be punished with death, while any senator or senator's son should merely pay a fine of 250,000 drachmas (Dion, xlvii. 19). Here we have the beginning of the legislation which later was developed.

³ For example, in that of Canusium, which we still have (Mommson, *Inscr. Neap.* 635), and in that of Thamugas, which has been lately found.

⁴ . . . *Potiores, id est possessores, opponuntur inferioribus vel plebiis* (*Theod. Code*, xi. 15, 2).

concerning fortune; but it is quite natural that on a tombstone the fortune of the dead man should not be stated.¹

We have seen that at Rome the citizens were classified according to monetary position in the last two centuries of the Republic; that is to say, at the time when the provincials were copying the institutions, the customs, and even the fashions of the Eternal City. We know that to attain the office of decurion there was required, as to enter the Roman Senate, an amount of property determined by law.² This obligation imposed upon their subjects characterizes the timocratic revolution that the Romans brought about in all the Greek and Oriental world,—a revolution also accomplished by Athens twice over in the time of the Peloponnesian war.³ Cicero advises his brother to maintain these distinctions scrupulously in the latter's province of Asia; and two centuries and a half later, the younger Pliny congratulates himself on seeing them preserved.⁴ Augustus, in fact, had made no change in these customs. His first care after the battle of Actium was to organize the Roman world into a vast hierarchy, whose different grades were marked by the fortune necessary in order to aspire to them. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the more important municipia had, like Rome, some in one way, some in another, their different orders of citizens, the *classici* and the *infra classem*,⁵—a custom so general that it had passed from public into private life, where a man ranged his clients and friends in categories of first, second, and third degree (*tribus classibus factis*).⁶ At the foot of the social scale were the famished (*λειτουργοί*),—dyers, shoemakers, carpenters, etc., whom Dion Chrysostom found at Tarsus in great numbers, and whom he considers as outside of the city.⁷ This was the *plebs urbana*, separated from the true population of *possessores* (*δῆμος*), and no less despised in the provinces than they were at Rome.

Montesquieu, imitating Cicero, says: "Laws are not made, they are

¹ The formula required: *Nomina, prænominia, patres aut patronos, tribus, cognomina et quot annos quisque eorum habet, et rationem pecunie* (*Table of Heracleia*, C. xi.). See in the *Index* of Henzen, p. 112, the indication of numerous inscriptions relative to *legati Aug. pr. pr. ad census accipiendos* and to *censitores*.

² Pliny, *Epist.* i. 19, and possibly Catullus, 23. It was certainly so in Sicily, where, according to Cicero (*In Verr.* ii. 2, 49), the citizens were divided into classes *ex genere, censu, aetate*. The census was the basis of all Roman and municipal administration.

³ Thucydides, viii. 67; Xenophon, *Hellen.* II. iii. 18. A certain fortune was needed to obtain office in Thessaly and in Achaia (Livy, xxxiv. 51; Pausanias, vii. 16); Gabinius established this rule in Judaea (Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* XIV. v. 4: *ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ διήγον*; cf. *Bell. Jud.* i. 8), etc. In respect to the aristocratic changes which took place in Athens during the Empire, see A. Dumont, *L'Éphébie attique*, i. 153-156.

⁴ Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 24; Cic., *Ep. ad Quint.* i. 1.

⁵ Aulus Gellius, vii. 13.

⁶ Suet., *Tib.* 46.

⁷ *Πλήθος οὐκ ὀλίγον ὥσπερ ἔξωθεν τῆς πολιτείας* (*Disc.* ii. 43, 45, ed. Reiske).

discovered," — which means that they are what the moral condition of the period calls for. It has therefore been necessary to show that from one end of the Empire to the other existed a respect for wealth and a love of social distinctions, for the reason that such a state of public opinion indicates in advance that in this community the poor man, held at first in great contempt, is very likely to end by being subjected to great severities.

But how was the transition made from the former condition to the latter? How did men pass from the early equality before the law to the terrible inequality which is proved by this division of the whole free population into two categories much resembling the nobles and serfs of the Middle Ages? This is the first point to be elucidated. I shall then endeavor to see if it is possible to trace a distinct line of demarcation between the two classes.

C.

IN Rome at its best nothing distinguished one citizen from another. The ownership of land had the same character for all; and from the time of the Twelve Tables, the *Lex Canuleia*, and the free admission of plebeians to the magistracies, birth secured no further privileges, unless it were eligibility to some religious functions. In a word, if the rich man regarded with contempt those who dragged out beneath him their miserable existence, and if the poor man regarded with envy the prosperity of the great, still, no legal distinction whatever existed between these two classes; while between the lowest of the citizens of Rome and the most illustrious provincial a very wide one was made. The man, whether rich or poor, enjoying the *jus civitatis* was able to escape from a death-sentence by voluntary exile; while at the governor's tribunal the provincial, whoever he was, might be condemned to the most cruel punishments. Thus under the Republic the *civis* and the *peregrinus* are in the situation where, under the Empire, we find the *honestior* and the *humilior*: the point to be explained is, by what metamorphosis the *plebeius homo*, Roman citizen though he was, became liable to the same penalties with the *peregrinus*, and remained thus subject after the *peregrini* had ceased to be a class recognized by the law.

The numerous concessions of citizenship made by the Republic had secured its prosperity, giving it that broad and solid base of a numerous military population which had been lacking to Sparta and Athens, to Tyre and Carthage. This policy, after having been the Senate's rule, became that of the Emperors. Formerly the citizenship was given with or without the right of suffrage, with or without the right *adipiscendorum in Urbe*

honorum. It was this latter right that was granted to the inhabitants of the transalpine countries. In the year 48 A. D. the notables of Gallia Comata, who had for a long time been citizens, solicited the right to enter the Roman Senate. The Fathers refused, feeling that they had done enough in opening the sovereign curia to the Veneti and the Insubres.¹ Claudius caused a more liberal opinion to prevail; the right claimed was first accorded to the Aeduians, and later to many other peoples,—Egypt being the last country that obtained it.²

Thus, while the *jus civitatis* was propagated in the Roman world, there still was kept up between the old citizens and the new the barrier which existed before the Licinian laws between the patricians and plebeians,—the same which had so long separated the *Quirites* from the *Socii*. Since then we see, about the time of the fall of the Republic or the beginning of the Empire,—that is to say, at the period when the great concessions of citizenship were made,—the intention to maintain, in the matter of eligibility to public honors, a distinction between citizens Italian born and those who were provincials, it is not impossible that, in the same spirit, a distinction may have been made at that time, in the mass of Roman citizens, between the *honestiores* and the *humiliores*. We shall endeavor to show how this was accomplished.

The citizenship, given as it was to multitudes, became at once degraded, like any honor too lavishly bestowed; and the Roman world found itself in danger of a confusion to which it was especially antipathetic, when the juriconsults, so skilful in adapting the old legal usages to new conditions, re-established by degrees in the law the distinction which the general sentiment of the community required.

This change took place slowly. The words high and low, *honestiores* and *humiliores*, which belong to the Latin language of all epochs, are, as a juridic distinction of two classes subjected to different laws, of a comparatively modern date. They are not found in the inscriptions, naturally enough, and we know that they were not in the early penal laws of Rome. But a republican institution established by the Gracchi and Cato, and preserved by Caesar, who regulated it,—I mean the distribution of corn at a reduced price,—caused the entering in public registers of the names of all the poor of Rome, and brought back, under a new form, the ancient comitial differences which had disappeared with the comitia. Those who, to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand at first,³ and of two hundred thousand under Augustus,⁴ gave in their names to receive

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 23.

² In the third century (Dion, li. 17).

³ Suetonius, *Caes.* 41; cf. Dion, xliii. 71.

⁴ *Mon. of Ancyra*, 15. See, in the first section of the *Lex Julia municipalis*, the precautions taken for the entering of the names *in tabula, in albo*.

the alimentary *tessera*, composed that class of citizens whom the *Testament* of Augustus calls, in the Latin text, *plebs urbana*, and in the Greek version, ὄχλος, or the multitude.¹ The jurists therefore found in the capital of the Empire a legal basis for establishing anew those distinctions for which the Romans had an inveterate liking; and from Rome this custom, like all others, rapidly spread throughout the provinces.

A *Lex Julia de vi* determined those whose testimony could be received in courts of justice.² Labeo, under Augustus, prohibited the prosecution of fraud to the *humilis adversus eum qui dignitate excellit*; and he explained thus: *Puta plebeio adversus consularem receptae auctoritatis, vel luxurioso atque prodigo, aut alias vili, adversus hominem vitæ emendationis*.³ From this period equality before the law ceases, therefore, for a part of the citizens,—for those whom Augustus calls *plebs urbana*, and Labeo, *plebei homines*; but this inequality is determined by moral conditions,—*vita emendatior*; and Julianus, in the time of Hadrian, uses language similar to that of Labeo.⁴

Meanwhile Rome goes on increasing; the city becomes a world. Claudius numbers seven million citizens, representing a population of twenty-eight million souls, and the Flavii and the Antonines continually add to this number. The Roman people is an immense multitude, wherein innumerable individuals are worthy to figure in the *plebs urbana* of Cicero. At Oriculum this *plebs* seems even separated from the main body of citizens: *cives et plebei*, says an inscription.⁵

Claudius, who testifies so much esteem for the provincial aristocracy, carries his contempt for the Roman multitude so far that he has them driven from the Forum before he will pronounce from the rostra the form of public prayers designed to ward off a threatening danger: *summota operariorum turba*.⁶ This exclusion from the sacred rites, which on a solemn

¹ Augustus bequeathed to the Roman people 40 million sesterces; *tribubus*, that is to say, to the frumentary *plebs*, 3,500,000 (Suet., *Aug.* 101). Tiberius made a similar distinction; he left legacies *plerisque*, that is to say, to many senators and knights, then to the vestals, to the higher class of citizens, *magistris vicorum*, to all the soldiers, and, lastly, *plebi Romanæ*.

² *Dig.* xxii. 5, 3, sect. 3. Nearly four centuries later Constantine repeats: . . . *Honestioribus potius fides habeatur* (*Theod. Code*, xi. 39, 3).

³ *Dig.* iv. 3, 11, sect. 1. Tacitus establishes the following classes among the Roman population: 1, *patres*; 2, *primores equitum*; 3, *pars populi integra et magnis domibus aduoca, clientes libertique*; 4, *plebs sordida simul deterrimi servorum* (*Hist.* i. 4). In the *Annales* (xiii. 48) he mentions a riot at Puteoli between the common people (*multitudo*) on the one side, and the rich on the other (*ordo, magistratus, et primi*).

⁴ *Dig.* xliii. 30, 3, sect. 4.

⁵ Orelli, No. 3,857.

⁶ He also had the slaves driven away. The artisans therefore were already, in the eyes of the Emperor, very much like the slaves, with whom they were shortly to be classed by the penal law (Suet., *Claud.* 22).

occasion thus placed the poor outside of fellowship with the rich, is a significant fact; and as every decision of the Emperor made a law, this sort of religious excommunication sufficed to place the citizen of low condition, the artisan, in a class by himself. Under the Flavians he had come to be so regarded at Tarsus, where on occasion of a vote the artisans were expelled from the agora.¹

This title of Roman citizen, once so illustrious, is still respected by the imperial officials in the provinces, as we see in the case of Saint Paul, who was saved by his plea of citizenship from the fury of the Jews at Jerusalem. At Rome the absolute power, which in the case of the great usually consents to employ the forms of law, shows itself towards the multitude in all its brutality. The madman Caligula had caused men *honesti ordinis* to be thrown to wild beasts.² Nero, at first more scrupulous, dares not punish a senator who sleeps while the Emperor's "divine voice" resounds in the theatre; but he takes no pains to know whether the luckless auditor who applauds too faintly is or is not a citizen, ordering him to be dragged from his seat and immediately beaten with rods: *tenuioribus statim irrogata supplicia*.³ Hadrian, the administrator of justice, holds the title of citizen in no higher esteem than does Nero, when one of the *proletarii* is concerned. In his presence a son disowns his mother that he may not be compelled to divide his *congiarium* with her. "If you persist," the Emperor says, "I shall no longer consider you a citizen."⁴

D.

OF the six juriconsults who employ in the collection of the *Digest* the words *honestior* and *humilior*, Gaius,⁵ Paulus,⁶ Ulpian,⁷ Callistratus,⁸ Marcian,⁹ and Macer,¹⁰ the eldest, Gaius, holds always to the principle of Labeo. "The penalty," he says, "is determined by the nature of the offence, by the place where it is committed, by the person who suffers from it, such as a magistrate or a senator."¹¹ Meanwhile the terms employed

¹ Dion Chrysostom, *Disc.* ii. 43 (edit. Reiske).

² Suet., *Cat.* 27.

³ Tac., *Ann.* xvi. 5.

⁴ *Dosithei Fragm.* sect. 14; ap. Böcking.

⁵ *Inst. Comm.* iii. 225.

⁶ *Sent.* v. 4, sect. 10; 19, sect. 1; 21, sect. 2; 22, sect. 2; 30 B; *Dig.* xlvii. 12, 11.

⁷ *Dig.* i. 18, 6, sect. 2; ii. 15, 8, sect. 23; iv. 3, 11, sect. 1; xxvi. 10, 1, sect. 8; 3, sect. 16; xliii. 33, 3, sect. 4; xlvii. 9, 12, 1; 18, 1, sections 2, 3, 6, and fr. 7, sect. 2.

⁸ *Dig.* xlviii. 19, 28; sect. 2; 38, sect. 3.

⁹ *Dig.* xlviii. 8, 3, sect. 5.

¹⁰ *Dig.* xlviii. 19, 10, 1. Modestinus (*ibid.* 8, fr. 16) speaks also of a distinction established by the penal law between *in honore aliquo positi et qui secundo gradu sunt*.

¹¹ *Inst. Comm.* iii. 225.

become more exact. Labeo does not recognize the same rights to the citizen of good reputation and him of an evil name; Gaius no longer seeks in the moral order the ground of the distinction to be established in respect to the punishment; he will have it more mild for any magistrate, any decurion.

The reason of this is that time advances; the movement of concentration which had taken place at Rome under Augustus and Tiberius, is gaining ground in the provincial cities. The public assembly of the municipium is falling into disuse, the elections are going into the hands of the curia, and the curia itself is about to shut its doors to the plebeian multitude. Already Pliny puts the question to Trajan whether it would not be better to admit to the decurionate the sons of the *honestiores* than the children of the common people, — *honestiorum hominum liberos quam e plebe*.¹ At this period — that is to say, about the year 111 of our era — the separation of the citizens into two classes is therefore formally established. At the same time the double domain of the penal law is not as yet any more rigorously defined than is that of the political law. The great jurisconsult of Hadrian's reign, Salvius Julianus, uses language akin to that employed by Labeo.²

But as the aristocratic character of the city becomes more clearly declared with each successive generation, the poor man sinks lower, the rich rises higher. Then, as the imperial government has need of the latter for administrative services,³ and cares nothing for the former, it flatters the vanity of the wealthy class by rearing a legal barrier between them and the poor. First the privilege of never being condemned to the rod, which the old law allowed only to ex-magistrates of the Latin cities, is granted to all the members of the curia. Still more: the kings of France recruited their *noblesse* by letters patent; the Emperors increased the class of privileged persons by concession of its prerogatives to all who rose to distinction in the cities, *in aliqua dignitate vel in aliquo gradu*,⁴ — vague terms, and applicable to many more individuals than was the term of municipal honor by which the higher magistracies were designated.

These advantages, important in themselves, had another merit which enhanced their value, — the plebeian multitude did not possess them. The

¹ x. 83.

² *Interdictum ex persona . . . constituendum est. Nam si is qui se patrem dicit, auctoritatis, prudentiae, fidei exploratae esset . . . is vero qui controversiam facit, humilis calumniator, notae nequitiae . . .* (*Dig.* xliii. 30, 3, sect. 4). See further, under Antoninus, a passage from the decree of Tergeste, *prout qui meruissent vita atque censu . . . in curiam admitterentur* (Henzen, No. 7,168).

³ The *munera* and the *honores*. The taxes weighing principally upon landed property. — which had to furnish a contribution in money, certain products, and an amount of obligatory labor, — the Emperors were led to concede to the *possessores* privileges of various kinds in return for the burdens heaped upon them.

⁴ Ulpian in the *Digest*, xxvi. 10, 3, sect. 16; and *ibid.* xlvii. 9, 12, sect. 1.

humilis, who had been so long habituated to contempt, and who, moreover, in Rome and in the great cities, lived only by beggary, ceased to be protected by the Porcian Law, and ordinances formerly concerning *peregrini* alone, now officially dealt with him. "The *Lex Cornelia*," says Marcianus,¹ "decreed for assassins and poisoners exile into an island with entire loss of property; but it is now customary to condemn them to death, except when they belong to the class of the *honestiores*;" and Callistratus adds: "Only the *tenuiores homines* may be beaten with rods; this has been expressly decided by the imperial rescripts."²

Thus Emperors, whose names we know not, finally put into words what had been a matter of custom,—erected into law what had been to Labeo a respect for dignity; to Claudius and Pliny a contempt for the beggarly crowd; to Nero a caprice of cruelty; to Hadrian the feeling of a right, which the words of Marcianus, *hodie solent*, authorize us to consider as having recently entered into legal practice.

This legislation once in force, a man having municipal honors, a station or rank in the city, no longer was one of the multitude; and the jurists contrast the plebeian with the magistrate, *qui in plebeio, qui in honestiore*.³ To strengthen this contrast, it was decided even that a plebeian could not become a decurion. This is expressly said by Paulus and Ulpian.⁴ Each city therefore had, as the Rome of the kings had had, its privileged people, *populus*, and its disinherited multitude, *plebs*, whom the political and the penal law separated from one another.

This *plebs* of the new era falls far lower than that of early days; for the Empire subjects it to severities which the Republic had employed against slaves only. The penalties pronounced by the Cornelian laws *De Falso* and *De Sicariis* were death to the slave, and deportation to the citizen;⁵ the imperial code maintains the same gradation between the *humilior* and the *honestior*. It would seem that this revolution must have excited sharp opposition,—no greater, however, than did the suppression of the comitia at Rome; for the reason that social conditions had produced it before it was sanctioned by the laws.

Meanwhile certain plebeians who had become wealthy were permitted, like the new men in republican Rome, to obtain seats in the Senate.⁶

¹ *Dig.* xlviii. 8, 3, sect. 5.

² *Id principalibus rescriptis specialiter exprimitur* (*Dig.* xlviii. 19, 28, sect. 2). An exception was made in the cases of crimes regarded as infringements of the law concerning treason: *Uum de eo crimine quaeritur, nulla dignitas a tormentis excipitur* (Paul., *Sent.* v. 29).

³ Ulpian in the *Dig.* xlviii. 18, 1, sect. 2. He says further: *Homo honestioris loci* (*Dig.* ii. 15, 8, sect. 23).

⁴ *Dig.* l. 2, 7, sect. 2: . . . *Decurionum honoribus plebei fungi prohibentur.*

⁵ *Inst.* iv. 18, sect. 7.

⁶ *Neque populus ademptum jus questus est* (Tac., *Ann.* i. 15).

By the very development of social life, by the need of keeping the curia full, by imperial concessions of immunities, the number of citizens added to those who were *in aliqua dignitate vel in aliquo gradu*, must ever increase. Thus we may consider as sharing in the advantages of the *honestiores* before the law: the *Augustales*, so often mentioned next to the decurions,¹ — persons who held a life-priesthood; the *Mercuriales*, mentioned in many inscriptions after the *Augustales* and before the people;² lastly, the *possessores*, or landed proprietors, who in the third century were sometimes called to deliberate with the Senate.³ These privileged persons doubtless formed the second order, which is often referred to, *uterque ordo*, and, united with the decurions, constitutes what was called in France from 1815 to 1848 *le pays légal*. In both cases the frontier of this *pays* was guarded by the treasury, and men entered only on producing the tax-gatherer's receipt; for the right was determined by the property-valuation. The privileged class of the earlier time, however, less exclusive than it was in our country, opened its ranks to men of the liberal professions and to soldiers; the veterans who had obtained the *honesta missio*, and physicians and teachers, were not included in the class of the *humiliores*.⁴

Outside of this *pays légal* were found in the country the colonist or field-laborer; in the cities, the artisan and the freedman (all three the ancestors of the mediæval serfs), and even the small trader⁵ (*qui utensilia negotiatur*).

Certain *possessores*, however, were scarcely better off than was the day-laborer: the artisan came near the petty proprietor, and traders, becoming prosperous, bought houses or lands, so that they should be no longer regarded as traders, but as land-owners. As the facile methods employed in the Middle Ages — birth, or tenure of land — were not in use under the

¹ . . . *Viritim divisit decurionibus et augustalibus et curiis n. XXVIII.* (Orelli, No. 3,740). The *Seviri Augustales* are even associated with the decurions: *ordo decurionum et sevirum Augustalium* . . . (*ibid.* 775); and we read in the *Theodosian Code*, xi. 15, 2: *Potiores id est possessores opponuntur inferioribus vel plebeis*.

² Orelli, Nos. 135, 2,420, where a *magister Mercurialis* is mentioned. Cf. Henzen's *Index*, p. 168. In the inscription No. 3,858 of Orelli, the son of a Roman knight, patron of the city of Rudiae gives the municipium a sum, of which the annual revenue is to be distributed, *viritim*, in the following manner: twenty sesterces to the decurions, twelve to the *Augustales*, ten to the *Mercuriales*, seven to the people individually, *populus*.

³ Inscriptions often read: . . . *Ordo possessoresque* (Orelli, No. 3,734), and even *Ordo possessorum* (*ibid.* No. 5,171). In others we find: *Uterque ordo*, as at Valentia (*C. I. L.* vol. ii. *ad h. l.*). According to Ulpian, the appointment of physicians is intrusted in the cities *ordini et possessoribus*.

⁴ *Dig.* xxvii. 1, 6, sect. 8. This is quoted from a rescript of Antoninus. Cf. Philostratus, *Vitæ Soph.* i. 8, 2; ii. 30.

⁵ *Eos qui utensilia negotiantur et vendunt licet ab aedilibus caeduntur* . . . (Callistratus, in the *Digest*, l. 2, 12).

Empire, it happened that the two classes, separated by the penal law, were blended on the juridic ground where the judge was to place them. Therefore it became necessary to seek for a rule, equally required by the magistrate's conscience and by the alarm of the person accused, since if his condition were underrated, he might be condemned to some frightful punishment, instead of suffering a penalty comparatively light.

E.

Two sections of the *Digest* — one upon the mark of disgrace imposed by the censor,¹ the other upon incapacity to prosecute in court² — will perhaps aid us in finding this limit.

In respect to penal condition, those branded with infamy (*notantur infamia*) were naturally placed among the *humiliores*, and their names were upon the police registers. In this class are enumerated the soldier expelled from the army, the adulterer, the bigamist, even the husband who tolerates his wife's infidelity,³ persons keeping houses of ill-fame, practising the small trades, and living by the theatre or the games of the circus.⁴ An exception is made in favor of Greek athletes, because these men fight "for honor."⁵

In the other section is indicated the legal incapacity of those whom a judicial sentence or their occupation brands with infamy (*propter proprium delictum*); those who seek shameful gains, even individuals who have received money for accusing or for not accusing (*propter turpem quaestum*); lastly, the poor, says Hermogenianus (*propter paupertatem*).⁶

In making poverty a cause of disgrace Rome was faithful to the policy which had influenced Severus in constituting the centuriate assembly, where the preponderance went with fortune; Augustus, in fixing a property qualification for the Senate, the equestrian order, and the *duce-*

¹ *Dig.* iii. 2. It is to be observed that this section, prepared by the juriconsults of Justinian, is only the development of a part of the eighth section of the *lex Julia municipalis*, promulgated by Caesar in the year of Rome 709, in which are enumerated cases of unworthiness to obtain the decurionate. For an infraction, the penalty was fifty thousand sesterces for the use of the people.

² *Dig.* xxii. 5, 3, sect. 3; cf. *ibid.* xlviii. 2, *De Accusationibus*.

³ *Ibid.* xlviii. 5, 2.

⁴ *Qui artis ludicrae pronunciandive causa scaenam prodierit* (*Dig.* iii. 2, 1).

⁵ *Virtutis enim gratia hoc facere* (*ibid.* iii. 2, 4).

⁶ *Dig.* xlviii. 2, 8, and 10. In the early constitution of Rome the proletary was the man who had not the eleven thousand *ases* of Livy, the twelve and a half *minae* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, or the four hundred drachmas of Polybius. He was excluded from the legions, and served on board ship with the galley-slaves. The persistence of the Roman tradition is apparent, which from first to last kept the poor man in a condition of inferiority.

narii; and the municipia, in selling to the highest bidder their offices, their honors, and even their citizenship. It will not appear rash, therefore, to apply to the penal law the criterion which, after having been applied to the political law, served the judicial law also, and to believe that the man declared unworthy of appearing in court as an accuser must, when he came thither as an accused person, have been regarded as unworthy of the alleviation accorded to rank, public station, and wealth.

In practice there could be no doubt as to those excluded for the first two causes; the registers of police gave their names. But where should poverty begin? The same jurisconsult replies: "Below the fifty aurei, — *ut sunt qui minus quam quinquaginta aureos habent.*"¹ If the diminution of civic rights incurred by the poor tended to place him in the position where his poverty naturally ranked him, among the *tenuiores*, we have, in the fragment of Hermogenianus, the legal rule which we seek, and which all the tribunals in the Empire required. He, therefore, who, in the third century, possessed more than fifty aurei, had no occasion to fear in court, before the trial, the application of torture, or, after the decision, crucifixion, the wild beasts, or the mines, — all penalties reserved for the same crimes when committed by persons who possessed less than that amount.² To ascertain whether an accused person were in the category of the *pau-peres*, it was only necessary to examine the registers of the census, as for the *infami* search was to be made in the police registers. Everything was in due form: and the luckless criminal condemned to the wild beasts because of his poverty might indeed curse the law, but had no cause of complaint against his judge.

Another question then presents itself: If poverty was considered to begin below fifty aurei, was not the class of *humiliores* a very large one?

Fifty aurei³ (that is, \$230 to \$250) was an amount which must have been rarely possessed by a Roman plebeian. At the present day the free laborer is not hampered by the rivalry of the slave, and the means of

¹ *Dig.* xlviii. 2, fr. 9. This sum of fifty gold pieces is also mentioned in an ordinance of Valentinian's (*Code Just.* i. 55, 1), which authorizes the *defensores civitatis* to judge cases *tenuiores ac minusculariaz usque ad 50 solid. summam.* This was plainly then the legal limit of poverty.

² In accordance with one article in the *Theodosian Code* (*de Dec., lex* 33), those who possessed 25 *juga*, or, according to another (*Nov. Valent.* iii. tit. 3, sect. 4), 300 *solidi*, might be called to complete the *ordo*, in order to fill *munera civilia*. These two sums, 300 *solidi* and 50 aurei, appear to have indicated the minimum necessary to take a place among the *honestiores*, — the latter the maximum which must be reached to emerge from the *humiliores*. The space between was doubtless occupied by the small *possessores*. At Tarsus the title of full citizen cost 500 *drachmae* (*Dion Chrysostom, Disc.* ii. 43).

³ Under the Flavians and the Antonines, \$216 according to Mommsen; \$239 according to Dureau de la Malle; \$259 according to Friedländer. For the third century Mommsen reduces by one sixth the value of the aureus, which brings the 50 aurei of Hermogenianus down to \$180.

acquiring a little property are easy and numerous. However, the Report on Primary Instruction of March 5, 1865, states, from the documents of the Ministry of Finance, that nearly one million seven hundred thousand Frenchmen were not liable to the poll-tax and the tax on personal property, owing to their state of destitution, although they were not classed as paupers, as were one million five hundred thousand other heads of families. We find, therefore, in the country where wealth is the most evenly distributed, three million two hundred thousand individuals, or nearly one third of the male population over twenty years of age, whom the Roman law would have ranked as *humiliores*.¹ To double this proportion would certainly not be sufficient; and we do not go too far in saying that the plebs included the larger part of the Empire. A text of Callistratus authorizes us to make this assertion. "Those citizens who are not liable to the rod," he says, "have a right to the same privileges with the decurions."² These words by themselves indicate that a very small number of persons had the privilege of escaping from the great severities of the penal law, and we know that the political law prohibited the *humiliores* from aspiring to hold any office in the city.

F.

To conclude, the Roman world, governed at first by an aristocracy of birth, and afterwards by an aristocracy of wealth, never had anything but contempt for the poorer citizens, even in the noblest days of republican equality. Neither was there equality for the free men of the provinces after citizenship had been conceded to them. The Empire quickly effaced the distinction established by the Republic between the *civis* and the *peregrinus*, but created another between the rich and the poor; and at both times the larger part of the inhabitants of the Roman world remained marked by the law with the sign of civic degradation.

The facts set forth above give place, further, for certain observations.

First, it appears why, notwithstanding their multitude, these *plebei homines* did not form that powerful democracy who are credited with having sold to the Caesars the liberty of the world; and why their political rôle

¹ M. Engel-Dollfus, in his book on *Collective Assurance* (1876), reckons at from \$270 to \$288 the average value of a working-man's capital. But this valuation has appeared too high to many writers on political economy. In his projects of life assurance, Prince Bismarck considered the laboring-man, whose annual wages did not amount to more than 750 marks (\$178.50), as exempt from contributing. In this case the employer and the state would bear the expense of the insurance.

² *Omnes qui fustibus caedi prohibentur eandem habere honoris reverentiam quam decuriones habent* (Dig. 19, 28, sect. 2).

was limited to crying *Panem et circenses!* or to dragging to the Gemoniae the dead body of a Sejanus or a Vitellius.

Further, we are able to see that with the *humiliores*,—plebeians of the city, and agricultural laborers in the country,—whose condition grew worse as public misfortunes increased, the Emperors were to bequeath to the Middle Ages one of the constituent elements of their social organization: namely, the immense multitude of serfs.

Lastly, it is just to attribute to Roman ideas and manners, much more than to the imperial policy,—at least that of the first two centuries,—the reducing of the plebs to that low condition in which it lost all patriotism, and the elevation of that *noblesse* of wealth and office which was very capable of oppressing the Empire, but absolutely incapable of defending it. From the third century on, this fatal policy became a settled plan of government; up to that time it had manifested itself only by the latent action of public manners slowly undermining municipal institutions. In the time of the Caesars and Flavians, and later yet under the Antonines, there were indeed two separate peoples within the Empire, but they were separated only by fortune,—a mobile and changing thing, which intelligence, a spirit of command, and favoring circumstances can give, or the contrary can take away. Consequently, in the space which at first separated the *honestior* and the *humilior*, there was no insurmountable barrier: the penal law after a time placed its severities there, as the political law had so often placed its exclusions; but the highest honors of the city and the state remained accessible to all who knew how and were able to rise. This explains the existence and the prosperity of the Empire with such a *régime*, so long as this movement was not arrested by “the divine hierarchy” of Constantine.

To conclude, we are obliged to modify the opinion that many writers have formed concerning the concession of citizenship to all the subjects of the Empire,—an opinion still held by many. This act has been represented as the effect of a liberal policy which was tending towards equality; it has been said that this great and humane measure had produced a general levelling. But the idea is one which must give place to that of Saint Augustine, who shows an unexpected result from this imperial constitution,—namely, the right allowed the poor of the provincial cities to claim their share in the gratuitous distributions.¹

¹ See above, Vol. VII. p. 82.

II.

THE TRIBUNI MILITUM A POPULO.¹

A.

A CERTAIN number of inscriptions mention, in the last days of the Republic and in the first century of the Empire, *tribuni militum a populo*. Of these, the following are the most important:—

No. 1.

M · HOLCON^{io} · m · f
 RVFO · II · VIR · i · d
 QVINQ · TR · MIL · a · p
 FLAMINI · CAES · Aug
 QVINTIO · L ·

M(arco) Holcon[^{io}, M(arci) f(ilio)], Rufo, duumviro [i(ure) di(cundo)] quinq(uennali), tr(ibuno) mi[l(itum) a p(opulo)], flamini Caes(aris) A[ug(usti)], Quintio l(ibertus) (?)]

Pompeii, inscription found in the forum in 1861 (Fiorelli, *Catal. del mus. di Nap.* No. i. 1,293). It is broken on the right side, but easily to be restored from the context.

No. 2.

M · HOLCONIO · RVFO · D · V · I · D · III · QVINQ.
 TRIB · MIL · A · POPVLO · AVGVSTI · SACERDOTI
 EX · D · D

M(arco) Holconio Rufo, d(uum) v(iro) i(ure) d(icundo) quantum, quinquennali, trib(un)o mil(itum) a populo, Augusti sacerdoti, ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Pompeii (Mommsen, *Inscr. regni Neap.* No. 2,231).

M. Holconius Rufus was duumvir *jure dicundo* for the fourth time in 752 of the city of Rome (2 B.C.), as is proved by another Pompeian inscription,² with A. Clodius Flaccus (see below, No. 4), who was duumvir for the third time.

¹ Paper read before the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, Jan. 29, 1875.

² See Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 2,261.

No. 3.

M · HOLCONIO · M · F · RVFO
 TRIB · MIL · A · POPVL · II · VIR · I · D · V
 QVINQ · ITER
 AVGVSTI · CAESARIS · SACERD
 PATRONO · COLONIAE

M(arco) Holconio, M(arci) f(ilio), Rufo, trib(un)o mil(itum) a popul(o), duumvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) quintum, quinq(uennali) iter(um), Augusti Caesaris sacerdoti, patrono coloniae.

Pompeii, on the pedestal of a statue found near the forum in 1853 (Fiorelli, *Descriz. di Pompej*, 1875, 8vo, p. 167).

No. 4.

A · CLODIVS · A · F
 MEN · FLACCVS · II · VIR · I · D · TER · QVINQ
 TRIB · MIL · A · POPVLO

A(ulus) Clodius A(uli) f(ilius), Men(enia tribu) Flaccus, duumvir i(ure) d(icundo) ter quinq(uennalis), trib(unus) mil(itum) a populo.

Pompeii (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 2,378). This is a long funereal inscription; we give only the three lines enumerating the titles of the deceased.

The detail follows of games and spectacles given by him in each of his duumvirates. We have seen, No. 2, that in the third, which he held in the year 11 B. C., he had as colleague M. Holconius Rufus.

No. 5.

M · TVLLIVS M · F · D · V · I · D · TER · QVINQ · AVGVR · TR · MIL
 A · POP · AEDEM · FORTVNAE · AVGVST · SOLO · ET · PEQ · SVA

M(arcus) Tullius, M(arci) F(ilius), d(uum)v(ir) i(ure) d(icundo) ter, quinq(uennalis), augur, tr(ibunus) mil(itum) a pop(ulo), aedem Fortunae August(ae) solo et peq(uunia) sua (fecit).

Pompeii (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 2,219).

The title of Augusta, given to the Goddess Fortune, proves that this inscription is of a date later than 8 B. C., when Augustus decreed the re-establishment of the worship of the Lares. It probably belongs to the year 2 A. D., another inscription, dated the following year (*Inscr. Neap.* No. 2,223), mentioning the first *ministri* of the temple referred to.

No. 6.

A · VEIO · M · F · II · VIR · I · D
 ITER · QVINQ · TRIB
 MILIT · AB · POPVL · EX · D · D

A(ulo) Veio, M(arci) f(ilio), d(num)vir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) iter(um), quinq(uennali). trib(un)o milit(um) ab popul(o), ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Pompeii (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 2,316).

No. 7.

M · LVCRETIO · DECIDIAN
 RVFO · D · V · III · QVINQ
 PONTIF · TRIB · MILITVM
 APOPVLO · PRAEF · FABR
 M · PILONIVS · RVFVS

M(arco) Lucretio Decidian(o) Rufo, d(num)v(iro) ter, quinq(uennali), pontif(ici). trib(un)o militum a populo, prae(fecto) fabr(um), M(arcus) Pilonius Rufus (posuit).

Pompeii, on the base of a statue (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 2,193; cf. Nos. 2,192 and 2,299).

No. 8.

S E P T I M I A E · L · F · S I L *v a n a e*
 M · A L L I O · M · F · M E N · R V F O
 PRAEF · FABR · CEN · Q · TR · MIL · A · P · E · Q · R
 HVNC · DECVRIONES · GRATIS · IN · ORDINEM · SV^{um}
 ADLEGERVNT · DVVMVIRALIVM · NVMERO
 ORDINEM · ADIIT · PETITQVE · VT · DECRETO
 QVOQVE · VOLVNTATEM · ESSE · ASCRIB^{erent}

Septimiae, L(ucii) f(iliae), Sil[*vanae*].

M(arco), Allio, M(arci) f(ilio), Men(enia tribu), Ruf[o], prae(fecto) fabr(um), cen(sori?), q(uaestori), tr(ibun)o mil(itum) a p(opulo), e[*q(viti) R(omano)*]. Hunc decuriones gratis¹ in ordinem su[*um*] adlegerunt duumviralium numero; ordinem adiit petiitque ut decreto quoque voluntatem esse ascrib[*erent*].

Abellino (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 1,888).

No. 9.

T · POMPVLLIVS · L · F · LAPPA
 II VIR · QVINQ · TRIB · MIL · A · POPVLO
 PRAEF · FABR · EX · TESTAMENTO · ATRIVM
 AVCTIONARIVM · FIERI · ET · MERCVRVM
 AVGVSTVM · SACRVM · PONI · IVSSIT
 ARBITRATV · EPAPHRAE · LIBERTI

¹ *Gratis*, that is to say, without his being obliged to pay the honorarium (*summa honoraria*). Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* x. 112 and 113.

T(itus) Pompullius, L(ucii) f(ilius), Lappa, duumvir quinq(uennalis), trib(unus) mil(itum) a populo, praef(ectus) fabr(um), ex testamento atrium auctionarium fieri et Mercurium Augustum sacrum poni jussit, arbitrato Epaphrae liberti.

Galliano, near Castel-Vecchio, formerly Superaequum (Morcelli, *De Stilo inscr.* i. 143, from the manuscript of Giovenazzi; see Henzen's note, p. 347, on the No. 3,439 of Orelli).

Posterior to the year 8 B. C., as shown by the epithet Augustus given to Mercury; see above, No. 5.

No. 10.

M · MANLIVS · C · F
 POLLIO
 TR · MIL
 A · POPVLO
 PRAEF · FABR
 CENS · PERP

M(arcus) Manlius, C(aii) f(ilius), Pollio, tri(bunus) mil(itum) a populo, praef(ectus) fabr(um), cens(or) perp(etuus).

Cervetri (Caere). (Henzen, No. 7,084).

No. 11.

M · MuNATVLEIVS · M · F
 a N I · M a R C E L L V S
 t e · m i l · A · P O P V L O

M(arcus) M[u]natuleius, M(arci) f(ilius), [A]ni(ensi tribu), M[a]rcellus, [tri(bunus) mil(itum)] a populo.

Near Olevano (Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, vii. 347).

No. 12.

P · BAEBIO · P · FIL ·
 POB · TVTICAVO
 TRIB · MIL · A · POPVLO ·
 PRAEF · EQ · PRO · LEG ·
 PONTIFICI · III · VIR ·
 PLEBS · VRBAN ·
 PERMISS · DEC ·

P(ublio) Baebio, P(ublii) f(ilio), Pob(lilia tribu), Tuticano, trib(unus) mil(itum) a populo, praef(ecto) eq(uitum), pro leg(ato), pontiîci, quattuorvir(o), plebs urban(a), permiss(u) dec(urionum).

Verona, in the Museum. (Mommsen, *C. I. L.* vol. v. No. 3,334).

This inscription is certainly of a date later than the accession of Augustus, as the title of prolegate did not exist under the Republic.

No. 13.

Q · GAVIVS · Q · F
 AQVILA · DECVRIO
 TR · MIL · A · POPULO
 HORTIA · C · F · SECVNDA
 VXOR
 GAVIA · Q · F · FILIA

Q(uintus) Gavius, Q(uinti) f(ilius). Aquila, decurio, tr(ibunus) mil(itum) a populo;
 Hortia, C(aii) f(ilia), Secunda, uxor; Gavia, Q(uinti) f(ilia), filia.

Aquileia. (Mommsen, *C. I. L.* vol. v. No. 916).

No. 14.

... NORE · AB · DECVRIONIBVS · POPV ...
 ... CVR · TR · MIL · APOPVLO

Corfinium (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 5,370).

Besides these, there are two extremely mutilated fragments, on which the title of which we speak is believed to be decipherable, one found at Acquasparta,¹ the other at Capua;² but up to the present time there has not been discovered in Rome or in the provinces³ any inscription mentioning a *tribunus militum a populo*, and the scholars who have investigated this title have given no satisfactory explanation of the fact.

Mommsen has devoted to this subject several pages of his treatise entitled *Römisches Staatsrecht* (vol. ii. part i. pp. 540–543; Leipzig, 1874). In his judgment these officers are really tribunes of the army, who, besides their military functions, had the character of Roman magistrates, which the popular election gave them.⁴ Not being able to be attached to a particular legion, they remained without employ, and consequently do not indicate in their inscriptions—as we have so many examples—in what legion they served. Mommsen affirms that up to the last days of the Republic, and even under Augustus, the people continued annually to elect twenty-four military tribunes. Of this he gives no other proof than the title borne by the duumvir Holconius in the year of Rome 752; but this is only to answer one question by asking another, since nothing proves that the election of Holconius was made by the Roman people. Mommsen

¹ Marini, *Arval.*, p. 806; cf. Henzen, *Bullet. archéol.* 1860, p. 12.

² Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 3,528.

³ Mommsen believes that he has discovered a *tribunus militum a populo* in two extremely mutilated fragments found at Cabra in Baetica, which are known only by early copies (*C. I. L.* vol. ii. Nos. 1,625, 1,626); but his conjecture, admitted with hesitation by Hübner, is not adopted by Léon Renier.

⁴ Cf. *C. I. L.* vol. i. p. 58, sects. 2, 16, 22, concerning the *lex repetundarum*, which is probably of the year of Rome 654.

adds: "In consequence of these annual elections it happened often that these tribunes could not be placed." It seems strange that in the troubled years which preceded the advent of the Empire, when innumerable armies were in the field in the interests of Pompey and Lepidus, of Antony and Octavius, there should not be found a place for all military officers, and that the same condition should continue when Augustus had organized his twenty-five legions, requiring the presence of a hundred and fifty military tribunes. Lastly, this historian asserts, without being able to furnish any proof of it, that these elections ceased at Rome about the year 14 A. D., when Tiberius transferred to the senators the electoral right of the people. No text furnishes the date of the abolition of the law giving the people the right to appoint the military tribunes. But this law had been an act of distrust towards the leaders of armies, and it is not probable that the latter awaited the time of Tiberius before causing it to disappear; it doubtless fell into desuetude at the time when the power passed from the Forum into the camps. The facts quoted by Mommsen to show that the early law was in force up to the time of the Empire do not in reality extend later than the year 90 B. C., and are consequently anterior to the period beyond which this eminently republican institution could not have lasted.

As to the age of our inscriptions, the date of two of them (Nos. 3 and 4) is the year 752 of Rome (2 B. C.); that of a third (No. 5), the year 755 of Rome (2 A. D.),—which places them in the latter part of the reign of Augustus; and the language of them all, destitute of those archaisms which still appear as late as in the *Lex Julia*, gives us reason to suppose them posterior to this law, and authorizes a conjecture which will be presented at the close of this paper.

In conclusion, the learned author of the *Römisches Staatsrecht* offers no demonstration, but merely a conjecture, which, as we shall see, is in contradiction with the general history of Rome in the last days of the Republic. This conjecture, entirely unsupported by facts, is the one which has been offered with slight variations by all the authors who have occupied themselves with this question before Mommsen:¹ namely, that the *tribuni militum a populo* were Roman magistrates and common legionary tribunes who, according to Mommsen, were waiting orders.²

¹ Maffei, *Mus. Veron.* p. 119, No. 5; Morelli, *De Stilo inser.* p. 64; Marini, *Arval.* p. 548; Orelli, No. 3,439; Urlichs, *Bulletin de l'Institut. archéol.*, 1839, p. 66; Lange, *Hist. mutat. rei milit. Rom.* p. 46, n. 12; Marquardt, *Handbuch*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 277, n. 1,517. I do not speak of Hultmann, who, supposing a letter missing before the words A · POPVLO, proposes to explain them thus: nA[tus] POPVlo[nia] (*Miscell. épigr.* pp. 170 et seq.).

² The same opinion has been supported by M. Giraud in his paper entitled *Les Bronzes d'Ossuna, nouvelles recherches*. On the other hand, our learned epigraphist, M. Léon Renier, had made this question the subject of one of his lectures at the Collège de France, holding the views here expressed, which have been developed by M. Cagnat, in 1880, in his paper

I shall attempt to prove, —

1. That the military tribunes elected by the Roman people were never called *tribuni militum a populo*;
2. That the election of the military tribunes ceased at the period of the triumviral wars;
3. That the formula *a populo* has reference to a municipal service;
4. That the general history of the Empire shows the necessity of this service;
5. That the character of this office is explained by the bronzes of Ossuna.

Each of these points will now be examined.

B.

For about three centuries Rome had legionary tribunes of two kinds, — the one appointed by the consuls, the other by the people. They were sometimes distinguished as *rufuli* and *comitiati*,¹ — never by designating the latter as *a populo*.

Thus Livy, who mentions elected tribunes seven times,² uses only the expressions *suffragio creari*, *suffragio fieri*, which Cicero also employs. In a passage of Sallust³ we do indeed find the words *tribunatum militarem a populo petebat*; but it refers to Marius addressing the people to solicit the elective tribuneship, and the writer habitually uses this form of expression, *a populo petere*, to solicit from the people such or such an office.

Fronto also recalls the fact that Cato was appointed by the people military tribune, — *a populo factus*.⁴ The construction is the same as in the preceding example; and there is no more reason to detach the words *a populo* from *factus* and unite them to *tribunus*, than it would be to separate them from *petebat* in the sentence of Sallust. Asconius,⁵ who teaches us how the two kinds of tribunes are to be distinguished from each other, knows no other name for them.

After the authors we will interrogate the inscriptions. Very many exist concerning persons who had held high office at Rome, among which offices is mentioned the legionary tribuneship; in no case are the words *a*

entitled *De Municipalibus et provincialibus militibus in imperio Romano*, and are accepted as indisputable by M. Ernest Desjardins (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* for 1882, p. 19).

¹ Festus, *De Verborum sign.*, p. 260, edit. Müller, and the Pseudo-Asconius, *Ad Cic. in Verr. act. i. sect. 30*, edit. of Orelli, ii. 14, 2.

² vii. 5; ix. 30; xxvii. 36, 14; xxviii. 27, 14, 42, 21; xliii. 12; xlv. 21.

³ *Jugurtha*, 63.

⁴ *Stratag.* ii. 4.

⁵ Page 142, edit. of Orelli.

populo added to this last-named title, although there is reason to believe that many of them held one of the twenty-four annual positions in the elective tribuneship. We know it, for example, in the case of Marius, whose inscription, preserved at Arpinum, says indeed that he was military tribune, but without adding that this leader of the popular party had owed to the people his first office; so that the phrase is wanting exactly in the place where, according to the old hypothesis, we might most expect to find it.¹ The collection of Orelli alone contains fifty inscriptions relative to tribunes who actually served in the Roman army, and no one of these bears the phrase *a populo*.

Thus authors and inscriptions agree: the tribune in the Roman legions was not called *tribunus militum a populo*.

C.

THE custom of electing the legionary tribunes arose, three hundred and sixty years before the Christian era, from the jealousies of the democracy at a time when, powerful and very suspicious, it would not suffer any important office to exist to which it could not raise its favorites. Patriotism, however, sometimes got the better of party spirit, and in the presence of public danger the popular jealousy held its peace. Thus when the second Macedonian war broke out, which was regarded as serious, a *senatus-consultum* was accepted by the people which permitted the consuls to select all the tribunes. It is not probable that during the sanguinary struggle between Marius and Sylla the military leaders who levied armies in Italy and the provinces without the Senate's orders, — even, like Marius, armies of slaves, — respected the popular right, and awaited, before completing their roster, the elections in the Roman Forum. At the same time, mention is made of the elective tribuneship as late as the year 70 B. C.; but it was for the last time.² A few years later the first and second triumvirates were formed. Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus as the first, Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus as the second, shared among themselves the provinces, the armies, and the senatorial and popular rights. The second triumvirate even assumed constitutional power: *triumviri rei publicae constituendae*. Is it conceivable that these military chiefs received from those

¹ Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 4487. We have two other inscriptions of Marius, found, one at Aretum, the other at Rome (*C. I. L.* vol. i. p. 290, Nos. 32, 33), which are probably of the time of Augustus. At this period no man longer cared for the elective tribuneship, but there were many *tribuni militum a populo* in the Italian municipia and at the very gates of Rome. If their office had been the same with that held by Marius, it is inconceivable why the tribuneship of this old chief of the popular party, inherited as it was by Augustus, his grand-nephew, was never characterized by the same title.

² Cic., *In Verr.* i. 10, 30.

who proscribed them at Rome a part of their legionary officers at a time when, to quote Tacitus, there existed no longer an army of the Roman people (*nulla jam publica arma*)?¹ Augustus, proclaimed *imperator*, becoming supreme chief, and jealous of all the powers existing in the Empire, could not permit the shadow of a doubt to rest upon his exclusive right of appointing to all grades, either personally or through his legates. The army was his security, and it was greatly important to him that in it should be seen and felt no other power than his. The election of military chiefs by the people, even with the discretion which the people at that time used in exercising the rights left to it, was absolutely incompatible with the new organization of the armies, and even with the scheme of the government. Accordingly, after having been in fact suspended during the long years of the civil war, this election must have now been virtually abolished. The elected tribunes could not have outlasted the creation of the *legatus* by Caesar; or if any such system survived, Augustus would have certainly caused its disappearance when he took, in the earliest days of his reign, the title of *imperator*, and formally organized the standing army.

D.

WHEN we compare with one another all the inscriptions that we have, it is difficult to resist the conviction that the *tribunus militum* whom they mention was a municipal dignitary, not an officer of the state. How else explain why Pompeii alone and in a short space of time furnished three of these high officers? If the Roman people went to seek so many chiefs of its legions in this little municipium, how many must it not have asked from Naples, Puteoli, Beneventum, Tarentum, Brundisium, — from all the great Italian cities, wherein we find no mention of them? A legionary tribune was a person of high importance; yet but one of our tribunes is seen to have arrived at office in the state. "We do not see this," says Mommsen, "because the custom of putting the *cursus honorum* in the inscriptions was still rare." But these inscriptions, which mention the number of duumvirates obtained, and as many as five municipal honors or offices decreed to the same person, would surely have mentioned the offices of state held by the individual, if any such had been given him by the Roman people.

In the earlier inscriptions we do not find mentioned after the title of military tribune the legion in which the officer had served; but it was habitually given under the Empire. Now, this designation of the legion is lacking in all our texts, of which many, if not all, are manifestly of later date than the fall of the Republic. This is not, indeed, a direct proof, but it is a

¹ *Ann.* i. 2.

presumption in favor of the view we hold. Finally, it is strange that, after holding an office which gave access to the equestrian order, the Senate, and the high magistracies, all of these tribunes should stop in their public career at this grade, which promised so much for the future.

The character of municipal functionary very clearly appears in all our inscriptions; for we find in them, mingled with this title of *tribunus militum a populo*, only names of municipal offices, as that of decurion, quaestor, duumvir or quatuorvir, quinquennial, perpetual censor, Augustal, pontiff, augur, or patron of the city. Moreover, had it been a question of state functionaries, the words *a populo* would have been followed by the adjective *Romano*; for every time that we meet the word *populus* alone in inscriptions of colonies and municipia, it is not the Roman people that is designated, but the people of the particular municipium or colony.¹ This is the use of the word *populo* in the title with which we are now concerned; and the title should be translated by the words "tribune of the soldiers of the people (of the colony or municipium)," as the words, II. VIR. AB. AERARIO in an inscription of Lyons,² and in one of Sens,³ should be translated "duumvir of the treasury (of the colony or the *civitas*)." To conclude, the *tribunus militum a populo* was the chief of the military service in the colony or the municipium; and this should not surprise us among the Romans, who were pre-eminently, in Europe, the people of tradition. From the first, the military service had been obligatory for the colonies;⁴ if we had their municipal laws, as we have those of the colony Genetiva Julia, we should find in them a military organization analogous to that of which we shall speak later.

Some of the tribunes mentioned in our inscriptions were *præfecti fabrum*; that is to say, had charge of the workmen attached to the service of a provincial governor. The *præfectus fabrum* had neither military rank nor duties.⁵ He was a private individual, whom the governor or the legate employed to collect laborers for the public works which were not done by the soldiers. He was in certain aspects the agent of the Roman magistrate, and he had for the time a public service, — like our contractors, to whom the Minister of War assigns contracts for supplies or constructions; but he had (as they have not) a public office. However, this post

¹ See notably, Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* Nos. 26, 1,486, 2,342, 2,346, 4,059, 4,063, 4,197; Orelli, No. 2,532; Henzen, No. 7,149; Wilmanns, No. 2,216; De Boissieu, p. 160; L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.* No. 2,174; etc.

² De Boissieu, p. 156, and Or.-Henzen, No. 6,931.

³ This inscription, on a bronze plaque, is now in the Museum of the Louvre.

⁴ These words have absolutely the same meaning with the words II · VIR · AERARI which we find in many inscriptions in Vienna; see Allmer, vol. ii. Nos. 160–167, etc.

⁵ See, in respect to the *præfecti fabrum*, the paper of Borghesi *Sur l'Inscription de Junius Silanus*, in his *Ouvres*, v. 204–209.

of confidence was regarded as an honor, and was mentioned with pride in inscriptions,—as our tradesmen put on their cards, “honored by the patronage” of such or such person of rank, or large company.

Only one of the tribunes in our inscriptions filled a state office,—he of the inscription of Verona,¹ a great and important city, where a military tribune of the people, after having without doubt distinguished himself in his municipal position, under the eyes of the superior authority, was appointed prefect of cavalry in the Roman army, and afterwards prolegate; then, finally, his military career being ended, returned to his native city, where he was elected pontiff and quatuorvir. This is a very natural *cursus honorum*, and one which has been that of many provincials, who, quitting their municipia to fill offices of the general government, and returning home at the expiration of their terms of service, have then received from their fellow-citizens the highest honors of the city.²

It is evident, moreover, that one of these two functions—the tribuneship and the prefecture of workmen—might easily lead to the other; that a governor, for example, would choose to superintend the public works of his province a man having already the habit of command; and, reciprocally, that the city should intrust the care of public order to him who had been the superintendent of a numerous body of workmen.

Finally, this office was habitually given to the most important persons of the city; for we see it belonging to citizens who were afterwards three or four times duumvir, quinquennial, augur, perpetual censor, and even patron of the city.

Such are the conclusions drawn from a candid examination of the inscriptions.

E.

BUT it may be asked, What need existed for a military tribune in the peaceful cities of the Roman Empire?

The Empire, having undertaken to protect its subjects against the Barbarians, and to defend itself against the revolts of its subjects, did no more than this in the first century of the Christian era. Content with guarding the frontiers, and standing ready to crush all insurrections in the interior, it left to the provincials the protection of public order within the limits of their own territory. To repress an outbreak in a city of Liguria, Tiberius sent thither one of the cohorts of the garrison of Rome, and

¹ See above, *Inscr.* No. 12.

² See *Bull. dell' Instit. arch.*, 1851, pp. 136 *et seqq.*; and many other instances could be given.

another which he called from the Cottian Alps,¹—a proof that from Rome out to the frontiers of Italy there was not a soldier. The Jewish king Agrippa said later: “A man of consular rank governs, without one soldier, the five hundred cities of Asia; and twelve hundred legionaries—as many men as Gaul has cities—are enough to secure the obedience of that vast region.”² “Every city,” says M. Naudet in his paper on the *Police des Romains*, “was required to provide for the maintenance of order within its own territory.”³ Each city had its night-commandant. Petronius in many passages of the *Satyricon*, and Apuleius in the *Golden Ass*, allude to this; each city also had its public prison, as Amisus⁴ and Philippi,⁵ etc. In that of Pompeii were discovered four prisoners who, at the moment of the catastrophe, had succeeded in breaking their chains, but were stifled before they could make their escape from the building. Noiodunum (Nyon) had a *præfectus arcendis latroniis*⁶ to drive away brigands; Tarragona, a *præfectus murorum*⁷ to keep the ramparts in good order; a *præfectus orae maritimæ* to prevent the descent of pirates:⁸ and all these inscriptions of prefects have the municipal character which we have recognized in those of the *tribunus militum a populo*.

The *Pax Romana* was a verity, and war was indeed abolished for a hundred million of men during more than two centuries; but piracy, which in the Mediterranean has lasted till our own time, flourished.⁹ The naval stations in the Euxine, on the coasts of Syria and Egypt, in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, and the military precautions taken at certain points on the sea-coast,—*præfectus orae Ponticæ*, etc.,—had not succeeded in destroying it.

Brigandage, an endemic evil in the mountainous regions of Italy and its islands, in Spain, Greece, Asia Minor, and Africa, obliged prudent travellers either to go in bands, or to profit by the passage of a Roman magistrate, on his way to his province or returning to Rome, to join his escort. This precaution, however, was not always enough; an officer of the legate of Numidia, sent to superintend the construction of an aqueduct, in the

¹ Suet., *Tib.* 37.

² Joseph., *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16.

³ *Mém. de l'Acad. des sciences morales et politiques*, 2d series, vol. vi. p. 818.

⁴ Pliny, *Epist.* 10.

⁵ *Acts of the Apostles*, xvi. 23.

⁶ Mommsen. *Inscr. Helv.* 119:—

C · LVCCONI · CO r
TETRICI · PRAEFECti
ARCEN · LATROCin
PRAEFECT · PRO · HIVIRo
HIVIR BIS FLAMINIS
AVGVST

⁷ *C. I. L.* vol. ii. No. 4,202.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Nos. 4,138, 4,217, 4,224–26, 4,239, 4,264, 4,266.

⁹ Strabo, XI. ii.; Joseph., *Bell. Jud.* III. ix. 2, etc.; Epictetus, *Dissert.* IV. i. 9.

reign of Antoninus Pius, was attacked on the road, wounded, and plundered by brigands.¹

In the time of Commodus, Maternus, at the head of regularly organized bands, desolated Spain and Gaul.² Even under the least patient of the Emperors, Septimius Severus, a brigand chief was able to gather in Italy a band of six hundred men; and of these highway robbers one attained a notoriety so great that Arrian wrote his biography (Tilloboros³). Claudius, another, who devastated Palestine and Syria, came in search of Severus on one occasion in the costume of military tribune and followed by a troop of horsemen. He saluted the Emperor, kissed him, and disappeared unrecognized after this bravado; nor was any man ever able to lay hands on him.⁴

The physician Galen has a special use for brigands. As many of them were killed, the medical man who chanced to travel was likely to find dead bodies, already in part dissected by the sword, by the teeth of carnivora, or the beak of birds of prey, which, without giving offence to popular prejudice, he could use in his study of anatomy. Accordingly we find Galen travelled much.⁵

Government did indeed from time to time take some energetic measures, — such as the temporary establishment of military posts in Italy by Augustus and Tiberius, and in the time of Tertullian⁶ in all the provinces; the four thousand Jews sent against the brigands of Sardinia; the military expe-

¹ *Inter vias latrones sum passus; nudus, saucius evasi* (Mém. de la Soc. de Constantine, 1868, pl. v.). Notwithstanding the vigilance of Augustus, the extinction of brigandage was neither easy nor complete. Dion (lv. 28) speaks of robber-bands who for three years (5-7 A.D.) desolated Sardinia, of Isaurians who extended their ravages so far that it was necessary to make an actual war against them, and of the Spanish brigand Coracottas, upon whose head Augustus set a reward of 250,000 drachmae (*id.* lvi. 43). Even in the reign of Trajan, Italy offered little security (Pliny, *Epist.* vi. 25). The prank which Marcus Aurelius relates to Fronto (*Ep.* ii. 17) proves, by the terror of the two shepherds, that any traveller appearing suddenly was likely to be suspected of being a robber, — *illi solent, maximas rapinationes facere*. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* ii. 85; Suet., *Aug.* 32; *Tib.* 37; Petron., *Satyr.* 111; Proper., iii. 16; Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 305; x. 20; Apul., *passim*; Varro, *De Re rust.* 16, 2: *Multos agros egregios colere non crederet propter latrocinia vicinorum ut in Sardinia . . . ut in Hispania, prope Lusitaniam*; Strabo, v. 5; vi. 16; xii. 7: *Καὶ ὁ καὶ ἡμᾶς τῶν ληστοτήτων ἡγεμόν*; Dion Cassius, lxxiv. 2; lxxvi. 10; and Lucian, *Alex.* 3 and 44.

² Herodian, liv. 1.

³ Lucian, *Alex.* 2.

⁴ Dion, lxxv. 2. Severus admitted among causes of legitimate delay in appearing at a fixed time and place, the *incursus latronum* (*Dig.* xxvii. 1, 13, sect. 7).

⁵ *De Anatom. admin.* i. 2, ed. Kühn, vol. ii. p. 221, and iv. 5, p. 385. Celsus had the same idea. As a means of studying anatomy, he indicates *gladiatorem in arena, vel militem in acie, vel viatorem a latronibus exceptum, sic examinari ut ejus interior aliqua pars aperiat ut in alio alia* (*Praef.* lib. i. p. 10, edit. Targ.). And so he declares dissections unnecessary. In his *De Usu part. corp.*, ed. Kühn, ii. 188, Galen speaks of a Pamphylian brigand who was accustomed to cut off his victims' legs.

⁶ *Apol.* 2: . . . *Latronibus investigandis per universas provincias*. Cf. *Theod. Code*, i. 55, 56; but it is a document of the year 392.

ditions directed from time to time against those of Isauria; and the expedition organized by Septimius Severus to effect the capture of the formidable Bullas. But as a rule, cities and individuals were obliged to provide for their own safety. "The military posts," says M. Naudet,¹ "acted only in repelling the foreign enemy, or crushing menacing sedition or armed brigandage at home when they assumed the proportions of a war against society or an attempt upon the government."

In the smaller cities this police duty was performed by the public slaves or the freedmen of the municipium, who were paid for their services (*annua accipiunt*).² At Amisus it was they who guarded the prison; and slaves of this sort were in number sufficient at Pompeii to be employed in constructing many streets of the city.³ In the larger cities, however, it was necessary to organize the public force regularly. We have the inscription of a *miles Brundisinus*; ⁴ but as this is susceptible of various interpretations, I pass it by. Another speaks of an offering made by the *hastiferi civitatis Mattiacorum*; and this time evidently a municipal troop is spoken of.⁵ Lyons and Nîmes maintained a corps of night-watch (*vigiles*), commanded by a prefect, who had the title of *præfectus vigilum et armorum*, and must, therefore, have had the further duty of taking care of the weapons.⁶ Tarragona, or the province of Tarraconensis, had armed cohorts. We even know the name of a prefect of the fourth cohort, which would give us reason to suppose more, were the number not already so large.⁷ Puteoli, adjacent to Pompeii, had a college of *socii lictores populares denunciatores*,⁸ who certainly did the double duty of the French *sergents de ville*; that is to say, of arrest and of prosecution. In their title we again find, under its adjective form, the word employed in characterizing the *tribuni militum a populo*. It is self-evident that this institution of municipal security must have been imitated, under various names, in all the important cities.

It is true that from the beginning of the Empire the Julian law

¹ In his paper entitled *La Police chez les Romains*, vols. iv. and vi. of the Collection of the Acad. des Inscr.

² Pliny, *Epist.* x. 40.

³ *Familia publica Ameriae* (Orelli, No. 2,428); *Venafri* (Henzen, No. 6,265); *Brundisii* (*Inscr. Neap.* No. 450); *Cordubæ* (*C. I. L.* vol. ii. No. 2,644); *Servi publici coloniarum et municipiorum*, passim.

⁴ Henzen, No. 7,161. Henzen says, however, of this soldier: *Miles, ni fultor, est municipalis publicae securitatis causa delectus*.

⁵ Orelli (No. 4,983) places these *hastiferi* among the *officia municipalia minora*. The inscription is of the year 236.

⁶ Kellermann, *Vigiles Rom.* p. 33, Nos. 24-29, and De Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, No. 419.

⁷ *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. Nos. 4,138, 4,217, 4,224-4,226, 4,264, and 4,266. In No. 4,202, the prefect of the walls was flamen of the province, and the *conventus provinciae* erects a monument to the *præf. orae maritimæ* of No. 4,138.

⁸ Orelli, No. 2,544.

de Vi publica had prohibited the carrying of arms.¹ But by the very terms of the law the order to disarm concerned only individuals. It is not a question of the cities, whose weapons, according to the general usage in Graeco-Latin antiquity, were kept in public depots, as were, even in the Roman camps, those of the legionaries,² and in the Middle Ages those of the city militia of Europe; as are at the present day the arms of the German Landwehr, of the Swiss regiments, and of the French territorial army. The text of Tacitus, speaking of the *publice armis muniti* of Vienne, confirms this interpretation. Some municipal functionary certainly had charge of the *armamentarium*. The inscriptions of Nîmes give us his name, *praefectus armorum*; the *στρατηγός* of the Greek cities, the *tribunus militum a populo* of the Italian cities, no doubt fulfilled the same duty.

It is certain that in the first century of our era there were weapons in the cities; to this fact the battle between the Pompeians and the men of Nuceria bears witness, — not a riot, but an actual battle, at the close of which many dead and wounded were picked up;³ also, further, the continual hostilities between Lyons and Vienne, which were real operations of war; the armies that Sacrovir and Vindex could raise in Gaul; the arms furnished in great quantity to the Vitellians by the cities of that

¹ *Dig.* xlviii. 6, 1: *Lege Julia de vi publica tenetur qui arma, tela domi suae, agroque in villa, praeter usum venationis, vel itineris, vel navigationis egerit.* Pompey had already prohibited carrying arms in the city (*Pliny, Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 39); and Petronius (*Sat.* 82) shows that the prohibition was still in force in his time.

² In the camp there was always an arsenal, *armamentarium*, where the soldiers' arms were kept locked up, and there were *custodes armorum*. (See Henzen, *Index*, p. 143.) When Otho incited revolt among the praetorians against Galba, he ordered *aperire armamentarium* (*Tac., Hist.* i. 38, 80). Tacitus remarks that even among certain Barbarians, the Suiones, for example, weapons were *clausa sub custode* (*Germ.* 44). Under Tiberius the governor of Egypt caused all the weapons belonging to the Alexandrians to be seized and carried into the arsenal (*Philo, In Flaccum*, p. 231 of M. Delaunay's translation). Every three years the governors of Egypt made an examination of all weapons brought into the province, for the purpose of interfering with seditious preparations (*ibid.* p. 232). Important cities had *armorum officinae* (*Tac., Hist.* ii. 82). In respect to the *armamentarium*, see the word in *Dict. des ant.* p. 431, 1-2. "When, in the fourteenth century, in the time of the French king Philip the Long, the deputies of the cities asked to be permitted to repel by force the attempts made to disturb the public peace, the king gave permission for the inhabitants of the towns to organize a militia. These troops were placed under the orders of a captain whom the king appointed in each city, and the weapons were deposited in arsenals (Ordon. of March 12, 1316). At Paris the weapons were also placed in an arsenal, and were only to be taken out when the troops were called on duty. The iron or lead mallets which were used as weapons by those who did not carry the crossbow were also deposited there, whence the rioters of 1381, the *maillotins*, took them by force. In the fifteenth century this precaution was often neglected, and the citizens were allowed to keep their weapons in their houses, for the reason that they were so frequently called out."

³ *Tac., Ann.* xiv. 17: *Probra deinde saxa, postremo ferrum sumpsere . . . multi . . . trunco per vulnera corpore.*

country, those also that Modena offered to the partisans of Otho.¹ Vienne redeemed herself by the payment of money from pillage and massacre: but all her weapons were taken from her, says Tacitus.²

About the time of the battle of Bedriacum some frenzied enthusiast was able to persuade the Aeduans that he was a god, and gathered about eight thousand men. Autun immediately armed its young men to fight against him.³ A few weeks later all the cities of Campania were at war, some siding with Vespasian, others with Vitellius; and the mountaineers of Liguria were carrying on a contest against the partisans of Otho.⁴ At the same time two great African cities, Leptis and Oea, were at war;⁵ and later the former of the two bravely held out in a siege against the Austuriani.⁶

The free confederated cities, which were so numerous, had preserved their early customs; and in the arsenals of these old fighting republics were certainly kept some of the weapons which they had used in the days of their independence. We know from Ovid⁷ that the people of Tomi were possessed of arms; Juvenal says that the provincials retained them: *spoliatis arma supersunt*;⁸ and Philostratus, that the youth of Tarsus practised throwing the javelin;⁹ Apuleius shows us *pagani* armed, and pursuing robbers whom they arrest, chain, and cast into their Tullianum. Where did the inhabitants of Coptos and of Tentyra find "those swords, those arrows," which they used for each other's destruction?¹⁰ Where did the men of Side obtain arms in the middle of the third century when they so valiantly repulsed an attack of the Goths;¹¹ or the Athenians, who, under Dexippos, drove the Heruli out of Attica, killing three thousand of them;¹² and how was it that each city in the Empire could send Marcus Aurelius the armed men whom he required for his expedition against the Marcomanni?¹³ Finally, a little later, Didius Julianus arrested an invasion of the Chauci in Belgium with the aid of only the provincials called together hastily;¹⁴ and later still, in 363, the inhabitants of Nisibis declined a garrison, feeling themselves able to defend their city against the Persians.¹⁵

¹ Tac., *Hist.* ii. 52.

² *Ibid.* i. 66; in respect to the Aeduans, *ibid.* 64.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 60.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 12.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 50.

⁶ Amm. Marcellinus, xxviii. 61.

⁷ *Trist.* iv. 1, 73 *et seq.*

⁸ viii. 123.

⁹ *Apoll.* vi. 73.

¹⁰ Juvenal, xv. 23.

¹¹ Ὡς παρασκευή τε πάντα ἦν ἀφθονος (*Fragm. hist. Græc.* iii. 681, ed. Didot).

¹² *Ibid.* 666. The Ephebeia was still an institution in Athens at this time, and continued its military exercises, with teachers of fencing and fighting. An inscription says that the Ephebi have completed all the military exercises in a manly fashion (ἐπ'ἀνδρως). Every year they assembled in the temple of Agraules, swearing to fight and die for their country (*Philostat. Apol.* iv. 21), and also to watch over public order in the city and country. Cf. A. Dumont: *L'Éphébie attique*, i. 9 and 285. This institution was imitated in other Greek cities.

¹³ J. Capitolin, *Marcus*, 21.

¹⁴ Spartian., *Did. Jul.* 1.

¹⁵ Amm. Marcellinus, xxv. 9, 2.

Certain territories appear to have had a military organization: certain peoples, established in the very centre of the provinces, had national troops commanded by their own officers and maintained at their own expense. Thus the *decuriae* of the Dalmatians,¹ the *strategies* of Thrace, of Cappadocia, and of Greater Armenia,² have the appearance of being territorial divisions in which military precautions had been taken. When Paulus Aemilius organized the province of Macedonia he authorized the inhabitants of certain districts to maintain a corps of troops for the security of their frontiers; and we know that this province was still, in the second century of the Christian era, governed by the laws which it had received from the conqueror of Perseus.³ The Helvetii had a fortress wherein a troop of their own nation maintained themselves in garrison to protect the country against German marauders;⁴ and the same is true of the Rhaeti, whose youth were trained to arms and military exercises (*sucta armis et more militiæ exercita*).⁵ A cohort of Ligurians protected the country around Fréjus (*vetus loci auxilium*);⁶ and it is not certain that this cohort made part of the Roman army, — it seems indeed to have been, with the permission, or rather by the order, of Rome, a national troop levied and maintained by the Ligures to defend permanently the approaches to the maritime arsenal built in their territory. We have seen that similar corps existed in Macedon, among the Rhaetians, the Helvetians, and the Spaniards of Tarraconensis. In Africa a great number of Moorish chiefs were employed to protect the frontier against the Nomads,⁷ and the story of Firmus in Amm. Marcellinus shows the power of these chiefs and the military habits of the natives: this Mauretanian brought into the field twenty thousand men, without counting the powerful reserves that he left behind.⁸ As early as the time of Galba, Mauretania had been able to collect a considerable native troop (*ingens Maurorum numerus*).⁹

In the East the Lyciae body had great privileges. "Formerly," says Strabo,¹⁰ "it deliberated on peace and war and alliances: now it does so only with authorization from the Romans when the latter find it advantageous." Now, it was for the interest of the Romans that peace should prevail in their provinces, and they must frequently have authorized the Lycians to repulse the incessant incursions of their dangerous neighbors, the mountaineers of Pamphylia. But to fight, there must be weapons, chiefs, an organization; and the words of Strabo lead us to believe that the Lycians had all these.

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 142.

² *Ibid.* iv. 73: Ptolemaeus, iii. 11, sects. 8, 9, 10.

³ Justin, xxxiii. 2.

⁴ *Castellum quod . . . Helvetii suis militibus ac stipendiis tuebantur* (Tac., *Hist.* i. 67).

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 68.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 14.

⁷ See Vol. VI. p. 154.

⁸ Amm. Marcellinus, xxvii. 5.

⁹ Tac., *Hist.* ii. 63.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* iii. 3, sect. 3.

At Palmyra¹ and in Egypt² the chiefs of executive power in the cities bore the name of *strategus*, and the *νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός* of Alexandria had under his orders a corps of *νυκτοφύλακες*.³

What were the *diognites*⁴ of the province of Asia, those half-armed soldiers (*semiermes*) with whom the governor, in default of legionaries, strove to repulse the bandits of Isauria?⁵ Their name indicates it, — they were pursuers of bandits; and there must have been *diognites* elsewhere than in this province, since Marcus Aurelius enrolled them for his expedition against the Marcomanni, as in 1870 France enrolled her *sergents de ville* and *gardes forestiers*.

From all these facts we may conclude that in the Early Empire — when matters were not ordered with that regularity which later was given to the municipal *régime*, when the manners and institutions of the period of independence were not yet everywhere effaced — the Caesars left to the colonies, to the municipia, to the free and allied cities their administrative autonomy, with the protection of their territory, and that this latter service was secured in one way or another in the great tributary cities. There were then weapons, prisons, captives to be watched, a police guard to be commanded, bandits to be controlled, recruits to be levied and sent on their way to the legions or the auxiliary cohorts. If the imperial commissioners were intrusted with this latter duty, they had need, in order to fulfil it, as they now have, of the assistance of the municipal authority.

Is it wonderful that certain cities should unite all these functions in the hands of one dignitary, and copying Rome yet once more, as the Italian cities did in the Social War, or preserving the title and usage of an ancient local magistracy,⁶ should call this functionary “tribune of the soldiers” in Italy, “prefect of arms” and “of the cohorts” in the provincial cities of the

¹ De Vogüé, *Inscr. sémit.* p. 89.

² Letronne, *Recherches sur l'Égypte*, p. 268.

³ Strabo, xvii. 797, and Philostrat., *In Flac.* 14.

⁴ From *διωγμός*, which signifies pursuit. It was *diognites* whom the irenarch sent to seize Saint Polycarp: Ἐξήλθον διωγμίτας καὶ ἱππεῖς μετὰ τῶν συνηθῶν αὐτοῖς ὀπλῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ληστὴν τρέχοντες (*Letter of the Church of Smyrna to that at Philomelium*). They were also *diognites* who brought Saint Athanasius before the Emperor. (Cf. Waddington, *Voyage archéol. en Asie Mineure*, on the inscription of Aezani, iii. 255.)

⁵ Ann. Marcellinus, xxvii. 9. Marcus Aurelius enrolled brigands also, — doubtless promising them pardon for their crimes.

⁶ The Italians had copied the institutions of Rome, or — which is more probable, and amounts to the same thing — Rome had taken the institutions of Italy. Thus even under the Empire we find in the cities of the peninsula, consuls, dictators, praetors, *interreges*, aediles, censors, tribunes of the people. During the Social War the Italian legions were organized like the Roman, with the same grades and the same designations. When, on the return of peace, they needed nothing more than an officer to guard the municipium and its territory, they would naturally preserve the former military title, in use among them for centuries, with perhaps the double character recognized at Rome in the elective tribunes, of military chiefs and magistrates. (See above, p. 404, note 4.)

West, as at Nîmes and Tarragona, στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν in the cities of Greece and Asia, which had preserved their ancient institutions?

At Alexandria the commander of the night-watch, called ὁ νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός, held the fourth place among the magistrates of the city; and according to one reading, — disputed, it is true, — this organization existed in the other Egyptian cities.¹

To conclude, the *tribuni militum a populo* of the colonies appears to me the Italian *débris* of a general custom, as the prefects of the West and the *strategi* of the East are its provincial *débris*.

F.

THESE preliminaries were needful to give its full value to the text which remains to be quoted, — a text showing, in a manner which seems indisputable, both the officer and the office. The law of the colony Genetiva Julia, dating from the dictatorship of Caesar, and existing as late as the reigns of the Flavians, — that is to say, the close of the first century, — contains in its Article 103: “When, in the colony of Genetiva, a majority of the decurions present decide that there is reason to arm and send into the field (*armatos educere*) the colonists resident or called together, to defend the territory of the colony, every duumvir or *præfectus*² *juri dicundo*, who has received command of these armed citizens, shall have the right to execute the decree of the order without incurring any responsibility. The duumvir, or he whom the duumvir has placed in command, shall exercise the same rights and the same disciplinary power with those which are granted to the military tribune in the Roman army. . . .”³

On this text the following remarks may be made:—

1. The undisputed right of the senate of Genetiva to arm the citizens and send them into the field when the defence of the territory required it.
2. The regular and permanent grant of a military power made to the principal magistrates of the city, who held their office by popular election.
3. The setting in action of this power by a declaration of the majority of municipal senators that there is cause to arm the citizens and send them into the field.

¹ Strabo, XVII., vol. v. p. 347 of the edit. of Letronne. The title of *strategus* is found in many Greek inscriptions, even upon coins. See, in Wilmanns, No. 2839, the *jusjurandum Aritensium*, who take oath to pursue by land and sea, in a war of extermination (*armis et bello internecivo*), the enemies of Caligula.

² This officer was in the place of, and not co-existent with, the duumviri. He was sent from Rome to the colony.

³ *Eique Hiviro aut ei quem Hvir armatis præfecerit idem jus eademque animadversio esto, uti tribuno militum populi Romani in exercitu populi Romani est.* Observe the words *populi Romani*, twice used, which confirms our remark on page 417.

4. The possibility that the duumvir shall delegate this power to another citizen.

5. Finally, the same authority that is possessed by the legionary tribune in the Roman army given to this municipal magistrate or his substitute.

It has been said that this Article 103 was a special favor granted to Genetiva by reason of her exceptional position in the midst of a country just now insurgent.¹ But at the time of Caesar's dictatorship a thousand cities were in the same situation with Genetiva,—that is to say, at the time when the Pompeian wars were ending, and the triumviral wars beginning. Nothing, therefore, would justify so strange an exception in favor of a colony comparatively obscure.²

The laws of the province of Spain contain many provisions which correspond with the laws or the customs of Rome.³ To mention but one: the ordinance relating to maintaining bounds and limits is identical in the law of Genetiva and in the *Lex Mamilia*, which was also Caesar's work. These similarities lead us to suspect others; and now, since we know how free and strong the municipal system was in the past two centuries of the Empire, is it rash to suppose that this Article 103, so strange, so inexplicable while it remains isolated, is itself a fragment from some custom common to the Latin provinces?

If it be objected that this right of protecting in arms the often large extent of territory of certain cities would have tended to anarchy, we shall reply that in the Roman Empire, contrary to the custom of our time, the responsibility for public acts was rigorous, and severely applied. The municipal senates knew that they must answer to the supreme authority for taking up arms, and for what might follow therefrom, as did Vienne and Pompeii. As punishment for the unjustifiable exercise of this right, some of the decurions and of the citizens of Pollentia were kept in irons for the rest of their lives.⁴

¹ Giraud, *Les Bronzes d'Ossuna*, and *L'Ephemeris epigraphica*, ii. 127, where, however, both Mommsen and Hübner make a reservation: *Sed etsi hoc præferas, certe quæ eodem loco essent colonias municipiaque provinciarum longinquarum eo jure non magis caruisse consentaneum est.*

² These rights exercised by the duumvirs of Genetiva Julia were so natural and so necessary that they are found in many of the mediæval cities, where the militia constituted a sort of civic guard which the municipal magistrates could call out, and of which they took command.

³ See Vol. VI. p. 566.

⁴ Suet., *Tib.* 37.

III.

UPON A PASSAGE IN HERODIAN CONCERNING THE PRAETORIAN
COHORTS.

HERODIAN represents Severus as saying to his sons that he has quadrupled all the military forces existing in Rome.¹ No commentator, so far as I know, has disputed this text; it is admitted by Lange,² Marquardt, in the volume which he has just published, appears also to accept it,³ and the fact has passed into history.

This increase could have been effected only in one of two ways: either by raising from ten to forty the number of praetorian cohorts, or by putting four thousand men instead of one thousand in each cohort; both of which hypotheses are equally inadmissible.

First, we find nowhere that there ever were forty praetorian cohorts. Their number, no doubt, varied from time to time. Tacitus speaks of seventeen under Otho, sixteen under Vitellius; but these were temporary augmentations required by exceptional circumstances, and a return to the normal number was soon made. Under Severus himself, in the year 208, we still find the ten original cohorts.⁴

Thus the number of the praetorian cohorts did not change. Is it possible that their effective force was quadrupled? This is the opinion of Lange. But to raise from ten thousand to forty thousand the number of praetorian soldiers, with a corresponding increase of *turmae* of praetorian cavalry, would have been an operation requiring much time. It could not have been accomplished in the thirty days that Severus spent in Rome between the death of Julianus and his own departure on the Asiatic expedition against Niger. At this moment all the legions of which he had command were marching eastward. Having conquered Niger, he hastened into Gaul, where, on the 18th of February, 197, he gained the battle of Lyons. Returning to Rome after four years passed in the East and in Gaul, he

¹ . . . τῆς τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνάμεως αὐτῆς τετραπλασιασθείσης, καὶ στρατοπέδου τοσαύτου πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἰδρυνθέντος ὥς μηδεμίαν εἶναι δύναμιν ἔξωθεν ἐχέγγυον (iii. 13).

² *Septimius* . . . *quum se quadruplo numero custodum corporis circumdedit* (*Historia mutationum rei milit. Roman.*, p. 941).

³ *Nach Herodian* (iii. 13), *standen unter Severus in Rom und Italien viermal so viel Truppen als früher* (*Röm. Staatsr.* ii. 462). This is not exactly what Herodian says; according to this writer it was the forces posted in Rome that were quadrupled.

⁴ There were nine originally, but soon after, ten. This is the number mentioned in the *Diplômes militaires* of M. Léon Renier, Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 6, for the years 161, 208, 243, and 248.

remained there but for a very short time: for an invasion of Parthians was already recalling him to the banks of the Euphrates, and he arrived in Mesopotamia soon enough to receive there, in this same year 197, his tenth imperial salutation. It was not until 202 that he at last returned into his capital, where he then remained five or six years. The reform could not, therefore, have been made until this time; but by this time Severus had too well established his authority to have need to disorganize the army of the frontiers by this formation of forty praetorian cohorts, or an army of forty thousand praetorians.

These cohorts in fact being only formed of legionaries, it would have been necessary to require from each of the thirty legions which existed before the Parthian war eleven to twelve hundred of their best soldiers in order to form the new guard, the line would have been singularly enfeebled, and the praetorian prefects, placed at the head of these forty thousand picked men, would have been by far too dangerous. The guard had been formed on the model of the legion, which had ten cohorts, and, with its auxiliaries, numbered about ten thousand men.¹ To make a cohort of four thousand soldiers would have been contrary to all the military principles of the Romans. Dion and Spartianus say nothing of this operation, and Herodian's rhetoric cannot prevail against their silence.

This writer speaks not merely of an increase in the number of the praetorians; according to him, all the military forces of Rome were quadrupled.

Now, these forces were ten thousand praetorians and their ten *turmae* of cavalry, six thousand men of the four urban cohorts,² seven thousand *vigiles*, the *equites singulares Augusti*, the *milites peregrini*, and the *frumentarii*,—probably about twenty-five thousand men. To quadruple this number was to place in Rome a hundred thousand soldiers,—who certainly were never there. To these troops Herodian adds an army of equal force, encamped at the gates of the city. Here again we convict him of exaggeration, since we know that this army was composed of one single legion, the *II. Parthica*, which was encamped at Albano. Moreover, what signifies this establishment of a legion at the gates of Rome, if it were not as a guarantee which the Emperor desired to possess against the seditious spirit of the praetorians? Is not this feeling of distrust in contradiction with such a great increase in the number of that formidable branch of the service which in three months had murdered two Emperors?

Dion complains, it is true, that the public treasury was burdened with

¹ The long discussions will be remembered which took place in the newspapers and in parliament on the project of modifying the number of the effective force of the companies in French regiments.

² This number is still found in 216 (L. Renier, *Diplômes militaires*).

a new expense. The increase of pay decreed by Severus, and the creation of three new legions, of which two remained posted in the new province of Mesopotamia, explain these complaints on the subject of expense. As to what the historian-senator says of the city crowded with soldiers, we must remember that the Senate, with whom Severus was extremely unpopular, saw with grief all that increased in Rome the strength of the military element. Now, the establishment of a legion at Albano, at the gates of the city, was a novelty which must have singularly displeased the Conscript Fathers; and the soldiers of the Second Parthica, near enough to Rome to appear often in the streets, irritated by their presence those who had never before seen legionaries in the capital of the Empire. Besides this, the change effected by Severus in the method of recruiting the praetorians, henceforward taken not from Italy, but from all the legions, interfered with old habits and caused a discontent, of which Dion made himself the echo. All that it is possible to grant to Herodian and to Dion is that the personal guard of the Emperor and the detached corps were augmented by a certain number of men.

For all these reasons I believe that no importance should be attached to this supposed address of Severus, — which was in no respect official, and manifestly composed by Herodian himself; and I conclude that we should erase from history the detail which has been discussed in this paper.

IV.

ON THE POLICY OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS TOWARDS DRUIDISM.¹

A.

THE question whether Druidism was violently suppressed, or by slow degrees extinguished, after the Roman conquest, is still a matter of discussion. Was there persecution? I believe that there was, but a persecution of a peculiar nature; and, in my opinion, the policy pursued by Augustus and Tiberius towards the Druids determined that which Trajan adopted in respect to the Christians. That we may fully understand this policy, it is needful only to restore the texts to the historic environment in which they belong, without quoting them anew.

Caesar had subjugated Gaul, but he had not had time to organize it. The first conquest, that of the territory itself, had been completed; the second remained, more difficult to make, — that of men's minds and manners. The social organization which had so heroically maintained the struggle was still in existence, and the Druids, preserving their former authority, continued to attract the multitude to their tribunals, their schools, and their human sacrifices. Augustus was not the conqueror, but he was the wily statesman; he had not subjugated Gaul, but he was able to transform it by that patient skill, that art of pacifying and of extinguishing, in which all his genius consisted. "He made a census of the Gauls," says one of the historians of his reign, "and he determined their mode of life and their political condition."² For certain tribes he changed the territorial limits, the name or site of their capitals, that he might break the ties of confederation or clientship, and efface the remembrance of the days of independence. Whole peoples had been exterminated, and he gave their lands to neighboring states; those wasted by war were united to others; client-states passed over into a condition of self-government; and all that remained of the three hundred nations mentioned by Plutarch were parcelled out into sixty municipalities, having each its senate of a hundred members, the deliberative body, and its duumvirs or quatuorvirs, the executive. These magistrates decided in the civil cases of their fellow-citizens, with a right of appeal to the governor of the province, who held his assizes regularly in the more important cities. By the mere fact of this organization the

¹ Paper read before the Academy of Moral and Political Science in January, 1880.

² . . . αὐτῶν ἀπογραφὰς ἐποίησατο καὶ τὸν βίον τῇ τε πολιτείᾳ διεκόσμησε (Dion, iii. 22).

Druids, without being persecuted, lost their judicial power. If some of them became decurions, or even magistrates, this was by reason of their personal fortune or of their allegiance to Rome, and not in virtue of their sacerdotal character.

B.

AUGUSTUS made another reform of extreme importance. The Romans were very tolerant in respect to foreign cults. Since they had already gods by the thousand, a few more or less were of little consequence. Thus when the Romans had conquered a nation they took its divinities, placed them in their own list, sometimes in their temples; and this was the end of the matter, — Olympus extended itself, like the Empire. This proceeding was successful in every case except that of the Jews, who, believing in one God, could not accept this sacrilegious union, and that of the Druids, who, forming a national clergy, lost their power if their gods lost the character of Gallic deities. Instead of proscribing these gods, Augustus, who shrank from acts of needless violence, respected them, and employed them in his service himself, — a more courteous method, and especially a more useful one.

Gaul, like Rome, had its greater and its lesser divinities: Augustus latinized the names of the former, or caused them to bear the appellation of the corresponding Latin deity, so that conquerors and conquered might come without trouble of conscience to sacrifice at the same altars. But these gods, now subjects of Rome like their worshippers, must allow to be set up beside them the supreme divinity of the Empire, the genius of the Emperor. In the immense temple recently discovered on the summit of the Puy-de-Dôme has been found the following ex-voto: NVM · AVG · ET · DEO · MERCVRI DVMIATI.

We do not fully understand the religious organization of the Empire: inscriptions show, however, in many cities a perpetual flamen. This was a citizen who had passed through all the municipal offices (*omnibus honoribus functus*). This priest, the most important personage of the state, doubtless played in his city the part filled in Rome by the pontifex maximus, and by the Christian bishop in his metropolis. Devoted to the worship of the local divinities, and also to that of the gods of the Empire, this flamen would drive from the altar the former priest of Teutates and Esus.

At Rome, Augustus had re-established the worship of the Lares, — those gods of the street-corner and of the domestic hearth whom the populace preferred to the great gods of the Capitol; divinities made expressly for the neighborhood or the house, and loved the more because they seemed to be not too remote from their worshippers. Each Gallic city had also

protecting gods whom it specially worshipped. Augustus recognized in them tutelary divinities similar to the Roman Lares, he honored their altars: the Roman, like the native, made there libations and the wonted offerings, and these Gallic Lares added to their names that of the monarch who opened to them the Pantheon of the Empire. They were called the *Lares Augusti*, — a word of double significance, in which each man could understand, at his pleasure, either a reference to the Emperor, or an attestation of the august character of the Lares. A new order of priests was necessary for this religion, at once old and new. By reason of the expenses required for the sacrifices, the sacred feasts, and the games which were a part of this cult, these priests were rich plebeians, *severi Augustales*, chosen annually, and on the expiration of their term of office forming the powerful fraternity of the *Augustales*.

C.

THIS religious reform was completed by the great Lyonnese institution, the assembly of deputies elected by the cities of the Three Gauls, which met every year around the altar of Rome and Augustus, at the confluence of the Saône and the Rhone. This cult, which became the official religion of the Empire, had its high-priest, the *sacerdos ad aram*, elsewhere called the *flamen provinciae*. This provincial flamen had under his superintendence the worship and the clergy of the entire province, as the flamen of the cities determined the order of the ceremonies in his particular city; and he bequeathed his religious primacy to the Christian archbishop. In this sacerdotal organization there was no place for the Druids any more than had been a place for them in the judicial organization. They were therefore, without being subjected to any violence whatever, despoiled of their chief jurisdiction, and both as priests and as judges left outside the new social order. The officiating priests of the former cult, relegated into obscurity, would there be forgotten, with their chief, the principal Druid, whose place was occupied by the *sacerdos ad aram*. That only is thoroughly destroyed of which the place is filled; Augustus had found a way to fill the place of the Druids. Without the active agency of the government, the new clergy in the Three Gauls was surely to efface the old religion in the hearts of the population; and a thousand facts prove that the work was very speedily accomplished.

Augustus made upon the Druids a more direct war, but not a more unjust one, according to the ideas of the ancients. Of all the Druidic ceremonies, that which was most attractive to the multitude, excited the most ardent emotion, and did the most to secure the influence of these ministers of a terrible worship, was the human sacrifice. But the Druids had

no more captives to put to death, since there was no more war between Gallic states,¹ and Rome permitted the *jus necis* to none of her subjects except the allied cities. A senatus-consultum of the year 94 B. C. prohibited to the Romans and their subjects the offering of human sacrifices; the Gauls when they entered the Roman world became subject to its general laws, and Augustus allowed only slight libations of blood, offered by voluntary victims. This was to deprive the Druidic worship of its principal attraction,—those spectacles of death which at Rome gathered the whole populace to witness combats of gladiators, and in ancient Gaul brought countless multitudes to the feet of the Druids.

Another law, very ancient, for it was written in the Twelve Tables, forbade, under penalty of death, nocturnal assemblies (*qui coctus nocturnos agitaverit, capital esto*). This police law was certainly enforced in Gaul, as it was everywhere else; and the governors, in causing it to be executed, deprived the Druids of a formidable opportunity for incendiary harangues.

Augustus had suppressed all associations which were not sanctioned by a decree of the Senate; he could not, therefore, legally recognize the Druidic establishment. But to take away from this great body the right of meeting, was to break all its bonds and suppress it completely.

Finally, he announced that persons adhering to the old religion could never obtain that Roman citizenship which might lead to high office in the Empire,—since the Spaniard Balbus had lately been seen invested with the consular toga. This decision alienated from the ancient faith those whose ambition had led them to look towards Rome; and this number included all the notables of Gaul, whom we shall soon see applying to Claudius for the right to canvass for the Roman magistracies. To obtain them, or even to solicit the humblest of them, it was necessary to speak the language of Rome. The Latin tongue, becoming the speech of the army, of the administration, and of all forms of business, relegated the Celtic to the depths of the country, and with it the beliefs to which it had so long given expression.

D.

ALL these measures, however, were on the part of Augustus and in the eyes of the Romans the exercise of a right, and not an act of violence, since they were the application to the conquered of laws made for the conquerors; but in enforcing them the Emperor dealt a mortal blow at the Druidic body.

¹ *Bellum quod ante Caesaris adventum fere quottannis accidere solebat* (*De Bello Gall.* vi. 15).

Under Tiberius broke out the revolt of Julius and Sacrovir which filled Rome with terror. Tacitus recounts it, but says nothing of the suppression of it which came after,—a suppression which, with such an Emperor, we know must have been of the severest kind. The inimitable painter of the tragedies of Rome cared little for the subject-nations; accordingly, he says nothing in regard to the means employed by Tiberius to prevent the recurrence of a Gallic rebellion. A *senatus-consultum* lost in the *Digest*, whose application we find some years later for the first time, shows us the weapon which Tiberius employed. In order to prevent the Druids from speaking in the name of Heaven to minds easily excited, and from keeping superstition alive by sortileges and incantations, their rites were assimilated to the crime of magic, which for a provincial was a capital crime. The death-penalty had been denounced by the Twelve Tables against enchanters (*Cereri necator*); and the same had been decreed by the Senate under the Republic against the abettors of the Bacchanalians. The *senatus-consultum* of which we speak¹ extended to magicians the penalty decreed by the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis*: poisoners of the mind were put in the same category with poisoners of the body. This law was applied in the reign of Claudius to a Roman knight who had in his possession in court a serpent's egg, which, according to the Druidic belief, would cause him to gain his suit.

Suetonius asserts that Claudius completely abolished the Druidic religion. It is more probable that this Emperor merely renewed the ordinances of Augustus and Tiberius: and they were sufficient, for Vespasian added nothing to them, after the great revolt of 71 A. D., which the preaching of the Druids had encouraged.

But to local severities we cannot give the character of a general persecution. If a certain number of Druids, proved despisers of the laws of the Empire, did in fact perish, many doubtless escaped through the obscurity of their condition. Thus we explain those passages of authors who date from the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius the abolition of the old Gallic religion, and those which show the Druids still existing in Gaul two or three centuries later. The gods die before all their altars fall, and remains of Druidism long survived the overthrow of the great sacerdotal body which had governed Gaul.

To conclude, Augustus did violence to no man's conscience, but he left no place for the Druids in the social organization which he gave the Gallic provinces, and he reduced them to silence and obscurity when he prohibited to them acts which were contrary to the general laws of the Empire. Tiberius applied to them other republican laws; he proscribed religious rites

¹ *Ex Sc . . . ejus legis "Corn. de sic. et venef." poena damari jubetur qui mala sacrificia fecerit, habuerit (Dig. slyiii. 8, 13).*

which appeared tainted with magic ; and as the Druids were much more occupied with sorcery than science (*vates et medici*), it became manifest that existing laws could reach them.

Druidism in the vast empire was a foreign element and a cause of anxiety. The Emperors did not seek to exterminate it, but to render it inert, and consequently harmless. There were numerous victims, certainly ; but neither Tiberius nor Claudius seems to have ordered search to be made for the abettors of the former worship (*inquisitio*) : they punished outward acts, the public manifestations of Druidism, which were an open revolt against the law and the magistrates. The same rule of conduct is prescribed by Trajan to Pliny on the subject of the Christians. "Make no search for the Christians," the Emperor wrote ; "but if they are accused and convicted, punish them. Receive no anonymous accusations, and do not condemn upon suspicion." Tradition had great power in Rome ; precedents had long made the law there. I believe that what we know of the policy of Trajan shows us what had been that of Claudius and of Tiberius.

It is needless to add that executions commanded by policy are reproved by conscience ; but history must judge men of ancient times by the ideas of their period : she is bound to ask why they have acted as we should not act, and in certain cases she brings forward extenuating circumstances in favor of persecutors, while at the same time condemning the persecution.

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- Andronicus, Livius**, earliest Latin poet, his first drama acted in Rome (240 B. C.), i. 614; his verses chanted in Roman solemnities, ii. 45; brought to Rome as a slave, 435 *note*; enfranchised, iv. 379 *note*.
- Angeroma**, secret name of Rome, i. 142.
- Angusticlave**, narrow stripe of purple on the edge of the toga, indicating the equestrian rank, vi. 208.
- Anicetus**, a freedman, prefect of the fleet, proposes to Nero a plan for Agrippina's murder, iv. 591; undertakes the murder, 593; scheme for the destruction of Octavia, 615; his reward, 616.
- Anicius**, legate of Paulus Aemilius in the Macedonian War, ii. 175, 179; his ignorance in respect to music, 335-6.
- Aniensis**, a Roman *tribus*, composed of Aequians, i. 444, 481 *note*.
- Anio**, a branch of the Tiber, i. 90, 92.
- Anio Novus**, and **Anio Vetus**. See **Aqueducts**.
- Anna Perenna**, the goddess, i. 285; festivals of, 623.
- Annals of the Pontiffs** (*annales maximi*), i. 183, 226.
- Annas**, Jewish high-priest, leader of the moderate party, v. 124; his murder, 125.
- Annius, C.**, sent by Sylla into Spain, expels Sertorius, iii. 30, 74; oppresses the Lusitanians, 75.
- Annius, L.**, Latin praetor: his mission to Rome; his death, i. 418.
- Annona**, the harvest, especially of corn, iv. 115. See also **Frumentationes**.
- Annona civica** and **Annona militaris**, supplies of corn for citizens and soldiers, iv. 116, viii. 12.
- Annua, Lex** (Praetorian edicts), ii. 329; iv. 341-2.
- Ansibarii**, seek permission to reside on the banks of the Rhine; are refused, iv. 609; reappear later in history as Franks, 610; vii. 184.
- Anteius, Publius**, victim of Nero's tyranny, v. 27.
- Anthony, Saint**, defender of Athanasius, viii. 152-3; a hermit, 196.
- Antibes**, stone of, iii. 237 *note*.
- Anticyra**, city of Greece, iv. 224.
- Antigonos**, son of Echeocrates, murdered by Perseus, ii. 149.
- Antigonos**, king of Judaea, the last of the Maccabees, supported by the Parthians; taken prisoner by the Romans and put to death at Antioch, iii. 643.
- Antigonos Gonatas**, king of Macedon, at war with Pyrrhus, i. 472.
- Antinous**, favorite of Hadrian, 382-3; his death and tomb; city built in his honor, v. 382 *note*.
- Antioch**, capital of Syria, commercial rival of Phoenicia, i. 533; declared free by Pompey, iii. 151; edict confirmed by Caesar, 47-9; a city of great importance, 716; shaken by an earthquake, v. 297; visited by Hadrian, 309, 367-8; punished by Marcus Aurelius, 485; celebrates the Olympic

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- Antiochus**, proclaimed at Palmyra, vii. 307; sent away unpunished by Aurelian, 323 and *note*.
- Antiochus**. See **Syria** and **Commagene**, kings of.
- "Antiochus, King,"** leader of slave revolt, ii. 441-3.
- Antipater**, an Idumaeon, procurator of Judaea, his intrigues, iii. 643.
- Antipater of Hierapolis**, Sophist, Greek secretary of Severus, vi. 546; governor of Bithynia, recalled by Severus, vii. 72-3.
- Antiphonal hymns**, first employed by Saint Ambrose, viii. 306 *note*.
- Antium**, a Latin city adjacent to the Pontine Marshes, i. 33; a Volseian seaport, 94; its worship of Fortuna, 201; subject to Rome under the Tarquins, 253; again a Volseian city, receives Coriolanus, 309; retaken by Rome, 311; its revolt, 312; threatened by a Roman army, 355; its long resistance, 372, 421; final subjection, 421, 423-4; beaks of its war-ships (*rostra*) ornament the Forum, 423 and *note*; receives a colony, 424.
- Antonia** (1st), daughter of Antony and Octavia, wife of Drusus Caesar, her virtuous life, conduct on the death of Germanicus, 436 *note*, 437; warns Tiberius of the plot formed by Sejanus, 476; starves to death her daughter Livilla, 479 *note*; receives honors from Caligula, 496; who later causes her death, 498; her early severity towards Claudius, 520. 521; object of general respect, vi. 313.
- Antonia** (2d), daughter of Claudius and Aelia Petina, kept within reach by Agrippina after the murder of Claudius, iv. 565.
- Antonine, Fourth**, the, v. 439, 532 *note*.
- Antonines**, the, have honest intentions and a conviction of duty, but no real political wisdom, v. 217; have a general plan of conduct, viz., to show great consideration for the Senate and the aristocracy, 218; condition of the Empire and Roman society during their reigns (the second century of the Christian era), 513 — vi. 441; Severus claims adoption into the family, 495-7.
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- Antonius, Caius**, brother of the triumvir, received the province of Macedon; made prisoner by Brutus; put to death, iii. 603.
- Antonius Hybrida**, accused by Caesar of extortion in Macedonia, iii. 157, 186; expelled from the Senate; colleague of Cicero in the consulship, 169; believed friendly to Catiline, 174, his co-operation secured by Cicero, 184-5; attempt of Catiline to obtain his defection 185-6; governor of Macedon, exiled for extortion, 186.

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- Antyllus, M. Antonius**, son of Antony and Fulvia, betrothed to Julia, daughter of Octavius, iii. 631; sent by his father with a message to Octavius, 669; his death, 669 *note*.
- Anubis**, Egyptian divinity, ii. 322 *note*, 323; worshipped in Rome, iv. 445; v. 502.
- Anxur**. See **Terracina**.
- Apameia**, in Bithynia, question as to the city's financial affairs, ii. 234 *note*; v. 279.
- Apameia**, in Phrygia, made part of Cilicia, iii. 150.
- Apellicon of Teos**, Greek philosopher, conducts the defence of Athens against the Romans, ii. 675; lover of books, 679.
- Apennines**, chain of mountains traversing Italy, i. 22-5; originally inhabited by Oscans and Sabellians, 88-9, 99-100; crossed by the Romans with colonies, 457; and with roads (*Valeria*, *Flaminia*, and *Appia*), 495, 603, 626; crossed by the Gauls, 597; and by Hannibal, 670; new road planned by Caesar across, iii. 532.
- Aper, Arrius**, praetorian prefect, accused of the murder of Numerianus and slain, vii. 345; "the wild boar" whom Diocletian was predestined to slay before attaining the Empire, 347 and *note*.
- Aphaca**, Syrian town and lake sacred to Venus, vii. 499; viii. 137.
- Aphrodisias**, "city of Aphrodite," in Caria, exempted from taxation by Caesar, iii. 480; its shows of wild beasts in the second century A. D., vi. 160 *note*.
- Aphrodite**, Greek goddess, i. 205; iii. 239 *note*.
- Apicata**, wife of Sejanus, betrays his murder of Drusus, iv. 479; kills herself, 479 *note*.
- Apicius, M. Gabius**, amount of his fortune, vi. 263, 272; how expended, 266; a refined epicure, 272; his suicide, 272-3.
- Apis**, Egyptian god, how manifested, v. 378; his tombs, vi. 524; viii. 295 and *note*.
- Apollo**, Greek divinity associated with the Pelasgian Axiokersos on a Hermes, i. 52; the Cumaeon, legend of his tears, i. 109; the laurel his sacred plant, 145 *note*; his oracle consulted by the Romans, i. 170-5; ii. 2; the Cumaeon Sibyl, his priestess; becomes a prominent divinity of Rome in the time of Augustus, i. 237; Camillus consecrates to him a tithe of the booty of Veii, 360; introduced at Rome as a health-giving divinity (*deus hospitalis*), 635; ii. 295, 308; his priests the quindecemvirs, i. 636 *note*; games dedicated to him, 636; one of the twelve Great Gods of the Capitol, 676 *note*; early received at Rome, ii. 295; a statue and offering vowed to him on occasion of a pestilence, ii. 308; mentioned with disrespect by Plautus, 323; favorite divinity of Sylla, iii. 15, 43; his sanctuaries plundered by the pirates, 111; his statue carried in Pompey's triumph, 197; his temple at Delphi pillaged by Sylla, 677-8; compensation made to him, 678 *note*; Sibylline books are placed beneath his statue, iv. 126; his protection specially claimed by Augustus, 129; temple in his honor erected by this Emperor, 130 and *note*; library established in his temple by Augustus, 134; *Carmen Seculare* addressed to him, 139; united with Gallic gods upon the altar of Reims, 175; his virgin priestess at Argos, vi. 316; Diocletian consults his oracle as to the persecution of Christians, vii. 416; identified with Mithra and with the Sun, 484 and *notes*, 489; condemned by Valentinian II., viii. 305.
- Apollodorus**, Cleopatra's confidant, iii. 471.
- Apollodorus of Damascus**, builder of Trajan's bridge over the Danube, v. 239 *note*, 240 *note*, 271; architect of Trajan's Column, 254, 271; why put to death by Hadrian, 407-8; author of the *Poliorecticus*, vi. 347.
- Apollonia**, Greek city of Illyria, besieged by pirates, i. 591; succored by the Romans, 592; besieged by Philip, ii. 21.
- Apollonius of Rhodes**, ii. 264.
- Apollonius of Tyana**, Pythagorean philosopher, iv. 603; tried for sorcery, v. 11; highly esteemed by the public, 135-6; heard by Vespasian, 136; conspires against Domitian, 206; regarded as a messiah, 409; his career as a nomadic preacher of philosophy, vi. 373 and *note*; his unselfish teaching; eighty of his discourses preserved, 374; endeavors to re-establish the worship of the gods, 386; his life written by Philostratus; a *heroon* consecrated to him by Caracalla, 549; an

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- Apotheosis**, of Romulus, i. 146; of Julius Caesar, iii. 559 and *note*; of Augustus during his lifetime in the provinces, iv. 165-6, 180, 182-7; by decree of the Senate after his death, 291. (Between Augustus and Constantine, sixty persons received apotheosis by decree of the Senate; of these only five out of the twelve Caesars.)
- Appeal**, right of. See **Provocatio**.
- Appian**, historian invested with office, vi. 196 *note*; truly a historian, 344.
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- Apronianus**, governor of Asia, condemned to death under Severus, vi. 541-2.
- Apuleius**, a Latin author, on slaves, ii. 440; accused of magic, v. 502; concerning the influence of the soldiery, vi. 248; more noble than his writings, 336-7; on the popular disrespect towards the gods, 383; on the worship of Isis, 392 *note*; on the religious charlatans of the time, 395 *note*; on his initiation into the mysteries of Isis, 396-7; shows the black art of Thessaly, 417; believes in genii, 419 and *note*; seems unaware of the existence of Christianity, 429.
- Apulia**, district on the eastern coast of Italy, i. 24 and *note*; originally a vast lagoon, 33; scourged by leprosy, 34; climate and products, 36, 99; its population, 96; grazing lands, 101 *note*; Horace an Apulian, 133; reached by the Gallic invasion, 367-8; ally of Rome against the Samnites, 428, 431-2, 434; receives propositions from Pyrrhus, 467; scene of hostilities, 468; Ennius an Apulian, 490; guarded by Roman colonies, 493; in the Second Punic War, 679-86; its corn praised by Varro, iv. 33.
- Apulia**, wife of Lepidus, iii. 62, 71-2.
- Aqua Ferentina**, i. 167 and *note*.
- Aqua Sextiae** (Aix), founded by Sextius (122 B. C.), ii. 523; victory of Marius, 534-6.
- Aqueducts**: The Aqua Appia built by Appius the Censor, i. 407, 409; the Anio Vetus constructed by Curius Dentatus, 626; the early aqueducts mostly subterranean; hence thefts of water, ii. 409; slaves guardians of the aqueducts, 362; the Aqua Julia, by Agrippa, iii. 651; construction of aqueducts a favorite work of Roman architecture, iv. 354 and *note*; the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus begun by Caligula, finished by Claudius, ii. 409; iv. 529 and *notes*; at Jerdsalem, iii. 235 *note*; two repaired by Vespasian, v. 144; the Aqua Trajana built by Trajan, 272; aqueducts built by Hadrian, at Carthage, i. 529 *note*; at Corinth, 353; at Troas, 365; at Antioch, 367; Aqua Virgo repaired by Constantine, vii. 461.
- Aquila, L. Pontius**, tribune, one of Caesar's assassins, iii. 541; his disrespect towards Caesar, 541 *note*; killed at Modena, 583 *note*.
- Aquileia**, a city of Northern Italy, on the Aemilian Road, i. 33, 603; a Roman colony, ii. 137; its territory continually devastated by the Barbarians, iii. 686; its gold-mines and extensive commerce, iv. 223; besieged by the Marcomanni, v. 452; station of the imperial fleet, vi. 246; besieged by Maximin, vii. 161; defeat of Constantine II., viii. 64; Magnentius compelled to abandon it, 73; synod, 288; Theodosius enters the city, 310.
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- Aquilian Law**, the, ii. 433 *note*.
- Aquilius, Manius**, accused of embezzlement, ii. 368 *note*; defeats the slaves in Sicily, 547; murdered by order of Mithridates, 674.
- Aquilonia**, city of Central Italy, scene of final Samnite defeat, i. 451-2.
- Aquincum**, a Roman colony in Pannonia, v. 332.
- Aquitaine**, southwestern division of Gaul, its subjugation, iii. 300-305; its advance in civilization, 682; furnishes light infantry to the Roman army, 683; its interests advanced by Augustus, iv. 195-6; governed by Tetricus, vii. 265.
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- Arbitrio**, lieutenant of Arbogastes, viii. 328; goes over to Theodosius, 329.
- Arbogastes**, Frankish chief and a Roman general, viii. 275; sent by Gratian against the Goths, 280; useful to Theodosius in defeating Maximus, 310; sent by Theodosius into Gaul with Valentinian II., his successful campaigns and useful advice, 323; is dismissed

- by Valentinian, and probably murders him; appoints Eugenius emperor; persuades him to restore their revenues to the pagan temples, 324; hostilities with Theodosius, 327-8; his defeat and death, 329.
- Arbores felices**, i. 227 and *note*.
- Arborius**, tutor to one of Constantine's sons, vi. 496; his elegy *ad Nympham*, 496 *note*.
- Arcadius**, the Emperor, son of Theodosius, made Augustus at the age of six, viii. 289; his *quinquennalia* celebrated, 300; receives the Empire of the East, 329.
- Arcesilas**, Greek philosopher, ii. 272.
- Archagathos**, a Greek surgeon, is established in Rome (219 B. c.), i. 629.
- Archbishop**, title said to have been first used by Athanasius, viii. 203 *note*.
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- Archelaus**, son of Herod the Great, accused by his subjects, is deposed, and exiled to Vienne in Gaul, iv. 233; v. 109.
- Archestratus**, his *Gastronomy*, translated by Ennius, ii. 262.
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- Areius**, philosopher and confidential friend of Augustus; consoles Livia for her son's death, vi. 371.
- Aretas**, Arab king, enemy of Aristobulus, iii. 144.
- Argei**, figures of men in wicker-work, thrown into the Tiber annually, i. 139 *note*; 227 *note*.
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- Argentarii**, Roman bankers, ii. 475.
- Argentarius, Mons**, a Sicilian promontory, made an island by Lepidus, iii. 70-1; its silver mines, 370 *note*.
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- Ariarethes**. See **Cappadocia, kings of**.
- Aricia**, ancient Latin city, its temple of Diana religious centre of Latium, i. 120, 126, 342; its quarrel with Ardea, 342, 343; in possession of full Roman rights, 422; subject to Rome, 253; scene of Roman victory over the Etruscans, 301.
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- Ariovistus**, king of the Suevi, his invasion of Gaul, iii. 279; called "the friend of the Roman people," 281; Caesar's attempt to negotiate, 287; defeated by Caesar on the upper Rhine, 290.

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- Aristeides of Athens**, philosopher converted to Christianity, his *Apology*, v. 409 and *note*.
- Aristion**, Greek philosopher, conducts the defence of Athens against the Romans, ii. 675; a poor general, 679; attempts to negotiate with Sylla, 680.
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tacked by Fulvia and Lucius; Antonius, 617-19; his situation critical, 619; victorious over Lucius; sends him to command in Spain; leniency towards the veterans; severity towards the citizens of Perusia, 621; master of Italy and the West, 622; sole representative of a new principle, 624; again reconciled with Antony, 624-6; marries Scribonia; interview with Sextus Pompeius at Cape Misenum, 627; returns to Rome accompanied by Antony, 628; repudiates Scribonia and marries Livia, 629; hostilities against Sextus, 630; interview with Antony at Tarentum, 631; disaster to his fleet by storm; complains of Neptune, 632; naval defeat, 634; victorious over Sextus, 636-7; displeasure against Lepidus, 637-8; secure position, 639; policy and conduct, 640-41; allows Octavia to join Antony, 643; useful measures at Rome, 651-2; attacks the Illyrians; founds Turin and Aosta; successes in Africa, 654; is reproached by Sosius for his course towards Antony, 655; his uncompromising reply, 656; preparations for war with Antony, 658; reads Antony's will to the Senate, 658-9; causes Antony to be deprived of the consulship; announces the war as against Cleopatra, 659; goes to Corcyra, 661; at the battle of Actium, 664; celebrates his victory, 665; clemency towards the defeated, 666; winters at Samos; returns to Rome; tranquillizes the discontented, 667; arrives in Egypt, 669; enters Alexandria, 670; indifference towards Cleopatra, 671; displays her statue at his triumph, 672; his selfish pursuit of power, iv. 41; obtains the devotion of the army, 42; prudent character of his policy, 44; his name, 44 *note*; his wise liberality to individuals, 49-50; secret of his strength, 52; development of his character, 52-3; his relations with Maecenas and Agrippa, 54-6, 65; and with other eminent men, 56-7; allows them great liberty of opinion, 57; chronology of his reign, 64; his seal, 65 and *note*; temples in Asia erected in his honor, 65, 66; associated with the gods in public worship; further honors decreed to him by the Senate, 65, 66, and *note*; his moderation, 67; his return to Rome; three triumphs, 67-9; great amount of gold obtained by him in Egypt, 68 *note*; closes the temple of Janus, 69; his system of government, 79; is elected imperator by

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Augustus, title bestowed on Octavius by the Senate and people, and assumed by all the subsequent Emperors, iv. 77-8; two Augusti, v. 459; vi. 155; vii. 355.

Aurasius, Mount, part of the Atlas, fortified by the Romans, vi. 153 and *note*, 154.

Aurelian, the Emperor (L. Domitius Aurelianus), vii. 280; commander of cavalry under Claudius, ii. 190; nationality of his troops, 196; son of a freedman: Valerian's liberality to him, 205; brought home multitudes of prisoners, 207, 240; too severe to be entrusted with the charge of Gallienus, 236; his successes against the Franks, 237 and *note*; and in Illyria, 239-40; great

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Aurelian Way. See **Via Aurelia**.

Aurelius, name borne by several strategi of Palmyra, v. 379.

Aureolus, commander of cavalry under Gallienus, vii. 190; one of "the Thirty Tyrants;" distinguished by Valerian, 235; defeats

- Ingenuus, 260; made master of the cavalry, and governor of Illyria; defeats Macrianus, 262; on guard in the Alps against Viatorinus, 269; seizes upon Rome, 271.
- Aureus**, value of Caesar's, iii. 533 *note*, 534. See also **Coinage**.
- Aurum coronarium** (coronary gold), of the Empire, had its origin in gold crowns offered the proconsuls, ii. 124, 281, 382 and *note*; total remission to Italy and partial to the provinces by Hadrian, v. 310; by Antoninus Pius, 434; and enormous amount under Constantine, viii. 12.
- Aurum oblativum**, offering made by the Senate to the Emperor, viii. 12.
- Aurum vicesimarium**, a tax of a twentieth on enfranchisements, ii. 41.
- Aurunci**, their position and character, i. 95; Roman war in defence of them, 423-4.
- Ausona**, a Latin city, taken by the Romans, i. 435.
- Ausonians**, ancient Italian people, their position, i. 91.
- Ausonius**, Latin author, tutor of Gratian, vii. 312, 518 *note*.
- Auspices**. See **Augural Science**.
- Autumn**, season of Roman fever, i. 40, *note*.
- Autun** (Bibracte, and later, Augustadunum), Gallic city, Roman road passes through, iv. 198; frequented by Roman traders, 221; famous for its schools in the second century B. C., vi. 127; sacked by the Gallic legions, vii. 312-13; besieged by the Germans, viii. 91.
- Auxentius**, Arian bishop of Milan, received at court by Justina, viii. 302; predecessor of Ambrose, 305, 306 *note*.
- Auxiliaries**, Italian, in the Roman army, their pay and rations, i. 487, and *note*.
- Avaricum**, besieged and taken by Caesar, iii. 332-4.
- Aventine**, the, one of the Seven Hills, its fluvial shells, i. 42; spot where Cacus was killed by Hercules, 139; where Remus saw six vultures, 142; supposed site of a rival city called Remuria; long remained outside the *pomoerium*, 143 *notes*; settled by Latins and added to the city of Rome by Ancus, 157; temple of Diana built on this hill by Servius as common sanctuary of the Latin League, 163, 200-1, 253; annual solemnity of slaves in the temple, 247; proposed division of the land among the plebeians, 322; home of the poorer classes, 322-3; *ager publicus* up to 456 B. C., 322 *note*; its present condition, 323 *note*; site of a temple erected to the Veian Juno by Camillus, 358; the plebeians retreat to this hill, 285; partisans of Caius Gracchus make a last stand here, ii. 283; are attacked and dispersed; Caius takes shelter for a time in the temple of Diana, 485, 504; temple to Jupiter Libertas, iii. 549 *note*; temples on this hill rebuilt by Augustus, iv. 298; Vitellius seeks shelter there, v. 95.
- Avernus, Lake**, of volcanic origin, i. 26 *note*; abounded in fish, 109; is connected with Lake Lucrinus, forming the Julian Harbor, iii. 631.
- Avesta**, or Book of the Magi, promulgated as law by Sapor II., vii. 576.
- Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos**, Samothracian divinities, i. 52-3.
- Azum**, town in Abyssinia, its obelisk, its extensive commerce, iv. 31.
- BAALBEC**, or **Heliopolis**, its wonderful architecture, v. 372, 428; vi. 520 and *note*; made a colony with the *jus Italicum*, 487; its temple of Jupiter, 569.
- Babylas of Antioch**, his death, vii. 229; his remains supposed to profane the grove of Daphne, viii. 206.
- Babylonia**, its exports, iv. 224.
- Bacchus**, a Greek divinity not originally worshipped at Rome, his rites introduced at Rome from Etruria, ii. 300; their scandalous character discovered, 301-2; reported to the Senate, 303; an edict issued against them, 304-6; but they still continue, 309 *note*; lands of the Bessi consecrated to this god, iv. 252; imitation of Bacchus, vii. 112.
- Bactriana**, or **Bactria**, visited by Phoenician traders, i. 531; revolted province of the Seleucid Empire, ii. 74; Eueratidas, Greek king of, iii. 380; worshipped in Cyrenaica, 729; visited by Pompey, iv. 215; promised Augustus by his poets, 236; visited by Italian traders, vi. 171.
- Bacuvius**, an Iberian, general under Theodosius, viii. 275, 327.
- Baetica**, colony founded by Publius Scipio, ii. 59. See **Spain**.
- Bagaudae**, insurgent peasants in the reign of Diocletian, vii. 352 and *note*; attacked and defeated, 356; their ravages, 369.
- Bahram**. See **Persia, kings of**.

- Baiae**, pleasure resort in the time of Augustus, iv. 39; often visited by Nero, 591.
- Balance of power**, how preserved in the Roman Republic, i. 509.
- Balbilla**, Latin poetess, vi. 158.
- Balbinus** (Decimus Caelius Galbinus), the Emperor, proclaimed by the Senate, vii. 155; a descendant of Balbus, 155 *note*; ill-treated by the Roman mob, 158; anticipates the public gratitude; regards his colleague with contempt, 163; suspects him of treachery; is murdered by the praetorians, 164.
- Balbus, L. Cornelius** (1st), friend and steward of Caesar, iii. 528; first Spaniard who became consul, 681.
- Balbus, L. Cornelius** (2d), his gifts to the Roman people, iv. 49; his triumph for successes in Africa, 241; his theatre, 346.
- Balearic Islands**, occupied by Carthage, i. 536; renown of their slingers, 539 and *note*; a nest of pirates taken by Metellus, ii. 216; Spanish colonists, 216 *note*; their slingers and archers in the Roman army, 241 *note*; seized by Cnaeus Pompeius, iii. 516.
- Balista**, commander of cavalry under Macrinus, vii. 190; makes a guerilla warfare in Syria, 252; endangers the position of the Persians, 253; joins Odenathus, 254; induces Macrianus to assume the purple, 260; in command in Asia, 261; said to have been assassinated by Odenathus, 262 and *note*.
- Ballot, Vote by**, established in Rome (139 B. C.), ii. 416-17.
- Baltic**, the, early export of amber, i. 75, 531; iv. 223.
- Baltidae**, family of Gothic chiefs, vii. 182 and *note*.
- Bar Kokaba**, Jewish leader, v. 415 and *note*.
- Barbarians**. See **Germans** and **Goths**.
- Barbatio**, master of the infantry sent by Constantius against the Alemanni; his lack of success, viii. 96 and *note*; consults diviners about a swarm of bees, and is put to death by Constantius, 117.
- Barca**, "Lightning," name of a great Punic family, i. 547, 575; their importance and ambition, 610 *notes*; Spain their special heritage, 611; ii. 53.
- Barea Soranus, Servilius**, illustrious victim of Nero, v. 29.
- Baruch**, the pseudo, quoted, vi. 186.
- Barygaza**, an Indian seaport, vi. 171.
- Basil, Saint**, Archbishop of Cappadocian Caesarea, embraces a monastic life, viii. 189-90; describes his retreat, 190-1; friendly relations with Libanius, 192; recommends the ascetic life, 195, 199; organizes it, 196 and *note*; on episcopal elections, 198 *note*; on dishonest magistrates in Valentinian's reign, viii. 231 *note*; Bishop of Caesarea, 256; on the wickedness of bishops, 257; his friendship with Gregory broken off, 257; hot-tempered, 257 *note*; on the deplorable condition of Asia; his quarrel with Valens, 258; recognizes no special right in the Bishop of Rome, 287 *note*; required twenty years of penitence for homicide, 317.
- Basilus, L. Minucius**, one of Caesar's assassins, iii. 541; murdered by his slaves, 583 *note*.
- Basque race**, possibly originated in Africa, ii. 493; question of their origin, iii. 232-3; ancient chant, iv. 201-2.
- Bassianus**, brother-in-law of Constantine, said to have conspired against him, vii. 463, 464 *note*.
- Bassianus, Julius**, priest of the Sun at Emesa, father-in-law of the Emperor Severus, vi. 547; his family, vii. 101.
- Bassus, Caecilius**, assumes command in Syria, iii. 715; pays ransom to an Arab chief, 716.
- Bassus, Junius**, urban prefect, receives baptism, viii. 156.
- Bastarnae**, a Thracian tribe, instigated to invade Italy, ii. 147, 151; they abandon the design, 156; always hostile to Rome, iv. 19, 20; last remnant of the Gallic nations in the valley of the Danube, 100,000 of them are introduced as colonists into the Empire by Probus, vii. 337; brought over to the right bank of the Danube, 373.
- Batanaea**, a district of Palestine added by Augustus to the kingdom of Herod the Great: a savage country, vi. 516; civilized by Trajan, Hadrian, and Severus, 517.
- Batavia (Insula Batavorum)**, an island in the Rhine, the Catti allowed to establish themselves there, iv. 258; the Franks driven into it, vii. 334; promised to the Franks by Carausius, 369.
- Batavi**, Gallic tribe, inhabitants of Batavia; Catti established in their territory; their cavalry serve as auxiliaries in the Roman army, v. 71, vi. 321 *note*; Vespasian's war with them, v. 98-105; favorable terms made with them, 105-6.
- Battle**, early Roman order of, i. 515, 516.
- Bauto**, Frankish chief and Roman general,

- father of the Empress Eudoxia, viii. 280; retained in the army by Justina, 302.
- Bebryces**, a tribe of Asia Minor mentioned in the Argonautic legend, iii. 11 *note*.
- Bebryces**, Iberian tribe in the Pyrenees, their relations with Hannibal, i. 660-1; singular clause in their treaty, 661 *note*.
- Bedriacum**, city of Northern Italy, battles near, v. 74, 87, 88.
- Belgae**, a Gallic tribe friendly to the Cimbri, ii. 528; early invaders of Gaul, iii. 234; Caesar's campaign against them, 292-8; in the Roman army (68 A.D.), v. 90 *note*; faithful to Vitellius, 101.
- Bellianus**, praetor, murdered by the pirates, iii. 112.
- Bellicus**, L., murderer of Lucretius Ofella, condemned by Caesar, iii. 167.
- Bellona**, Roman goddess of war, wife or sister of Mars, identified with the Sabine goddess Nerio, i. 125; her temple on the Campus Martius, 230; invoked by Decius in battle, 420; cities in her honor, ii. 17; her temple at Comana, iii. 120 and *note*; 151 *note*.
- Bellovaci**, Gallic tribe of Belgica: their resistance to Caesar, ii. 292-3; their defeat, 294; make a second resistance, 353; defeat and surrender, 354.
- Bellovesus**, i. 113.
- Bellutus**, C. Sicinius, leader of the plebeians, i. 254; appointed tribune, 285.
- Beneventum**, originally **Maleventum**, a city of Samnium: claimed to possess the boar's head of Calydon, i. 108; defeat of Pyrrhus, 468-9; garrisoned by the Romans, 490; ii. 13; a colony established there, i. 492; on the *Via Egnatia*, 495; defeat of Hannu, ii. 18-19; remains faithful to Rome, 41; its condition after the First Civil War, iii. 27; arch erected to Trajan, v. 268.
- Berenice**, Jewish queen, v. 161 and *note*.
- Berenice**, city of Cyrenaica, pronounced free by the Roman Senate, ii. 517; its wealth and industry, iii. 729.
- Berytus**, a Phoenician town, its games of the amphitheatre, v. 131; a Roman colony with the *jus Italicum*, and famous school of Roman law, vi. 516; pagan reaction under Julian, viii. 187.
- Bestia**, L. Calpurnius, obtains the province of Numidia, ii. 502; negotiates with Jugurtha, 503.
- Bazabde**, Roman fortress on the Tigris, taken by Sapor II., viii. 124; attempt of Constantius to retake it, 128.
- Bibulus**, L. Calpurnius, colleague with Caesar in the aedileship, iii. 165; enemy of Caesar, consul with him, 204; opposes Caesar's measures, 206-7; utters edicts against his colleague, 210-11; praises by Cicero, 373; governor of Syria, 385; Pompey's admiral, 448; his death, 449.
- Bisellium**, a double seat occupied by persons of distinction at the games, vi. 74.
- Bithynia**, a kingdom of Asia Minor, at first in alliance with Macedon against Rome, afterwards neutral, ii. 87 *note*, 97; its alliance sought by Antiochus, 118; relinquishes captured territory to Pergamus, 126; hostilities with Pergamus, 142; receives Hannibal, 146; neutral between Rome and Macedon; submission to Rome, 186; incited to hostilities against Pergamus, 187, 219-20; Roman severities towards the king, 219; its general assembly, 252; sends aid to the Romans against the Cimbri, 532; deplorable condition under Nicomedes, 653; its territory reduced by the Senate, 666; plundered by Fimbria's soldiers, 691; visited by Caesar, iii. 19; ceded to Rome, 122; its territory increased by Pompey, 149; organized as a province, 151; receives a few Roman colonists, 708-9; a senatorial province, iv. 147 *note*; exported cheeses to Rome, 224 *note*; united with Pontus, v. 156; governed by the younger Pliny, 277-84; visited by Hadrian, 366; overrun by the Goths, vii. 247.
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- Prusias II.**, son of Prusias I. and brother-in-law of Philip of Macedon, endeavors to mediate between the Romans and Perseus, ii. 167; humiliates himself before the Roman Senate, 186; incited by the Senate to make war on Eumenes, 187; the Senate's severity towards him, 219.
- Nicomedes II.**, son of Prusias II., refuses to furnish assistance to the Romans in the Cimbrian War, ii. 437, his attempt upon Paphlagonia, 666; oppressed by Rome, ii. 653.
- Nicomedes III.**, son of Nicomedes II., driven from his throne by Sylla, ii. 668;

- replaced by order of the Senate, 670; defeated by Mithridates, 672; Romans furnish assistance, 691; visited by Caesar, iii. 19; his death and bequest to Rome, 122.
- Bituitus**, king of the Arverni, attacks the Romans; is defeated and carried in chains to Rome, ii. 524.
- Bituriges**, their early invasion of Etruria, i. 113; clients of the Aedui join Vereingetorix, iii. 330; their country invaded, 331; their capital besieged and taken, 332-4; their territory invaded by the Carnutes, 352.
- Blaesius**, Roman general, receives insignia of the triumph for successes in Africa; the last general ever saluted *imperator*, iv. 452; put to death by Tiberius, 478.
- Blandina**, Christian martyr, her torture and death, v. 507-10.
- Blemmyes**, nomadic African tribe, iv. 31; plunder caravans, vii. 179, 375; assist Firmus, 309; subsidized by Diocletian, abandon their predatory habits, 376; are allowed to borrow the image of Isis, 377.
- Blosius**, partisan of Tiberius Gracchus, ii. 461.
- Boadicea**, queen of the Iceni, plundered by the Romans, iv. 612; heads a British army; is defeated, and dies by poison on the battlefield, 613.
- Bocchus**, king of Mauretania, father-in-law of Jugurtha, joins him against the Romans, 511-12; is promised a third of the Numidian kingdom, 513; defeated by Marius and Sylla; his vacillation and final treachery to Jugurtha, 514 and *note*; receives western Numidia, 515.
- Boeotia**. See **Thebes**.
- Bogud**, king of Mauretania, settles a private quarrel on pretext of partisanship of Antony, iii. 681; deprived of his kingdom by Octavius, 732.
- Boii**, Celtic tribe, early invaders of Etruria, i. 44, 113; defeated by the Romans, 457; outbreak in 238 B. C., 594; further hostilities, 595-8; offer alliance to Hannibal, 662; with Hannibal at the battle of the Trebia, 668; take part in the destruction of Placentia, ii. 134; finally subdued by the Romans, they withdraw into Noricum, 135 and *note*; re-appear in Gaul with the Helvetii, iii. 286; driven out of Noricum by Byrebistas, iv. 20.
- Boiorix**, king of the Cimbri, seeks battle with Marius, ii. 541.
- Bola**, city of Latium, captured from the Aequi; its lands claimed by the plebeians, i. 350; the Aequi attempt to recover it, 356; a Roman colony, 360.
- Bologna (Bononia)**, its marshes drained by the Romans, i. 33; anciently Felsina, Etruscan capital, 74; traces of ground-plan of a colony in its neighborhood, 489 *note*; battles near the city, iii. 577-9; meeting of the first triumvirate, 583.
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- Campus Sceleratus**, place where Vestal Virgins were buried alive, i. 228.
- Camulodunum**, British city, iv. 612; burned by the Romans, 613.
- Camulogenus**, Gallic general, burns Lutetia, iii. 339; defeated by Labienus, 340.
- Canary Islands**, discovered by the Phoenicians, i. 532; known to Sertorius as the "Fortunate Islands," iii. 74; iv. 226.
- Candace**, the Ethiopian queen, invades Egypt, iv. 210.
- Candidianus**, son of Galerius, put to death by Maximian, vii. 437 *note*, 463.
- Candidus, Tiberius Claudius, praepositus copiarum dux**, vi. 485 *note*; a distinguished general, 504; is reluctant to put Christians to death, vii. 72.
- Caninius Rebilus, C.**, Caesar's lieutenant in Gaul, iii. 355-7.
- Cannae**, battle of, i. 684, 685 and *note*; fate of Roman prisoners after, ii. 3 and *note*.
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- Cantabri**, intractable Spanish mountaineers, i. 215, 237; iv. 201; finally subjugated, 204; their export of hams, 222.
- Canuleian Law**, i. 344-5.
- Canuleius, C.**, tribune, demands political equality for the plebeians, i. 344-5.
- Canus, Julius**, Stoic philosopher, put to death by Caligula, iv. 509; his tranquil death, vi. 370.
- Canusium**, Apulian city, on the *Via Egnatia*, i. 495 *note*; faithful to Rome in the Punic Wars, 649 *note*; ii. 5 *note*; receives Roman fugitives, ii. 3.
- Capellianus**, procurator of Numidia, vii. 149 *note*; overthrows the two Gordians, 154-5; pillages the province of Africa, 160.
- Capena**, ancient Etrurian city, assists the Volscians, i. 356-7; taken by Rome, 359; receives citizenship, 370.
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- Capito, C. Ateius**, eminent Roman jurist, chief of a school, iv. 56, 344.
- Capito, Fonteius**, governor of Germany, assumes imperial rights, v. 48; is not offered the throne on Nero's death, 57; murdered by Valens, 59, 69.
- Capito, Titinius**, secretary of Trajan, rehabilitates Brutus, Cassius, and Cato, v. 259.
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- Capitoline**, one of the Seven Hills, early place of refuge, i. 42; Saturn obtains it from Jupiter, 138 and *note*; its *intermontium*; caves under it, 145; temple of Jupiter Stator, 145 and *note*; temple of Fides Publica, 149; temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, 158, 168, 235-6, 237, 250, 251-2; iii. 191 *note*; statue of the elder Brutus, 176; occupied by the Sabines, 189; originally connected with the Quirinal, 366 *note*; house of Manlius on the hill destroyed and further private buildings there forbidden, 381-2; temple of Concord, 384 and *note*; statue of Scipio Africanus, ii. 70; his arch of triumph; statue of L. Scipio, 393 *note*; Vespasian's buildings, 144-5.
- Capitolinus, T. Quinctius**, consul, his popularity and military success, i. 311; candidate for the decemviral office, 327; defeats the Volscians, 353.
- Capo di Bove**, on the Appian Way, i. 40 *note*; iv. 315, 319.
- Cappadocia**, its king in alliance with Antiochus, ii. 110, 124; joins the Galatians for a last stand against Rome; pays two hundred talents to Rome, 126; enters into alliance with Rome, 158 and *note*, 188; Roman interference in the affairs of the kingdom, 188, 219; Roman ally in the war to obtain Pergamus; addition of territory; civil war, 222; its general assembly, 252; furnished strong

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Ariobarzanes I., elected by the Cappadocians under direction of the Senate; expelled by Mithridates, and restored by the Romans, ii. 560, 586, 609, 666; iii. 151.

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Archelaus, receives the throne from Antony, iv. 5; his kingdom extended by Augustus, 234; his death at Rome, and his kingdom organized as a province, 429.

Capri, visited by Augustus, iv. 283; its appearance, 402 and *note*; purchased by Augustus, 402 *note*; residence of Tiberius, 469-91;

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Capua, originally Vulturnum, an Etruscan city, captured by the Samnites, i. 102; its inhabitants early known as effeminate and cruel, 103; Roman garrison at, 389, 417; military plot of the garrison defeated, 389-90; besieged by the Samnites, 414; relieved by the Romans, and then abandoned, 417; further hostilities, 418; its loss of the Falernian country; citizenship and rights of the Caerites bestowed, 420, 423; prefect sent by Rome to administer justice in the city, 434; conspiracy formed against Rome, 435; its defeat, 435-6; always turbulent, 493; defection during the Second Punic War, ii. 5-15; siege of the city, 15, 19, 30-6; surrender, 36; vengeance of the Romans, 36-7; twenty thousand colonists established in the neighborhood by Caesar, iii. 204; headquarters of Pompey at the beginning of the war between him and Caesar, iii. 425-9; faithful to Vitellius, v. 89.

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Caracalla, the Emperor (M. Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus), Byzantium re-named for him, vi. 490; proclaimed Caesar and Prince of the Youth, 495; proclaimed Augustus by the army, and associated with his father in the Empire, 509; consecrates temples to Serapis at Rome, 528; marries Plautilla, 536; repudiates her, 538; orders her death, 541; his violent and profligate character; quarrel with his brother; accompanies his father on the campaign in Britain, 574; stories of his filial impiety, 576-7; date of his birth; age at his accession; name, vii. 75 *note*; Herodian's story of his division of the Empire with his brother, 76; murders Geta, 77; is said to have apotheosized him, 77 *note*; quotes the example of Romulus; puts to death the friends of Geta, 77-8; probably insane, 78-9; his capricious tyranny, 79-81; severity as to public morals, 81; his exactions; bestows citizenship on all the inhabitants of the Empire, 81-3 and *notes*; monetary changes of his time, 81 *note*; extravagance, 83; indulgence of the soldiery, 83-4; a great admirer of Alexander, 84-5; visits Gaul, 85; organizes a Macedonian phalanx, 85, 193; leads an army into Germany, 86-7;

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- Caractacus**, British chief, iv. 538; defeated, taken prisoner to Rome, 539.
- Carausius**, the revolt of, vii. 359; attacked and defeated by Constantus Chlorus, 369.
- Carbo, C. Papirius (1st)**, triumvir for the execution of the Agrarian Law, eloquent defender of the Sempronian Law, ii. 461; appointed tribune, proposes two further measures, 462; of which one succeeds and the other is defeated, 463-4; is obliged to defend his opinions, 488-9; his suicide, 489.
- Carbo, Cnaeus Papirius (1st)**, defeated by the Cimbri, ii. 526.
- Carbo, C. Papirius (2d)**, consul, one of the authors of the Plautian-Papirian Law, ii. 611.
- Carbo, Cnaeus Papirius (2d)**, taken by Cinna as colleague in the consulship, ii. 633; erects an equestrian statue to Marius, 33 *note*; disobeys the Senate's orders, iii. 2; his measures, 3; incapable leader, 4, 5; a second time consul, 7; to operate on the north of Rome, 8; his campaign, 10-12; defeated at Faventia, escapes into Africa, 13; taken and beheaded by order of Pompey, 28.
- Caria**, a country of Asia Minor, belonging to Philip of Macedon, ii. 91; its free cities, 127; some of its territory given to Rhodes, 127; taken from Rhodes, 167, 188; its federal organization, 251 *note*; its valiant people, iii. 706-7.
- Carinas, C. (1st)**, general of the Marian party, iii. 5; in the battle of the Colline Gate, 13; put to death by Sylla, 15.
- Carinas, C. (2d)**, general under Augustus, victorious in Belgica, iv. 67.
- Carinus (M. Aurelius)**, the Emperor, appointed Caesar and made governor of the western provinces, 341; assumes the title of Augustus, 343; remains a competitor of Diocletian; partly victorious, is assassinated by one of his officers, 351; his flattery of the populace, 351 *note*.
- Caristies**. See **Parentalia**.
- Carmen Seculare**, iv. 139.
- Carmenta**, nymph of prophetic and healing powers, mother of Evander, i. 90 *note*, 139.
- Carneades**, Greek ambassador to Rome, gives lessons in philosophy there, ii. 288-9; expelled by Cato, 415.
- Carni**, a people of the Alps, ii. 249 *note*; subjugated by Aemilius Scaurus, 501, 520.
- Carnuntum**, important military position in Pannonia, on the Danube, iv. 247 and *note*; a legion posted there in the time of Hadrian, v. 332; *Municipium Allium*, 332 and *note*; residence of Marcus Aurelius for several years, 477; meeting of Diocletian and Galerius, vii. 443-9.
- Carnutes**, defeated by Caesar, iii. 353-4; called allies of the Roman people, iv. 196.
- Carpae**, of Getic race, invade the valley of the lower Danube, vi. 176, 239-365; part of the nation transported into Pannonia, 373.
- Carpathians**, mountain range of central Europe, v. 236 *seq.* 325; protect the lower Danube, 327; limit of Roman power under Trajan, vi. 181; invaded by Vandals and Heruli, 182; a shelter for the Barbarians, 183; nearly an impregnable fortress for Rome, but abandoned by Aurelian, 290-91.
- Carpetani**, a Spanish tribe, subjugated by Hannibal, i. 654; their revolt, 657; hostile to Roman power, ii. 133.
- Carrhae**, town in Mesopotamia, reached by the retreating army of Caesar, iii. 384-5; taken by Sapor, vii. 169; defeat of Galerius, 378; rendezvous of Julian's forces, viii. 216.
- Carseoli**, a city of Central Italy, colonized by the Romans, i. 402; on the line of Roman defence, 492; on the *Via Valeria*, 494.
- Carteia**, Roman colony in Spain, ii. 217 and *notes*; a military post, 349 *note*.
- Carthage**: her colonies in the Italian islands, i. 44-76; early hostilities with the Greeks, 76, 112; commerce, 76, 526, 528-3, 533, 536; treaties with Rome, 181, 252, 549, 551; congratulates the Senate on the victories over the Samnites, i. 417; her growing strength (282 B.C.), 461; offers to help the Romans against Pyrrhus, 470, 552; growth, 525; ruins of, 525 and *note*; religion, 525 *note*, 531, 542; importance of,

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- Carthagera** (Carthago Nova), city in Spain founded by Hasdrubal, its harbor and silver mines, i. 610; Hannibal's departure, 660; Scipio's occupation of the city, ii. 54 and *note*, 58-9; its silver mines in the time of Polybius, 241 *note*.
- Carthalo**, Carthaginian envoy, i. 573, 574, 575; ii. 3.
- Cartismandua**, British queen, betrays Caracatus, iv. 539.
- Carus** (M. Aurelius), the Emperor, avenges the death of Probus, vii. 340; his origin, early career, conduct towards the Senate; appoints his sons Caesars, vii. 341; attacks Persia, 341-2; victorious over the Quadi, 342; receives an embassy from Bahram II., 342-3; victorious advance; enters Ctesiphon; his sudden death, 343; anticipated Diocletian's tetrarchy, 354 *note*.
- Carus, Metius**, an informer under Diocletian, v. 205.
- Carvilius Maximus Spurius**, consul, defeats the Samnites and Etruscans, i. 451-2; builds a temple to Fortune and erects a colossal statue of Jupiter, 453, 625.
- Carvilius Maximus Spurius Ruga**, proposes that Latins be admitted to the Senate, ii. 4, 255-6.
- Casca, P. Servilius**, one of Caesar's assassins, iii. 541; strikes the first blow, 545.
- Casci**, or Italian aborigines, i. 89.
- Casilinum**, a Campanian town, resists Hannibal, i. 535; scene of a defeat of Hannibal, 681; Roman siege, ii. 10, 18.
- Casinum**, Latin city, its local divinity, i. 124; receives a Roman colony, 436; in the second line of Roman defence, 492; its amphitheatre, vi. 83.
- Caspian** or **Hyrcanian Sea**, in the route of commerce from Upper Asia, iv. 24, 224; Pompey's attempts to reach it, iii. 141; iv. 215.
- Cassian Law**, ii. 417 *note*.
- Cassiterides**, tin obtained thence, i. 75; visited by Phoenician traders, 537.
- Cassius, L.**, proconsul in Asia, threatened by Mithridates, ii. 672; escapes to Rhodes, 674.
- Cassius Avidius**, his great success against the Parthians, v. 462-3, 480-1; his revolt against Marcus Aurelius, 479; proclaimed Emperor, 481; his ambition and contempt for Marcus Aurelius, 481-2; murdered by his own troops; his death lamented by Marcus Aurelius, 483; inscriptions bearing his name, 483 *note*; the Emperor's clemency towards his family, 484 and *note*, 485; disloyal towards Antoninus Pius, 442-3, 479; his severe discipline in Asia, 453, 461-2.
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- Cassius Longinus, L.**, consul having command of Gaul, invades the Alpine country and makes many prisoners, ii. 435.
- Cassius Longinus, C.**, quaestor, with Crassus in the Parthian Expedition, iii. 384; defeats the Parthians, 385; with part of the Pompeian fleet surrenders to Caesar after Pharsalia, 468, 497; appointed praetor by Caesar, 535; hostility towards Caesar, 538; persuades Brutus to join the plot, 539; wishes to kill all the triumvirs, 542; is reconciled with Antony, 556; despoiled of Macedon by Antony, 562; seizes upon Macedon, 574, at the head of twenty legions, 583; master of the East, 584; his statue erected in Athens, 603; victory over Dolabella, 604; threatens Cleopatra; attacks Rhodes, 605; plunders many cities, 605-6; is censured by Brutus, 607; defeat and death at Philippi, 611.
- Cassius, Spurius**. See **Viscillinus**.
- Cassius** of Parma (Parmensis), conspirator against Caesar, iii. 541.

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Catana, mole of lava formed in its harbor, i. 27; Greek colony in Sicily, made an early surrender to the Romans in the First Punic War, 556; its local senate with jurisdiction in capital crimes, ii. 235; its sun-dial introduced at Rome, 336; it receives a Roman colony, iv. 206.

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Cato, C. Porcius, leads an expedition against the Scordisci; is killed with his whole army, ii. 520.

Cato, L. Porcius (grandson of Cato the Censor), consul in the Social War, ii. 597.

Cato, M. Porcius, of Utica, sought as a partisan by Pompeius, ii. 565; seventeen years of age at the time of Sylla's death, iii. 58; supports Cicero against Caesar, 183-4; salutes Cicero as Father of his Country, 187-8; his character and manners; tribune, 188-9; accuses Murena, 190; seeks popularity by a frumentary law, 190-91; defeats the measure proposed by Metellus, 191-2; hostility to Pompey, 196, 198; unwise measures, 201; sole defender of the nobles, 205; conduct in respect to Caesar's Agrarian Law, 205-7; republican fervor, 212; is sent to Cyprus and Thrace, 220; character of this mission, 367-8; coolness towards Cicero, 368; unsuccessful candidate for the prætorship, 375; imprisoned, 376; proposes to give Caesar up to the Germans, 389; conduct towards Pompey, 392-3, 396; unsuccessful candidate for the consulship, 401; hostility towards Caesar, 407; in charge of Sicily, relinquishes it to Curio, 432 *note*; at Dyrrhachium, dissatisfied with Pompey, 454; proposes to give the chief command to Cicero after Pharsalia; protects him from Cneius Pompeius, 486; on his way to join Pompey in Egypt, learns of the

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- Catonius Justus**, praetorian prefect, put to death by Claudius, iv. 554.
- Catti**, a German tribe, defeated by Drusus, iv. 251, 256; unite with Arminius, 265; share in the victory over Varus, and obtain many Roman slaves, 270 and *note*; their country ravaged by Germanicus, 412.
- Catualda**, chief of the Gothones, his submission to the Romans, iv. 430.
- Catullus Valerius**, ode by, i. 618; a sceptic, i. 326; his verses read in Caesar's camp in Gaul, iii. 306; sarcasms upon Caesar, 370; lyric poet, iv. 57, 328.
- Catulus, C. Lutatius**, his naval victory (241 B. C.), i. 578, 579.
- Catulus, Q. Lutatius** (1st), retreats before the Cimbri from the Adige to the Po, ii. 538-40; accepts Sylla as lieutenant, 540; his suicide, 630; *flamen dialis*, 631.
- Catulus, Q. Lutatius** (2d), Cicero's judgment of him, iii. 58; consul of the aristocratic party, 61; hostility between him and Lepidus; is sent into Gaul, 64; continues the building of the Capitoline temple, 65, 191 and *note*; introduces the use of an awning over the seats in the theatre, 68; his measures against Lepidus, 69; his victories over Lepidus, 70; the oracle of the Senate, 104; his opposition to Pompey, 117, 136; and to Caesar, 166; unsuccessful rival of Caesar for the office of pontifex maximus, 168; the wife of Catiline committed to his protection, 178; attempts to implicate Caesar in the Catilinian conspiracy, 180.
- Catus Decianus**, procurator in Britain, his exactions, iv. 612.
- Caucasus**, mountain range making the boundary between Europe and Asia, ii. 665; its inhabitants rally around Mithridates, 670; iii. 122, 131; reached by Pompey, 140, 141; its stone monuments, 267; its tribes restrained by Roman garrisons in the neighborhood, vi. 418.
- Caudium**, its site, i. 432 *note*; great Roman defeat there, "the Caudine Forks," 433-4.
- Cavalry**, the Roman, i. 515; in the time of Hadrian, v. 321; vi. 232; in the third century A. D., vii. 190. See also **Equestrian Order**.
- Cavarinus**, chief of the Senones, friendly to Caesar, iii. 318, 323, 325.
- Celestial Virgin**, Carthaginian goddess, identified with Juno and with Urania, i. 525 *note*; identified with Venus Erycina or Tanit, 542 *note*, 641; receives from Augustus the *jus trium liberorum*, iv. 168.
- Celibacy**, penalties attached to, iv. 137 and *notes*.
- Celsus**, conspirator against Antoninus Pius, v. 443.
- Celsus**, on Christianity, vii. 40, 44, 51, 52; date of his work, 51 *note*.
- Celsus**, one of "the Thirty Tyrants," incident of his consecration as Emperor; his death, vii. 267.
- Celsus, A. Cornelius**, Latin writer on medicine, iv. 333, 334.
- Celsus, Julius**, eminent jurist, v. 392 *note*; member of the imperial council, 399.
- Celsus, L. Publicius**, conspirator against Hadrian, v. 313; put to death, 314.
- Celsus, P. Juventius**, conspirator against Domitian, v. 205.
- Celsus, P. Marius**, partisan of Galba, protected by Orho, v. 66.
- Celtiberians**, bravest and most numerous tribe in Spain, resist the Carthaginians, ii. 50; serve in the Roman army, 51; turn against Rome, 52; gallant struggle for independence, 131-4; attempt of Gracchus to civilize them, 134; outbreak suppressed, 210-13; another revolt, 216; some of their towns subjugated by Sertorius, iii. 83; heroes of ancient Spain, their long resistance to Rome, iii. 678-9; their final subjugation, iv. 204.
- Celtica**, extensive territory, iii. 234.
- Cenomani**, early Gallic invaders of Etruria, i. 113; hostile to the Boii, 594; their alliance with Rome, 595; afford shelter to the Roman army, 599; incited to revolt by Hamilcar, ii. 134.
- Censium**, besieged by the Senones, i. 362-364.
- Censorinus, C. Marcus Rutilus**, defeated by the Samnites, i. 439. (Son of C. Marcus Rutilus, he was twice elected censor, — whence his name.)
- Censorinus, L. Marcus**, consul in command in Africa in the Third Punic War, 202; work by Clitomachus dedicated to him, 289-90.
- Censorinus, C. Marcus**, general in the Marian army, advances on Rome, iii. 13; is

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- Cingetorix**, chief of the Treviri, friend of the Romans, iii. 314, 318, 323, 326.
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- Cinna, C. Helvius**, poet and tribune, proposal regarding Caesar's marriage, iii. 522-3 and *note*; murdered by the populace by mistake, 559.
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Claudius Sabinus Regillensis, Appius (1st), consul (c. c. 471), a Sabine (*Vita Claudius*).

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- Claudius Sabinus Regillensis, Appius** (2d), consul, sharp contest with the tribunes, 296-7; severity towards a Roman army defeated by the Volsci; is summoned before the comitia; his suicide, 298.
- Claudius Crassus, Appius**, consul, decemvir, i. 327; obtains reappointment, 328; his attempt against Virginia, 329-30; is compelled to abdicate; possible calumny of his political enemies, 331; his suicide, 342.
- Claudius Caecus, Appius**, consul, censor, i. 393; most distinguished man of his time, 406-7; character of his ambition; his aqueduct, 407, 409, 626; his road, 407, 495 and *note*, 626-7; a patrician in sentiment, he introduced important democratic measures, 407-8, 410; tradition as to his blindness, 407 *note*; consul in the Samnite War, 449-50; his answer to Pyrrhus, 467.
- Claudius, Appius** (Caudex), sent to Sicily, i. 555.
- Claudius Appius Pulcher, P.**, consul, his impiety and defeat at Drepanum, i. 573; appoints a freedman dictator; his probable suicide, 574.
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- Claudius Pulcher, Appius** (2d), consul, his victory over the Salassi and triumph, ii. 379, 520; unsuccessful candidate for the censorship, 427; father-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus, 447; appointed triumvir to divide the public lands, 455, 461.
- Claudius Pulcher, Appius** (3d), interrex, iii. 69.
- Claudius Pulcher, Appius** (4th), praetor, general in the Social War, ii. 626.
- Claudius Pulcher, Appius** (5th), consul, governor of Macedonia, iii. 154 *note*.
- Claudius, or Clodius, Pulcher, Appius** (6th), praetor, defeated at Mount Vesuvius, iii. 93-4.
- Claudius, or Clodius, Pulcher, Appius** (7th), praetor, censor, friend of Piso, ii. 652; his contempt of Cicero, 656 *note*; embassy to Tigranes, iii. 130-1; member of the Claudian *gens*, his name usually written Clodius, 130 *note*; censor, 410 *note*.
- Claudius, or Clodius, Pulcher, Appius** (8th), brings back to Pompey the two legions lent to Cæsar, iii. 410. See also **Clodius**.
- Clazomenae**, a Greek city of Asia Minor friendly to Rome, ii. 187; member of a league, 254 *note*.
- Cleander**, a freedman, chamberlain of Commodus, offers for sale all offices; obtains the death of Burrus; popular rage excited against him, vi. 458; his death, by order of the Emperor, 459.
- Cleantes**, his *Hymn to Jupiter*, ii. 273.
- Clemens**, a slave of Agrippa Postumus, personates his master and conspires against Tiberius; his death, iv. 426-7.
- Clemens, Cassius**, partisan of Niger, vi. 489-90.
- Clemens, T. Flavius**, victim of Domitian's cruelty, v. 211; was perhaps a Christian, 212 *note*.
- Clemens, P. Pactumeius**, legate of Cilicia, consul, v. 439.
- Clemens Romanus**, his *Epistle to the Corinthians*, vii. 10 *note*, 20, 30, 38; basilica of, 18 *note*; knew only two orders in the Church, 22; on interchange of counsels between churches, 27 and *note*; his prayer, 48-9, 52; still recognized Rome as his country, 49.
- Clement of Alexandria**, Christian Father, vi. 584; his *Stromata*, vii. 20; heretical tendencies, 38 *note*; admirer of Aristotle, 50 *note*; and of the old philosophy, 51; on marriage, 54 *note*; on martyrdom, 68 *notes*; his martyrdom, 69 and *note*.
- Cleomenes**, father and son, Greek sculptors, to whom are attributed the Venus de' Medici and "the Orator," ii. 287 *note*.
- Cleonymus**, Spartan pirate, defeated by the Paduaus, i. 445.
- Cleopatra**. See **Egypt, kings of**.
- Cleopatra**, younger daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, acknowledged by her father, iii. 643; wife of Juba, ii. 650.
- Clepsydra**, i. 629.
- Clergy**, the Christian, legislation of Constantine in their regard, vii. 507-8 and *notes*, 509, 530 and *note*.
- Clientship**: the condition of the plebeian members of a Roman *gens* towards their *patronus*, i. 192-3; its extension under the Republic and the Empire, 193-4; indirectly attacked by the Servian constitution, 246; clients under the Empire, vi. 87-90; cities came into clientship towards wealthy patrons, 91-4; this relation took the place of modern charity, 115.
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- Cloaca Maxima**, Etruscan construction, i. 82; built by the elder Tarquin, 158 and *note*, 159; finished by Tarquin the Proud, 250; its magnitude, 252; concentric arches, 252 *note*; one of the few great architectural works of early Rome, iv. 345.
- Cloelia**, first wife of Octavius (the Emperor Augustus), iii. 584 and *note*.
- Clodius Pulcher, P.**, instigates sedition against Lucullus, iii. 134; accuses Catiline, 164; compromises Caesar's wife, 194-5; agent of Caesar; seeks the tribuneship, 216; popularity as tribune, 217-18; secures the absence of Cato, 220; tyrannical and illegal acts of, 360-1, 365-6; aedile, accuses Milo, 366; hostility towards Cicero, 367-8; and Pompey, 368; towards the senators, 374; murdered by Milo, 391; re-established *collegia*, vi. 95; made the distributions strictly gratuitous, 210.
- Cloelia**, a Roman maiden, one of the hostages given to Porsenna, her escape, i. 177; statue erected in her honor, 625.
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- Coloni**, under the Republic, i. 289; under the Empire, a class of agricultural laborers, vi. 13-18; free peasants, 289; recruited from the petty proprietors, vii. 207; under Constantine, viii. 37-40.
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- Colossal statues**: of Jupiter on the Capitol, i. 453, 625; of Apollo at Rhodes, ii. 265; of Nero in his Golden House, v. 13 and *note*; vi. 403 *note*; of Mercury on Puy-le-Dôme, v. 13 *note*.
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- Comes domesticorum**, first use of the title, vii. 234.
- Comes rerum privatarum**, viii. 4.
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- Cominius**, plebeian, his gallantry while Rome was held by the Gauls, i. 366.
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- Comitatenses**, the army of the line, viii. 16, 42.
- Comitia**, legal assemblies of the Roman people; of four kinds: the *Curiata*, *Centuriata*, *Tributa* (see these three words), and the *Calata*, called together by the pontiffs, to receive communications which they had to make to the people.
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- Cornelius Arvina, P.**, consul in the Third Samnite War, i. 443.
- Cornely, St.**, in Gaul, legend of, iii. 264-5.
- Cornificius, L.**, accuser of Brutus for the murder of Caesar, iii. 582; builds a temple to Diana, iv. 346.
- Cornificius, Q.**, propraetor, Caesar's lieutenant in Illyria, iii. 468, 485; governor of Africa, hostile to Caesar, 537; defeated and slain by Sextius, governor of Numidia, 602.
- Cornutus, M.**, proscribed by Marius and saved by his slaves, ii. 630-1.
- Cornutus, M.**, praetor, suicide of, iii. 582.
- Cornutus, L. Annaeus**, African: a Stoic philosopher; criticises Nero's poems and is exiled, iv. 599, 603; wrote in Greek, vi. 344.
- Coroneia**, town in Boeotia, place of meeting of the Boeotian League, ii. 252 *note*; an "allied city;" its citizens sold at auction by Roman governors, 380.
- Corporations or Colleges**, nine, founded by Numa, i. 270 *note*; sanctioned by the Twelve Tables, 337; regulated by Marcus Aurelius, v. 468-9; details of their organization under the Antonines, vi. 94-106; carry banners in processions, 482 *note*; obligatory under the Later Empire, viii. 34-6.
- Corsica**. See **Sardinia**.
- Cortinella**, mountain in Campania, i. 423.
- Cortona**, important Etruscan city, makes a thirty years' truce with Rome, i. 439.
- Coruncanus, Tiberius**, consul, his family natives of Camerium, i. 133; his victory over the Etruscans, 457; leads his troops against Pyrrhus, 467; first plebeian pontifex maximus, founds a school of jurisprudence, i. 614; ii. 330.
- Coruncanus, Tiberius**, son of the jurist, ambassador to Illyria, is killed there, i. 591.
- Corvus, M. Valerius**, legionary tribune, in the war against the Gauls, i. 377; obtains his surname, 377-8; consul at the age of twenty-three, 378; dictator, 390; consul,

- 403; in the First Samnite War, 414; great honors paid him, 416-17; legate of the dictator, 439; in the Etruscan War, 447.
- Corycus**, naval battle off, ii. 120.
- Cos**, island of the eastern Mediterranean, visited by Lucullus, iii. 123; Augustus takes from it a statue of Venus and remits part of the tribute of the island, iv. 212.
- Cosa**, an Etruscan seaport, i. 75; its ancient walls, of small circuit, still to be seen, 121; in the Roman line of defence, 492; Roman transports captured by the Carthaginians near the city, 675; one of the colonies that furnished a contingent to Rome in the Second Punic War, ii. 41; defeat of Lepidus, iii. 70.
- Cossura** or **Cossyra** (Pantellaria), island in the Mediterranean between Sicily and Africa, military post of Carthage, i. 536; taken by the Romans, 682; refuge of Carbo, ii. 28.
- Cossus, Servius Cornelius**, master of the horse, offers the *spolia opima*, i. 353.
- Cossus, A. Cornelius**, dictator, i. 381.
- Cotta, C. Aurelius**, consul, i. 569 *note*.
- Cotta, C. Aurelius**, pontifex, his sentiments on religion, ii. 291.
- Cotta, L. Aurelius**, consul, ii. 401.
- Cotta, C. Aurelius**, consul, great orator, ii. 610; popular outbreak against him, iii. 87; re-establishes the distributions; endeavors to raise the tribuneship, 101 and *note*.
- Cotta, L. Aurelius**, his law dividing the judiciary, iii. 107 and *note*; consul, 163.
- Cotta, M. Aurelius**, consul, iii. 122; governor of Bithynia, 124; blockaded in Chalcedon, 125; relieved by Lucullus, 126; besieges Heracleia, 128.
- Cotta Messalinus, Aurelius**, accused by the Senate, but defended by Tiberius, iv. 480.
- Cotta, L. Aurunculeius**, Caesar's legate in Gaul, iii. 319.
- Cotys**, Thracian king, ally of Perseus, ii. 148, 150, 156 and *note*, 189.
- Cotys**, Thracian king, author of Latin verses, iv. 3; killed by Rhaseuporis, 432.
- Cotys**, Thracian king, receives Armenia Minor from Caligula, iv. 511.
- Council of the Emperor**, established by Augustus, iv. 97-8 and *notes*; retained by Tiberius, 459; reorganized by Hadrian, v. 394-5 and *note*; under Diocletian becomes the sacred consistory, vii. 394 and *note*; its composition, viii. 3-5.
- Councils and Synods**: Council of Jerusalem, v. 3 *note*; vii. 29 *note*; Second (Ecumenical, 19; council of Trent, 19 *note*; councils held in the reign of Septimius Severus, 28-9; institution of the Ecumenical, 29 and *note*; Synod of Antioch, 301; first Roman, 529 and *note*; Council of Arles, 530-1 and *note*; viii. 185; of Alexandria, vii. 537; of Nicaea, 537-51; Synod of Antioch, 552; of Tyre, 553-5; of Rome, viii. 142; rival Councils of Sardica and Philippopolis, 145-8; Synod of Sirmium, 149-50; Council of Arles, 150; of Milan, 150-2; of Rimini and of Seleucia, 156; of Alexandria, 185; Council of Constantinople, 286-8; Synod of Aquileia, 288; Councils of Saragossa and of Bordeaux, 307.
- Courage**, temple of, built by Marcellus, i. 602.
- Crassus, Calpurnius**, seeks to assassinate Trajan; is banished, v. 276.
- Crassus, L. Canidius**, in command of Antony's army, favorable to Cleopatra, iii. 656; wishes the decisive battle between Antony and Octavius to be fought at Pharsalia, 663; in command of the land forces at Actium; abandons them and joins Antony in Alexandria, 665.
- Crassus, L. Licinius**, orator, ii. 328-9, 490, 561; censor, closes the Greek schools in Rome, 561 and *note*; his rebuke of Philip; his death, 567.
- Crassus, P. Licinius**, Roman general, defeated by Perscus, ii. 159-60.
- Crassus, L. Papirius**, dictator, i. 420.
- Crassus Dives Mucianus, P. Licinius**, pontifex and consul, his capture and death in Asia, ii. 221; a remarkable Greek scholar, 312.
- Crassus Dives, P. Licinius**, father of the triumvir in the Social War, ii. 588, 590 and *note*, 602 *note*; his death, 629; victory over the Lusitanians, 658 *note*.
- Crassus Dives, M. Licinius**, the triumvir, joins the party of Sulla, iii. 5; obtains wealth from the proscriptions, 21; praetor, commissioned for the Servile War, 96; pursues Spartacus into Rhegium, 97; defeats him and ends the war, 98; ingratitude of Rome towards him, 99; regards Caesar as a rival, 158; creditor of Caesar, 158 *note*, 196; probably not involved in Catiline's plot to murder the consuls, 163; unsuccessful attempt to obtain the mission to Egypt, 166; employed by Caesar in destroying the senatorial power; his importance, 193; protects Clodius, 196; alli-

- ance with Caesar, 203, 215; secretly hostile to Pompey, 365; supports Cato, 368; meets Caesar and Pompey at Lucca, 372; consul, 375; receives province of Syria, 376; hopes to conquer the Parthians, 377-8; his wealth, 378 *note*; his journey to Syria, 380; conduct in the province, 382; advances upon Ctesiphon, 383; defeat at Belik, 383-4; death, 384; amount of his fortune, vi. 263.
- Crassus Dives, P. Licinius**, son of the triumvir, Caesar's lieutenant in Gaul, iii. 299, 300, 301, 304, 305; assists Caesar in Rome, 376; with his father in Syria, 383; defeat and death, 384.
- Crassus Dives, M. Licinius**, proconsul of Macedonia, victorious over the Bastarnae and Daci, iv. 67.
- Crastinus, Caius**, centurion, his gallantry and honors at Pharsalia, iii. 461.
- Cratippus**, Peripatetic philosopher, iii. 602.
- Cremona**, Roman colony in Cisalpine Gaul, i. 602, 669; besieged by the Gauls, ii. 134; reinforced, 135; taken and sacked by Vespasian's army, v. 87-8.
- Cremutius Cordus**, republican historian in the reign of Tiberius: his death, iv. 466-5.
- Crete**, worthless character of its people, ii. 85 and *note*; they serve in the Roman army, 103, 162; its whetstone quarries, 241 *note*; Cretan archers, 483; its extreme fertility; singular law as to insurrections; a lair of pirates, 701-2; iii. 115; chastised by the Romans, 115-16; visited by Lucullus, 122; buys its independence from Antony, 561; united with the Cyrenaica, 701; a senatorial province, iv. 147.
- Crimen perduellionis**, iv. 463.
- Crinitus Ulpius**, adoptive father or father-in-law of Aurelian, vii. 285 and *note*.
- Criobolium**, the, vi. 390 *note*, 391 *note*.
- Crispina**, wife of Commodus, her exile and death, vi. 446.
- Crispinus, Rufus**, put to death by Nero, v. 27.
- Crispinus, T. Quinctius**, consul, his defeat and death, ii. 39.
- Crispus**, grandfather of Constantius Chlorus, vii. 273 *note*.
- Crispus, Flavius Julius**, son of Constantine and Minervina, vii. 366, 448 *note*; appointed Caesar, 464; birth of his son, 465 *note*; his campaigns in Gaul, 468; faction gathers about him, 559-60; his lessened consequence; accused of intending to murder the Emperor; imprisoned and put to death, 560; his death avenged by Helena, 561; his name effaced from the public edictes, 562 *note*.
- Critolaus**, Greek leader (146 B. C.), ii. 198.
- Critolaus**, Greek ambassador to Rome, gives lessons in philosophy there, ii. 288.
- Crocus**, king of the Alemanni, partisan of Constantine, vii. 414.
- Cross**, the, a symbol everywhere seen by the early Christians, vii. 475 and *note*; in use long before our era, 475-8 and *notes*; placed by Constantine on the *labarum*, 479 and *notes*; fragment of the true cross placed under Constantine's Pillar, 513; on coins, 518 *note*; discovered by Helena (*inventio crucis*), 570-3 and *notes*.
- Croton**, or **Crotona**, Greek colony in Italy, i. 110; its history, 111; its importance, 111, 112 *note*; its harbor available only in summer, 462 *note*; taken by the Romans, 471.
- Crustuminius**, name of a Roman *tribus*, i. 302 *note*.
- Ctesiphon**, the Parthian capital, attempt of Crassus to reach it, iii. 383; Caesar resolves to conquer it, 530; two roads for the Romans to that city, 644-5; taken by Trajan, v. 299-300; besieged and taken by Severus, vi. 507, 510; the Emperor Valerian six years a captive in, vii. 245-6; advance of Odenathus upon the city, 254; and of Julian, viii. 217-18; arch of Chosroës, 217 *note*.
- Cubicularii**, originally slaves in charge of sleeping-places; in the Later Empire, persons of high rank, vii. 3, 103.
- Cucumella**, the, i. 83, 84.
- Culleo, Q. Terentius**, president of the tribunal which fined L. Scipio, ii. 403.
- Cumae**, Campanian city, i. 34; attacked by the Etruscans and Umbrians, 59; destroys their maritime power, 77-8; taken by the Samnites, 102, 109; substitute Latin for Greek in their public records, 102 *note*; had the tusks of the Erymanthian boar, 103; most ancient Greek colony in Italy, 103-9; abode of a Sybil, 109; itself a metropolis, 109 *note*, 110; receives Tarquin the Proud, 179; had its historians, 181; its Sybil a priestess of Apollo, 237; taken by the Samnites, 353; obtains citizenship, 423; Hannibal's defeats, ii. 9, 15; omens, 44; Sylla's country-house, iii. 46.
- Cumanus, Ventidius**, procurator of Judaea, v. 115.
- Curator**, an officer sent by the Emperor to

- examine the financial affairs of a municipium, v. 465-6; vi. 68 *notes*; later development of this office, 69.
- Curator ludorum**, his duties, vi. 81.
- Cures**, ancient Sabine capital, i. 97, 145, 189; derivation of the name, 189 *note*.
- Curia**, etymology of the word, i. 121 *note*; one of the thirty parts into which Romulus divided the Roman people, 190; it received an allotment of land, 190 *note*; consisted of a certain number of *gentes*, and had its special feast-days, priests, and divinities, 191; the Senate was composed of the heads of these *gentes*, 194. The word "curia" often signifies the place of meeting of the Curiae, and under the Empire the local senates of the municipia.
- Curia Hostilia**, the first senate-house built in Rome, i. 194 *note*; burned on occasion of the funeral of Clothius, iii. 391.
- Curiales**. See *Decuriones*.
- Curio, C. Scribonius**, tribune bought by Caesar, iii. 403, 407; proposes that Pompey be deprived of his position, 407-8; urges Pompey to resign, 409; proposed resignation of Caesar and Pompey, 415; opposes Pompey's dictatorship, 415; delivers Caesar's letter to the Senate, 415-16; escapes to Caesar's camp, 417; is defeated by Juba in Africa and kills himself, 437.
- Curius, Manius**, builder of the second aqueduct, i. 626.
- Cursus honorum**, iv. 105-11 and *note*; vi. 204-6 and *notes*; vii. 387 and *note*.
- Cursus publicus**. See *Post*.
- Curtius, Rufus Quintus**, Roman historian of Alexander the Great, vi. 340.
- Curtius, Mettus**, legend of, i. 124, 387.
- Cybele**, Galatian goddess worshipped at Pessinus, desired by the Romans and given to them by the king of Pergamum, i. 638-9 and *note*, 640; Pessinus a sacred city on her account, ii. 224; iv. 5-6; her worship at Rome described by Lucretius, ii. 299-300; worshipped in Constantine's time, vi. 389 and *note*; sacrifice described by Prudentius, 390; tiara worn by her priests became the episcopal mitre, 392 *note*; her temple in Constantinople, vii. 565; Julian explains legends concerning her, viii. 199.
- Cyclades**, islands in the Aegean Sea, ravaged by pirates, ii. 87; garrisoned by Philip of Macedon, 91; his garrisons expelled, 98; again ruled by the Macedonians, 169.
- Cyclopean walls** of Italian cities of Pelagian construction, i. 50, 66; ii. 42; iii. 8.
- Cydnus**, a river of Cilicia, iii. 617.
- Cyme**, city of Asia Minor, claimed Homer; birthplace of Hesiod's father; sent colonists to Cumae, i. 109 *note*.
- Cynegius**, praetorian prefect under Theodosius, executes the Emperor's order for the prohibition of the pagan cult, viii. 294.
- Cynocephalae**, battle of, ii. 104.
- Cyprian, Saint**, bishop of Carthage, vi. 584; his offering, vii. 23; his authority, 26 *note*; his letters quoted, 28 *notes*; convokes an African council, 29; his treatise on the unity of the Church, 31; accusations against Novatus, 38; an admirer of Tertullian, 49; letter to Demetrianus, 51; first African bishop martyred, 59 *note*; on martyrdom, 69; on *lapsi*, 70 *note*, 71; precursor of Saint Augustine, 217; picture of the degeneracy of the Church, 227-8; conceals himself from persecution, 229; his martyrdom, 248, 251 and *notes*.
- Cyprus**, separated from Egypt by Rome, ii. 219; hidden treasure lately found there, 281 *note*; reduced to a province, iii. 150, 220 and *note*; given by Antony to Cleopatra, 650; its exports, iv. 223 and *note*; Jewish insurrection, v. 310.
- Cyrenaica**, separated from Egypt by Rome, ii. 219; legacy left to Rome by Ptolemy Apion; declared a province; its export of silphium, 517; united with Crete, iii. 701; its condition at the foundation of the Empire, 725-30 and *notes*; its independent spirit under Nero, 602.
- Cyriades**, one of "the Thirty Tyrants," Roman traitor; guides the army of Sapor into Syria, vii. 247; assumes the imperial title; is put to death by the Syrians, 248.
- Cyril, Saint**, his refutation of Julian's book against Christianity, vii. 504 *note*; viii. 213; on Christian quarrels, viii. 148-9.
- Cythera**, Greek island given to Sparta by Augustus, iv. 206.
- Cyzicus**, a city of Mysia, member of the league of the Greek cities, ii. 86; resists Mithridates, iii. 126, 128, 151; receives extensive territory as a reward, 151; queen of the Propontis, 711; deprived of its liberty by Augustus, iv. 186, 208; gladiatorial games, vi. 160 and *note*; mutiny in its fleet, vii. 109; threatened by Barbarians in the third century, 209.

DACIA, country of central Europe lying between the middle and lower Danube and the Carpathians; general rising in the time of Caesar, iii. 530; iv. 20; v. 195; temporary subjugation, iv. 20; question as to the Daci and Getae, 20 *note*; Dacian prisoners fight in the amphitheatre, 69; outbreak in the time of Domitian, v. 194-8 and *notes*; Trajan's wars, 233-41 and *notes*; the country made a Roman province, colonized and civilized (Dacia Trajana), 241-5 and *notes*; its language, 245 *note*; history of the Dacian War recounted on Trajan's Column, 246-54; in the reign of Hadrian, v. 321-30 and *notes*; campaigns of Maximian, vii. 148; retains but a few garrisons in the third century, 186; invaded by the Goths, 223; Regalianus, one of "the Thirty Tyrants," a Dacian, 266; lost to the Empire in the time of Gallienus, 271; formally given up to the Goths by Aurelian, 288, 290; a new Dacia established south of the Danube (Dacia Aureliana), 289-90; the Emperor Galerius a Dacian, 364; the Goths expelled by the Huns, vii. 265.

Dagalaiphus, advises Valentinian as to a colleague, viii. 229; consul, 244 *note*.

Dalmatia, made an imperial province, 148, 252 *note*; disturbances in, iv. 252, 262, 264; visited by Constantius, viii. 127. See also *Illyricum*.

Damascus, capital of Syria, in Roman possession; Pompey's visit, iii. 144-5; occupied by a Roman garrison, iv. 6; visited by Hadrian, v. 368; its churches destroyed in Julian's reign, viii. 187.

Damasus, Pope, quarrel over his consecration, viii. 236; his literary and artistic tastes, 236 *note*; his orthodoxy commended by Theodosius, 279; employs Saint Ambrose to oppose the petition of the pagan senators, 304.

Danube, river in southeastern Europe, regarded as the southern boundary of Germany in the last years of the Republic, iv. 19; its shallow mouths, 20; Barbaric tribes driven back across it in the time of Augustus, 245, 247, 252-3; bridged by Trajan, v. 234, 239-40, the bridge destroyed by Hadrian, 329-30. See also *Dacia*.

Daphne, grove sacred to Apollo, near Antioch, vii. 300; deserted in Julian's time, 500; tomb of the martyr Babylas, viii. 206.

Dardanians, people of Moesia, in alliance with

the Romans against Philip, ii. 21; their predatory incursions in the first century B. C., iii. 122 and *note*.

Dasumius, extracts from his will, v. 565-7.

Daunia, ravaged by Hannibal, i. 580.

Daunians, Pelasgian tribe in the southeast of Italy, i. 49; legend of their origin, 107; long retained their kings, 120.

Day, the Roman, how divided, ii. 475 *note*.

Dea-Dia, a telluric divinity, i. 225, 232.

Debtors, in the early Republic severely dealt with by the Roman law, i. 270, 280-2; they demand relief, 282; legal measures for that purpose, 403-5; decree of Augustus for their relief in Asia, iv. 151-5.

Decebalus, the, Dacian chief, his designs and attempts, v. 195; is defeated, 196; makes a treaty with Domitian, 197; attacked and conquered by Trajan, accepts the terms offered, 238; is again defeated, and kills himself, 240; his hope of forming an alliance with the king of Parthia, 293; wide extent of his intrigues, 324.

Decemviri (the Ten Men), name of various magistrates and functionaries at Rome: *stlitibus judicandis*, who presided over the courts formed by the centumvirs, i. 288; iv. 102 *note*; *legibus scribendis*, patrician magistrates charged with drawing up a code of laws, i. 326; their violence and injustice, 327-31; they are obliged to abdicate, 331; *sacris faciendis*, guardians and interpreters of the Sibylline Books; five of them must be plebeians, 383.

Decennalia, celebrated by Augustus, iv. 86; the custom observed by his successors, 86 *note*; vii. 260, 328; of Theodosius, viii. 300.

Decentius, proclaimed Caesar by his brother Magnentius, viii. 71; insurrection against him; his death, 73.

Decidiana, Domitia, wife of Agricola, vi. 310.

Decius, the Emperor (C. Messius Quintus Trajanus), sent by Philip to the army of Moesia, is proclaimed by them, vii. 178; tradition of his defence against the Saracens, 180; birth, character, and early career, 222; three important facts of his reign, 222-3; his war with the Goths, 223-4; defeated and slain; estimate of his policy, his persecution of the Christians, 225; probably victorious over the Dacians and Germans, 225 *note*; his re-establishment of the censorship, 225-6.

- Decius Mus, P.** (1st), military tribune, story of i. 415, 416; at the battle of Mount Vesuvius, 420.
- Decius Mus, P.** (2d), consul, i. 449.
- Decumatian Lands** (Agri Decumates), name given by the Romans to the country east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, occupied by immigrant Gauls and subjugated Germans and Roman veterans on payment to the state of a tenth of the produce, iv. 254; line of defence established by Domitian, v. 190; important outpost of the Empire, 191; entered by the Alemanni, who are quickly driven out, vii. 66, 186-7; lost to the Empire in the time of Gallienus, 271; line of defence repaired by Probus, 334-5; who advises the Alemanni to settle in this territory, 338.
- Decuriae**, in early Rome, subdivisions of the Curia, i. 190.
- Decurions**, in early Rome, chiefs of the decuriae, i. 190; appointed to the colonial magistracies, iv. 408.
- Decurions** (*curiales*), provincial notables forming the Curia, vi. 48 *note*, 75; qualifications and election, 52-3 and *notes*, 56-7 and *notes*; their insignia, 57; their powers, 58-61; the president of the Curia, 61; the Curia receives certain appeals, 64; the decurionate highly desired under the Antonines, 74; order in voting, 75; children appointed to the office, 76 *note*; their receipts in a distribution of money, 77 *note*; the office became hereditary in the third century, vii. 200; their privileges confirmed by Diocletian, vii. 399; their condition in the Later Empire, viii. 28-31 and *notes*; a municipal nobility, 32; the hardships of their situation, 368-70.
- Dedititii**, i. 485.
- Defence**, double line of, after the Samnite War, i. 492.
- Dejotarus**, Galatian tetrarch, friendly to the Romans, defeats Mithridates, iii. 126; rewarded by the Romans, 150; brings six hundred horse to Pompey in Greece, 445; shares Pompey's flight after Pharsalia, 462; expelled from Armenia by Pharnaces, 478; a suppliant to Caesar, 481; defended by Cicero, 481 *note*; obtains Armenia from Antony, 561; abandons Antony, 661; receives the throne of Galatia from the Senate, iv. 5.
- Delatio**, ii. 369.
- Delators.** See **Informers.**
- Dellius, Q.**, Antony's envoy to Artavasdes, iii. 649; abandons Antony, 659; friend of Augustus, iv. 56.
- Delmatius, Flavius Julius**, Caesar, countries assigned him by Constantine, vii. 575; his murder, viii. 61.
- Delphi**, Greek city renowned for its oracle of Apollo, visited by the Romans, i. 170, 253; pillaged by Sylla, iii. 667-8; its Amphictyonic Council in the time of Vespasian, vi. 111.
- Demeter**, Greek goddess worshipped at Rome under the name of Ceres, i. 280.
- Demetrias**, Roman heiress, becomes a nun, viii. 195.
- Demetrias**, Caesar's arsenal at, iii. 603.
- Demetrius**, bishop of Alexandria, his hostility to Origen, vii. 43; teacher of Clement and Origen, 61; sole bishop in Egypt, 61 *note*.
- Demetrius of Pharos**, Corcyrian traitor, i. 592, 593.
- Demetrius**, son of Philip V., sent to Rome as a hostage, ii. 105; again sent to Rome as an emissary, 143; put to death by his father, 147.
- Demonax**, Cynic philosopher: his rule for government, vi. 206 and *note*; Lucian's eulogium of him, 358-9; on the immortality of the soul, 409.
- Demophilus**, Arian bishop of Constantinople, deposed by Theodosius, viii. 284; receives his sentence with dignity, 285.
- Dentatus, M. Curius**, his distributions of land, i. 402-3; his victory over the Samnites, 454; his victory over Pyrrhus and triumph, 472; his simplicity and integrity, 500-1; constructs the second Roman aqueduct, 626; his canal at Reate, 650.
- Desiderius**, proclaimed Caesar by his brother Magnentius, viii. 71; put to death by him, 73.
- Devil**, the, Chaldaean demon, vii. 7 and *note*, 8.
- Dexippus, Publius Herennius**, rhetorician and historian, vii. 216; defends Athens against the Goths, 270; relates the interview of Aurelian with Barbarian envoys, 288.
- Diadumenianus**, Caesar and Prince of the Youth, vi. 96-7; called Antoninus, 97; receives the title of Augustus, 105; his death, 106.
- Diaeus**, strategus at Sparta, ii. 193; incites the people of Corinth to revolt against Rome, 194; his army defeated at Leucopetra, 195; dies by his own hand, 198.

Diana, ancient Latin goddess, i. 126, 134; her temple on the Aventine, 163, 247; her temple at Lanuvium; identified with the Hellenic Artemis, also with Lucina, goddess of the woods, 200, 249; identified with Feronia, goddess of the poor, 236; ode of Catullus to Diana or the Moon, 613; her statue carried off by Verres from Segesta, ii. 644; identified with the Gallic Arduinna, iv. 166; the Ephesian receives from Augustus the *ius trium liberorum*, 167-8 and *note*; right of asylum of the temple limited by Augustus, 207; temple built in the reign of Augustus, 346; goddess of a guild, vi. 101; her statue at Gabii, 140; peculiar duty of her chief priest in Aricia, 457; the Ephesian, vii. 213 and *note*; her temple at Ephesus burned by the Goths, 262.

Dicearchos, a Greek in the service of Philip of Macedon, his two altars, ii. 82.

Dictatorship, an extraordinary Roman magistracy, its creation, i. 282; probably borrowed from Etruria, 282 *note*; first plebeian dictator, 383-9; dictatorial power conferred by the Senate on the consuls, ii. 483; illegal dictatorship of Sylla, lasting three years, iii. 17-45; conferred on Caesar for a period of ten years, 503-7; made a life-office, 522.

Didian Law, ii. 414 *note*.

Didius Julianus, the Emperor (M. Didius Commodus Severus Julianus), governor of Belgica under Marcus Aurelius, v. 461; his ancestry, character, and early career, 469; bids against Sulpicianus for the Empire, 469-70; accepted by the Senate, installed in the palace, ill received by the people, 471; threatened by rivals, 472; vain attempt to defend himself against Septimius Severus, 473-4; attempts to negotiate, 475; put to death by order of the Senate, 476.

Dies fasti and nefasti. For the administration of justice and for holding comitia the Roman year was thus divided: *dies fasti*, or *justi*, on which it was lawful for the praetor to hold his court and for the comitia to be assembled; *dies nefasti*, on which no public business could be transacted, i. 274 *note*. From a religious point of view, the year was divided into *dies festi*, dedicated to the gods and occupied in religious solemnities and festivities; *dies profesti*, belonging to men for the administration of their affairs; and *dies interdicti*, belonging partly to the gods and partly to men, 393. The term *dies ne-*

fasti, which originally had only a negative meaning, in later times became identical with *dies festi*, as the *nefasti* were usually dedicated to the service of the gods. Number of *dies fasti* under the Antonines, vi. 217.

Digest, or **Pandectae**, a compilation made by order of Justinian from the mass of juristical writings, to serve as a useful and complete body of Roman law, iv. 340 and *note*.

Dii consentes, personification of the powers of Nature, i. 128.

Dii involuti, or Fates, i. 128.

Diminutio capitis, loss of civil rights: in three degrees, — *minima*, in cases of adoption or emancipation of a son, i. 332; v. 532; *media*, by loss of citizenship, and *maxima* by loss of liberty, v. 515 and *note*.

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- of Ceres, favorable to the Carthaginians, i. 564; the Romans retain the city by treachery, ii. 25; centre of a servile outbreak, 441-3; deprived of the sacred statue of Ceres by Verres, 644.
- Ennius**, father of Roman literature, translator of Lucretius, disrespectful towards the gods, ii. 290-1; introduces the Greek hexameter, 311; opens a school for instruction in Greek, 312; favorite of the aristocracy, 401; his statue on the cenotaph of the Scipios, 406.
- Entremont**, in Provence, most ancient relic of Gallic sculpture found here, ii. 522.
- Enyalios**, son of Mars, i. 552 and *note*.
- Epagathus**, freedman, put to death under Alexander Severus, vii. 130.
- Epagathus, Vettius**, "the Christians' advocate," v. 507.
- Epaphroditus**, freedman of Nero, assists his master to kill himself, v. 51; put to death by Domitian, 205.
- Ephesus**, principal commercial town of Asia, banishes Hermodorus, i. 327 *note*; occupied by Antiochus, ii. 118; in possession of the Romans, 123, 125; given to the king of Pergamus, 127; first in rank in the province of Asia, 253, 258 *note*; outbreak against the Romans, 674; assembly of deputies held there by Sylla, 692; entrance of Antony; his severity towards the deputies, iii. 615-16; its wealth, temple of Diana, and extensive commerce, 712; extensive right of asylum in its temple of Diana, 712 *note*; importance in the reign of Augustus, iv. 224; temple to the Roman Fortune, erected by Hadrian, v. 364.
- Ephraem, Saint**, his literary style, viii. 193 and *note*; recommends the ascetic life, 195; reproaches the monks with their vices, 197.
- Epicharis**, engaged in Piso's conspiracy, v. 20; her courageous death, 21.
- Epictetus**, philosopher, freedman of Epaphroditus, escapes from Rome in the reign of Domitian, v. 206; favorite with Hadrian, 406; regarded as a spiritual director, 409; resided at Rome, vi. 344; recommends celibacy, 358 *note*, 366; satirizes the self-examination in fashion in his time, 359; theory of morals, 359-60; Stoic teaching, 364; the real hero of Stoicism, 365; admired by Pascal, 365-6; his birth and works, 365 *note*; severe in reproof, 370 *note*; modest and quiet life, 371; his five theories concerning the gods, 401 *note*; wishes men to love the one God, 404-5 and *note*; opposed to divination, 420 *note*.
- Epicureanism**, iii. 421 *note*; recommended celibacy, vi. 358; denied the existence of the gods, 384.
- Epicurus**, ii. 270-1 and *notes*.
- Epicydes and Hippocrates**, in command of Syracuse, ii. 22, 26.
- Epidamnus**. See **Dyrrachium**.
- Epidaurus**, a city of Greece famous for its temple of Aesculapius, i. 636-7; visited by Paulus Aemilius, ii. 176.
- Epiphanes, Saint**, on the Manichaeans, vii. 414.
- Epirus**, a Greek state, its people of Pelasgian origin, i. 46; invaded by the Illyrian pirates, 591; falls into the power of the Romans, ii. 100; given up to pillage, 179.
- Epona**, Gallic divinity, iii. 255.
- Eponina**, wife of Sabinus, v. 106; desires to share his fate, 107.
- Eporedia (Ivrea)**, Roman colony in northern Italy, ii. 520; iv. 598.
- Epulo**, an Istrian chief, ii. 137.
- Equality**, principle of, its triumph, i. 641, 642.
- Equestrian order**, originally knights, or *celeres*, three hundred under Romulus, his guard, chosen from the richest citizens, i. 195; increased to six hundred by the elder Tarquin, and to twelve hundred by Servius, from the cavalry of the legions, their pay, 243; *transvectio equitum*, procession of the knights, 410; divided into ten *turmae*; their weapons, 515; the *equus privatus* and the *equus publicus*, 523; great landowners, 586; the importance of the order derived from traffic and banking, ii. 72 *note*; it contains two classes, 386; obtains the judicial positions, 474; its property qualification, 474 *note*; nearly identical with the *publicani*, 477; is deprived of a portion of the *judicia*, 548; reduced to insignificance by Sylla, iii. 37; lauded by Cicero, 105, 170, 190; distinctions in the order established by Augustus, iv. 108-9; existed under the Antonines, vi. 267-8; the order in Constantinople, vii. 566 and *note*.
- Equiriae**, i. 624 *note*.
- Ercte (Monte Pellegrino)**, a mountain near Palermo, occupied by the Romans, i. 575 and *note*, 578.
- Eretum**, a Sabine city, adjacent to the Roman frontier, i. 303 and *note*; starting-point of Sabine raids, 352.

- Ergastulum**, a private prison attached to Roman *tabernæ*, where slaves and men of free condition, seized for debt, worked in chains, i. 281, 404; v. 2.
- Eros**, Greek God of Love, identified with one of the Samothracian Cabeiri, i. 52; his statue by Praxiteles brought by Nero from Thespiæ, v. 41.
- Erythrae**, a city of Asia Minor, pillaged by Verres, ii. 638; the Erythraean Sibyl was said to have announced the coming of Christ, vii. 484.
- Eryx**, city and mountain in Sicily having a celebrated temple of Venus; the city destroyed by Amilcar, i. 564; position occupied by the Romans, 574; position of the city and temple, 575 *note*; pilgrimages thither, ii. 640.
- Eskuldunac**, iii. 233.
- Esquiline**, one of the Seven Hills, deposit of fluvial shells, i. 42; united to the city by the wall of Servius, 162; temple of Juno and celebration of the Matronalia, 146 *note*; temple of Tellus at the foot of the hill, ii. 615; mural painting lately found there, iv. 179; this hill, originally a cemetery of slaves, was improved by Augustus and Mæcenæ; a palace and garden built by the latter, 346.
- Essenes**, the, a religious order of the Jews, v. 120 and *note*.
- Ethiopia**, its Phœnician commerce, i. 531; explorations of the country by Roman soldiers, iv. 38 and *note*; its queen invades Egypt and is driven out by the Romans, 240-2; explored by Flaccus in the first century A. D., 548.
- Etna** (Aetna), volcanic mountain of Sicily, outpost of the Apennines, i. 24, 26, 27; visited by Roman travellers in the second century B. C., vi. 179; Roman ruin on its top, 179 *note*.
- Etruria**, its civilization first discovered, i. 35; its influence upon Rome, 43, 117; the mystery of Western civilization, 60; its subject condition, 79, 80; destroyed by the revenge of Sylla, iii. 27.
- Etruscan language**, almost indecipherable, i. 62; inscriptions in, 62 *note*; discoveries in tombs, 70; theory of the world's duration, 79 *note*; legislation, of sacerdotal character, 118 *note*; religion, of Asiatic origin, 128; civilization, dominant in Rome in the period of the Tarquins, 237 *note*.
- Etruscans**, call themselves Rasena, i. 62; conjectures as to their origin, 62-5; points of similarity to the Goths, 65; theory as to their invasion of Italy, 65, 66; not hostile to strangers, 67; inventors of gladiatorial combats, 67; become masters of Italy, 68; their political organization, 68, 72; achievements in useful and decorative arts, 71-5, 85; find rivals in the Carthaginians and the Greeks, 76, 77; their territory reduced, 79; their fatal defeat at Lake Vadino, 79; their share in the civilization of Italy, 80; influence of their religion on Rome, 80; their architecture, 81, 82; left isolated (304 B. C.), 444; final subjugation, 457, 458; their influence on Roman architecture, iv. 357-8.
- Etruscus, Claudius**, freedman, imperial treasurer, vi. 223 and *note*; eulogized by Statius, 224.
- Etruscus, Herennius**, son of the Emperor Decius, appointed Caesar, vii. 223; killed in battle, 225.
- Euboea**, Greek island held by Philip of Macedon, ii. 90, 91; in the Second Macedonian War, 98, 101; left free by the Romans, 106; invaded by the Aetolians, 112; in alliance with Antiochus, 114, 117; Eubœans sold at auction by Roman governors, 380; in the war with Mithridates, 676, 686, 687.
- Euganei**, a prehistoric people of northern Italy, i. 56.
- Eugenius**, a Roman rhetorician, appointed emperor by Arbogastus, viii. 324 and *notes*; addressed by Saint Ambrose as a legitimate monarch, 326; his endeavors to propitiate Theodosius, 326-7; his campaign against Theodosius, 327-9; defeat and death, 329.
- Eugubine Tables**, i. 58, 121.
- Euhemerus**, rationalistic philosopher translated by Ennius, ii. 290, 320, 387.
- Eumenes**. See **Pergamus, kings of**.
- Eumenes**, friend and secretary of Constantine; placed in charge of the schools of Autun, vii. 371; his liberality; oration on the opening of the schools, 372, 374 *note*.
- Eunus**, the slave insurrection headed by, ii. 411-4.
- Euphrates**, a moralist described by Pliny, vi. 311-12.
- Euphrates**, a river of western Asia, first crossed by a Roman army under Lucullus, iii. 131; crossed by Crassus, 382-3; natural boundary of the Græco-Roman world, iv. 28, 30; vi. 123; infested by Arab robbers, iv. 30;

- Trajan designs to include it within the Empire, v. 293; the two great fords, 296; Trajan crosses the river, 297; Roman fleet descends it, 299; it is again proved the natural frontier of the Roman Empire in the East, 302; crossed by Severus, vi. 491, 505; Roman fleet upon the river, 506-7; Roman province organized beyond it, 512; two great roads crossing it, 513; canal connecting it with the Tigris; Julian on the Euphrates, viii. 217.
- Eusebia**, second wife of the Emperor Constantius, eulogized by Julian, viii. 61 *note*; protector of Julian, 85; unfounded conjecture as to their relations, 85 *note*; suggests that Julian be appointed prefect of Gaul, 88; her gifts to him on his marriage, 89; her death, 127.
- Eusebius**, bishop of Caesarea, on the prosperity of the Empire under Diocletian, vii. 407; on the toleration of the Christians at that time, 409 and *note*; on Christian excesses of zeal, 411-12, 413; on faults of Christian communities, 415; his story of the burning of the palace, 418-19; on persecutions, 424, 427 and *note*; on the victory at the Milvian Bridge, 458-9; on Licinius, 466 and *note*, 471; on Constantine, 472 and *note*, 473; instances of his cowardice and time-serving policy, 472 *note*; on Maxentius, 480; furnishes copies of the Scriptures to the clergy of Constantinople, 501; on the Emperor's conduct at Byzantium, 501; exaggerates the destruction of pagan temples, 502; and prohibition of divination, 504 *note*; on Constantine's delay of baptism, 518; refuses the see of Antioch, 548 *note*; desires to compromise, 551; concerning the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, 571-2; and the journey of the Empress Helena, 573; on Constantine's dealings with the Goths, 574; on the peace made with the Persians, 577.
- Eusebius**, bishop of Nicomedeia, a zealous Arian, accused of fomenting discord between Constantine and Licinius, vii. 468; shelters Arius, 536; at the Nicene Council, 548 *notes*; exiled with Arius, 549 *note*; his transference to the See of Constantinople; recalled by Constantine, 551; baptizes the Empress, 578; superintends Julian's studies, viii. 75 *note*; adviser of Constantius, 141; obtains the see of Constantinople, 142; his death, 143.
- Eusebius**, bishop of Vercelli, resists Constantius, viii. 151; is exiled, 152.
- Eustathius**, orthodox bishop of Antioch, vii. 548 *note*; very active against Arius; accused of Sabellianism, 552.
- Eustathius**, Cappadocian philosopher, sent by Constantius as ambassador to Sapor, viii. 115 *note*, 137 and *note*.
- Eutherius**, Julian's chamberlain in Lutetia, viii. 105.
- Eutropia**, sister of Constantine, killed with her son Nepotianus, viii. 71.
- Eutropius**, Roman chronicler, viii. 21 *note*; with Julian on the Persian expedition, 219, 221.
- Euxine** (Black Sea), the, all its coasts except Thrace subject to Mithridates, ii. 669; frontier intrusted to the charge of Polemon, iv. 6; its European shores given up to Barbarians, 20-4; Greek colonies on its northern shore, 24; its pirates, 24-5; eastern boundary of Moesia, vi. 133. See also **Cimmerian Bosphorus** and **Dioscurias**.
- Evander**, i. 139.
- Evodus**, a freedman, superintends the execution of Messalina, iv. 559-60.
- Exedares**, king of Armenia, established and afterward abandoned by Chosroës, v. 293.
- Exile**, a Roman punishment of various degrees of severity: *exsilium* of three kinds under the Republic replaced by *deportatio* under the Empire; *relegatio* of two kinds, ii. 655; iv. 282 *note*, 406 *note*.
- Extraordinarii**, i. 515.
- FABIAN**, bishop of Rome, martyred under Decius, vii. 230.
- Fabian gens**, of Sabine origin, i. 133; exiled itself, 293; avenged by the people, 294; gallantry in the Gallic invasion, 364. See also **Ambustus**.
- Fabiola**, Christian woman, viii. 195.
- Fabius Maximus, Q.** (Rullianus), story of his insubordination, i. 429-31; consul in the Samnite War, 435, 439; proconsul, 440, 442, 443; consul, 450; defeats the Etruscans, 448; consul, 449, 450; triumph of, 451; serves under his son, 493.
- Fabius Maximus, Q.** (Gurges), general in the Samnite War, his triumph, i. 453.
- Fabius Maximus, Q.** (Cunctator), dictator, successful against the Ligurians, i. 595; Roman ambassador to Carthage, 658; pro-

- dictator, 676; pursues Hannibal, but will not fight, 679-81; before Capua, ii. 15; the great aristocratic leader, 17; consul for the fifth time (209 B. C.), 38; retakes Tarentum, 39; unfriendly to Scipio, 61.
- Fabius Maximus, Q.**, legate of Caesar in command of three legions at Narbo, iii. 432.
- Fabius Pictor, C.**, paintings of, i. 625; iv. 335.
- Fabius Pictor, Q.**, annalist, passage from, i. 220 *note*; present at the victory of Telamon, i. 598; date of writing, 614, 617; sent to Delphi, ii. 2; a purely Roman author, 327.
- Fabius Vibulanus, Caeso** *quaestor parricidii*, pronounces sentence of death against Cassius; seven years consul, i. 292; attempts to enforce the Agrarian Law; defeated, abandons the city, and is killed, with most of the Fabian *gens*, by the Etruscans, 293.
- Fabius Vibulanus, M.**, victory and death in battle with the Veientes, i. 292.
- Fabrateria**, a Volscian city, threatened by the Samnites and protected by Rome, i. 427.
- Fabricius, L.**, builder of the *Pons Fabricius*, i. 176.
- Fabricius Luscinus, C.**, his successes in 278 B. C., i. 470.
- Fabulae Atellanae**. See **Atellane Farces**.
- Factiones of the Circus**, companies of charioteers, increased by Domitian from four to six, v. 179; source of great public excitement, vi. 218.
- Faesulae** (Fiesole), Etrurian city, in the Gallic War, i. 597; in the Second Punic War, 670; sides with the Italians in the Social War, ii. 595; at the beginning of the Civil War, iii. 63-4.
- Fairs**, annual, held in Italy, iv. 218-19.
- Falarica**, a javelin, with a bunch of lighted tow attached to it, used by the Saguntines, i. 655.
- Falcidian Law**, ii. 332; iii. 626 *note*.
- Falco, Q. Sosius**, accused of conspiracy under Pertinax, vi. 468.
- Falernus ager**, a district famous for its wine, taken away from Capua, i. 420.
- Faliscans**, or **Falerians**, Etruscan people, support the Fidenates, i. 353; hostility towards Rome, 356; make a treaty with Rome, 359; join Tarquinii against Rome, 375; seek for peace, 417; great defeat by Carvilius and heavy war-indemnity, 452.
- Fannia**, second wife of Helvidius Priscus, vi. 317.
- Fannian Law**, ii. 414 and *note*.
- Fannius Strabo, C. (1st)**, consul, author of the first sumptuary law at Rome, ii. 414, 427.
- Fannius Strabo, C. (2d)**, consul, hostile to Caius Gracchus, ii. 427.
- Fannius Strabo, C. (3d)**, son-in-law of Laelius, author of Roman Annals, ii. 427 *note*.
- Fanum Fortunae** (Fano), on the *Via Flaminia*, i. 495; inscription in honor of Aurelian, vii. 292.
- Fasces**, a bundle of rods having an axe bound in with them: Etruscan insignia, i. 68; introduced into Rome by the elder Tarquin, 160; borne before the consuls, 273; wreathed with laurel, 274 *note*; borne before the dictator, 282; number increased for the decemviri, 328. The praetors, the proconsuls, and the quaestors in the provinces are the other Roman magistrates to whom this honor belonged. The fasces were carried on the lictor's shoulder, and to lower them in any one's presence was to acknowledge him a superior, as in the case of Pompey and Metellus, iii. 84.
- Fascinum**, an amulet, i. 218; ii. 36 *note*.
- Fascinus**, a Roman divinity, i. 218; special protector of the vestals, 227.
- Fasti**, the sacred books in which the *dies fasti* of the year were marked. The term was also employed to denote registers of various kinds, which may be divided into two classes, the *Fasti sacri*, or calendars, and the *Fasti annales*, or chronicles. To the former class belong the *Calendarium Rusticum Farnesianum*, i. 263 and *note*; the calendar which M. Flavius, clerk to the censor, made public in 304 B. C., 393 and *note*; and that of Aelius, 201 B. C., ii. 329 *note*. To the latter class belong the *Fasti Magistratum*, the *Fasti Triumphales*, i. 183; and the most important specimen, the *Fasti Capitolini*, — a list of consuls, dictators, and censors, with the *lustra* which they closed, and of triumphs and ovations, extending from the expulsion of the Kings to the death of Augustus. This list was engraved on marble tablets, of which several fragments were discovered in 1547 in excavating the Roman Forum, ii. 280.
- Faunus**, ancient Latin divinity, i. 90 *note*; an early Latin king, 138; god of the fields, 203; his sanctuary on the Insula Tiberina, 637; on a Hermes, ii. 36; his worship wide spread, iv. 184.

- Fausta, Flavia Maximinia**, given in marriage to Constantine, vii. 148 and *note*; betrays her father's designs upon her husband's life, 450; mother of a large family, 465; her hostility to Crispus, 559-60; incurs the anger of Helena; is put to death by Constantine, 561; her character, 562; name effaced from the public edifices; her palace given to the bishops of Rome, 562 and *note*.
- Faustina, Annia**, wife of Antoninus Pius, v. 434; her character, death, apotheosis, 454-5; charity founded in her honor, 455; accusations against her probably calumnies, vi. 313.
- Faustina, Annia**, daughter of Antoninus Pius, wife of Marcus Aurelius, v. 431; desires the Emperor to be severe towards Avidius Cassius, 484 and *note*; question as to her character, 487-90 and *notes*; mother of two sons and four or five daughters, 489 *note*; apotheosized, 490; her appearance, 490 *note*; called *mater castrorum*, vi. 192; accusations against her probably calumnies, 313.
- Faustina, Annia**, descendant of Marcus Aurelius, third wife of Elagabalus, vii. 115.
- Faustina, Maxima**, third wife of the Emperor Constantius, viii. 127 *note*.
- Favonius**, "Cato's ape," iii. 389, 457, 541; his sarcastic language to Pompey, 424; joins the latter after Pharsalia, 462.
- Favorinus**, priest of the Gauls, v. 356 *note*; an important personage at Ephesus, 360; relations with Hadrian, 404 and *note*, 405; and with Antoninus Pius, 406; urges mothers to fulfil their duties, 522; wrote in Greek, vi. 344.
- Federative Republic**, Latin theory of, i. 499 *note*.
- Felicissimus**, master of the Roman mints under Aurelian, instigates a sedition, vii. 320-21.
- Felicitas, Saint**, *Acta* of, vii. 71 and *note*.
- Felix, Pope**, successor of Liberius, viii. 155 and *note*; violently expelled from Rome, 157.
- Felix, Antonius**, procurator of Judaea, v. 115.
- Felix, M. Minucius**, Roman lawyer and Christian apologist; character in his *Octavius*, vi. 387; concerning the Christians, 428, 432 *note*, 584; his *Octavius*, vii. 5 *note*, 6 *note*; argues against the pagans, 37; a Roman lawyer, character of his work, 37 *note*; his *Octavius* quoted, 38 *note*, 40, 56; extreme hostility to Rome, 49, 51; date of his *Octavius*, 51 *note*; on the innocence of the Christians, 56; on their number, 62 *note*; testifies to friendships between pagans and Christians, 71; on the symbol of the cross, 475 *note*.
- Feralia**, festival of the dead, i. 211-12.
- Ferentinum** (Ferentino), Latin city, member of the Hernican Confederation, i. 92 and *note*; tyranny of Roman magistrate, ii. 573.
- Feriae Latinae**, Latin festival held on the Alban Mount; Rome finally obtains the supremacy on these occasions, i. 127, 166; Caesar saluted as king at one of them, iii. 529.
- Feronia**, ancient Latin divinity, i. 204 and *note*; protectress of the common people, 236; rites of her worshippers, iv. 217-18.
- Feronia**, an Etrurian town named for the goddess, iv. 217.
- Fescennina carmina**, popular poetry of early Rome, i. 620-21.
- Festivals** (*feriae*), of Fortuna, i. 201-2; in honor of the dead, 212; extremely numerous in early Rome and of a coarse and rustic character, 232; the *Amburrualia* and the *Ambarvalia*, 233; the *Compitalia* and *Paganalia* instituted by Servius, 241; many of a religious character, 618; the floral games, 622; festivals of Anna Perenna, 623; their number reduced by Augustus, iv. 216; number and variety under the Antonines, vi. 216-18; in the Later Empire, viii. 56-8.
- Festus, Sextus Pompeius**, grammarian, vii. 217 *note*.
- Festus, Valerius**, legate under Vitellius in Africa, becomes a partisan of Vespasian, v. 136.
- Fetiales** (heralds), a college of Roman priests, twenty in number, who acted as the guardians of the public faith in respect to hostilities with foreign nations: employed by the Ligurians, i. 54; established among the Aequi, 132; *jus fetiale* originated with early Latins, 132, 134; instituted at Rome by Numa, 117; ceremony of the *fetiales* in regard to the contest of the Horatii and Curiatii, 151; the customary formalities on declaration of war, 230-1; always patricians, 393; action of the *fetiales* after the Samnite victory of Caudium, 433; their expedient for declaring war against Pyrrhus, 465; their oath by Jupiter Lapis, 552.

- Fetichism** in the early Roman religion, i. 217, 218.
- Fidenae**, ancient Etruscan colony south of the Tiber, i. 67; victories of Romulus over the Fidenates, 146; and of Tullus, 155; five miles distant from Rome; reduced in 426 B. C., 302 *note*, 353; assassinated Roman ambassadors and is punished, 353.
- Fides**, or **Fidelity**, divinity of early Rome, i. 123, 222; his temple on the Capitoline Hill, 149, 160.
- Fimbria, C. Flavius**, attempts to murder Mucius Scaevola at the funeral of Marius, ii. 632; kills Flaccus in Asia, 690; is abandoned by his soldiers and takes his own life, 691.
- Financial** administration of the Roman state. Under the Republic the Senate had the control of public expenses, i. 509; ii. 367. Absolutely controlled by Caesar as dictator for life, iii. 523; under the Empire, the power of the Senate became merely nominal, the finances being administered by the Emperor, who was supreme master of the *Aerarium populi*, of the *Fiscus*, and of the *Aerarium militare*, iv. 78, 103, 159.
- Fines**, inflicted by all magistrates, i. 323-4; a very general form of punishment in early Rome for all offences against individuals, 334; moneys thus received paid to the aediles, and employed in the repair of public buildings, ii. 367; inflicted by the municipal magistrates, vi. 40, 52, 53; a great source of revenue under the Later Empire, viii. 12.
- Finns** and **Pelasgians**, earliest civilized nations of Europe, i. 46.
- Fire**, early private and public worship of, i. 209, 229.
- Fire-ships**, ancient, ii. 119 *note*.
- Firmicus Maternus, Julius**, explorer of Africa in the time of Claudius, iv. 518.
- Firmicus Maternus, Julius**, author of *Errors of Paganism*, vi. 389; contrasts the *taurobolium* with the Christian doctrine, 390; eager adversary of paganism, viii. 134.
- Firmilianus**, bishop of Caesarea, his opposition to Pope Stephen, vii. 30 and *note*, 43.
- Firmus**, Mauretanian chief, in the time of Theodosius, his rebellion, viii. 249; defeat and death, 250.
- Firmus, M.**, Aurelian's address to the Senate after overthrowing him, vi. 211; his revolt in Egypt and assumption of the purple, vii. 309; defeat and death, 310.
- Fiscus**, etymology of the word, i. 257; on the establishment of the Empire, employed to designate the Emperor's treasury as distinguished from that controlled by the Senate, which still retained the early name, *aerarium*, iv. 159. (After Hadrian's time the two words were used indiscriminately for the imperial treasury.)
- Flaccilla, Aelia**, wife of Theodosius, mother of Arcadius and Honorius, viii. 298; her statue thrown down in Antioch, 301; her death, 308 *note*.
- Flaccus, C. Valerius**, Roman poet who praises Domitian, v. 185; wrote upon the Argonauts, vi. 333.
- Flaccus, Hordeonius**, consular legate of Upper Germany, v. 69; compelled to resign his position, and murdered by the soldiers, 100.
- Flaccus, L. Pomponius**, general under Claudius in Upper Germany, iv. 543.
- Flaccus, L. Valerius**, selected by Cinna as colleague in the consular office, ii. 633; his extortion in Asia, 646; advances into Asia, 689; is killed by Fimbria, 690.
- Flaccus, Pomponius**, governor of Syria, iv. 489 *note*.
- Flamens**, the name for any Roman priest who was devoted to the service of one particular god: Flamen Dialis (priest of Jupiter), strict rules for his conduct given by Fabius Pictor, i. 220 *note*; the Flamen Dialis, Flamen Martialis, and Flamen Quirinalis, the three most honored; lighters of the altar, 225; flamens in the municipia, iv. 167, 170; vi. 49 and *note*, 70; the Flamen Augusti, 171, 291; expense in obtaining the office, vii. 200; privileges and immunities of flamens confirmed by Constantine, 518 and *note*.
- Flaminian Way**. See **Via Flaminia**.
- Flamininus, T. Quintius**, in command against Philip of Macedon, ii. 99; puts the enemy to flight, 100; takes up winter-quarters at Anticyra, 101; negotiates with Philip, 102; seizes upon Thebes, 103; wins a victory at Cynocephalae, 104; disarms and humiliates Philip, 104-5; announces liberty to Greece, 106; negotiates with Nabis, tyrant of Lacedaemon, 107; returns to Rome and receives a triumph, 108; treasure brought back by him, 108 *note*; contempt of the Greeks,

- 112; again sent into Greece, 113; his activity and success, 114, 118; hostility to Philopoemen, 144; ambassador to Prusias to demand the head of Hannibal, 145, 146; his public career, 340.
- Flaminius, Caius**, Roman general, proposes to divide the lands of the Senones, i. 595; in command against the Gauls; consul, an attempt to annul his election, 599; his victory, 600; censor, begins the building of the *Via Flaminia*, 603, 626; in command against Hannibal; hostility of the nobles, 671; departs from Rome without the usual ceremonies, 672; is defeated and killed at Thrasimene, 673-5.
- Flamma, Calpurnius**, self-devotion of, i. 564.
- Flammeum**, a saffron-colored veil worn by the bride on her wedding-day, v. 538; worn always by the flamen's wife, 539.
- Flavian Law**, i. 393 *note*.
- Flavianus**, praetorian prefect, vii. 130.
- Flavianus**, bishop of Antioch, implores mercy for the city, viii. 302.
- Flavianus**, chief of the pagan party, appointed prefect by Eugenius, viii. 325; makes formal purification of the city, and performs the *taurobolium*, 326; his death, 327.
- Flavii**, the first: Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, v. 98-215; the second: descendants of Constantius Chlorus, vii. 440-viii. 223.
- Flavius, Cnaeus**, his publication of the calendar, i. 393, 409; made curule aedile, 409.
- Flavus, Subrius**, conspirator against Nero; his courageous death, v. 21.
- Flora**, early Roman goddess, i. 124, 125; rival of Feronia, 204; festival in her honor, 622.
- Florentius**, prefect in Gaul, Julian's disagreement with him, viii. 100, 104; his hostility to Sallust, 113-14; Julian's magnanimity towards him, 165.
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- Foederatae**, allied cities, i. 485; ii. 243-4.
- Foederati**, a Gothic corps in the service of the Empire, viii. 261.
- Follis**, copper denarius of Diocletian, vii. 403.
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- Fonteius, M.**, proconsul, his extortions in Gaul, ii. 646, 652; his character, iii. 81; with difficulty protects the province, 89; defended by Cicero, 108.
- Fora**, places where markets were held in sparsely settled districts of Italy, i. 496-7 and *note*.
- Formiae** (Mola di Gaëta), legend of the giant Lestracrones, i. 95; a Latin city, neutral in the Latin War, 418; receives limited citizenship, 423.
- Fortuna**, old Italian divinity, i. 124 *note*; supposed to have been introduced at Rome by Servius: worshipped at Praeneste and Antium, 201; the *Sortes Praenestinae*, 201 *note*; her festival at Rome, 201-2; *Fortuna muliebris* and *Fortuna virilis*, 202-3; *Fors Fortuna*, temple built by Papirius, 453; many surnames added to her name, 627; her temple at Capua, ii. 5; at Praeneste, 571; favorite divinity of Sylla, iii. 43; temple at Rome, 66; at Athens, built by Atticus Herodes, v. 357; at Ephesus, built by Hadrian, 364; her many temples, vi. 193 and *note*; temple at Constantinople built by Constantine, vii. 500; her temple and her statue removed from Rome to Constantinople, 565; called the Tychaeum, viii. 300 *note*.
- Forum**, the Augustan, built by Augustus on his own land, with a temple of Mars and statues of the great men of the Republic, iv. 299.
- Forum Boarium**, a large, irregular open space between the Tiber and the Palatine Hill, used in early times as a cattle-market: a bronze ox set up there in memory of an exploit of Hercules, i. 139; two Gauls and two Greeks buried alive there, 596; arch of the money-changers erected there in honor of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, vi. 569.
- Forum**, the Julian, built by Caesar, its adornments, iii. 509.
- Forum Romanum**, originally a valley between the Capitoline and Palatine hills, often inundated by the Tiber, i. 42; according to tradition the scene of the battle between the Romans and Sabines after the rape of the Sabine women, 145; drained and surrounded with porticos by the elder Tarquin, 158; contained the temple of Castor and Pollux, 178 and *note*; the Curia Hostilia, 194 *note*;

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- Gallus, Nonius**, general under Augustus, victorious in Belgica, iv. 67.
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- Games (ludi)**, general name for chariot and horse races, contests of athletes, exhibitions of wild beasts fighting with one another and with men, and sham-fights on land and water which took place at Rome on various occasions, chiefly at the festivals of the gods, originally of religious character and Etruscan origin, i. 158, 268, 387. See also **Ludi**.
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- Hercules**, legend of his presence in Latium, i. 139 and *note*; identified with the Greek Heracles, 204; first mention of his worship in Rome, 204 *note*; worshipped by the *gens* Potititia, 206; Saxonus, the civic divinity of Tibur, 303; the Phoenician (Melkarth), 526 *note*; iii. 235; iv. 167; Musagetes, his temples at Rome, ii. 128; iv. 346; standard weights and measures under his charge, 216-17.
- Herdonius of Aricia**, legend of, i. 166, 167.
- Hermanric**, Ostrogothic king, viii. 262; unable to rouse his people to fight the Huns, takes his own life, 264-5.
- Hermas**, Christian Father, his *Pastor*, vii. 22 *note*, 30 *note*, 36, 40 *note*.
- Hermodorus**, an Ephesian, explains the Greek laws to the decemvirs; statue erected in his honor, i. 327 and *note*, 625.
- Hermogenes**, early heretic, encountered by Tertullian, vii. 37.
- Hermogenes**, master of the cavalry, confirms the election of Paul, and is murdered in a subsequent riot, viii. 143.
- Hernicans**, a Sabine people of central Italy, i. 91; a peaceful race; their confederation of towns, 92, 499 *note*; their written records, 182; threatened by the Aequi and Volsci, 305, 311; their treaty with Rome, 307; allies of the Romans against Veii, 356-7; support the Gallie invaders, 374-5; are defeated by the Romans, 376; in alliance with Rome against the Samnites, 418-19; unite with the Samnites against Rome, and are

- finally defeated, 443; usefulness to Rome, 479.
- Herod I** (the Great), tetrarch of Galilee, king of Judaea, husband of Mariamne, m. 613; of doubtful fidelity towards the Romans, iv. 6; his cruelties and death, 6, 7, 238; his conduct after the battle of Actium; favor shown him by Augustus, 7, 8; his devotion to Rome, 8; friend or instrument of Augustus, v. 109; builds Caesarea, 119 *note*.
- Herodes**, brother of Agrippa, receives Chalcidice from Claudius, iv. 544.
- Herodes**, son of Odenathus, vii. 294; murdered with his father, 295; stepson of Zenobia, 296.
- Herodianus**, on Alexander Severus, vii. 119, 120; on division of the Empire, 154; estimate of his value as a historian, 164 *note*.
- Heruli**, a German tribe, subjects or allies of the Goths, join them in attacking the Empire, vii. 182, 241, 276, 357.
- Hesus**, supreme divinity of the Gauls, iii. 255; iv. 174.
- Hiarbas**, king of Numidia, sides with the Marrian party; is defeated and killed, iii. 30.
- Hiempsal**, son of Micipsa, murdered by Jugurtha, ii. 500.
- Hierarchia**, "the sacred hierarchy" of Constantine, its germ found in the institutions of Augustus, iv. 376.
- Hierax**, Egyptian heresiarch, vii. 414.
- Hiero I**, tyrant of Syracuse (478 B. C.), defeats the Etruscans, i. 77-8.
- Hiero II**, tyrant of Syracuse (270 B. C.), defeats the Mamertines, i. 553; unites with the Carthaginians in besieging Messina, 556; ally of the Romans, 557, 559, 585; ii. 22; his care in protecting Syracuse, 25.
- Hierocles**, author of the *Philalethes*, vii. 414.
- Hieronymus**, king of Syracuse, ii. 22.
- Hilary**, bishop of Poitiers, his hostility to Constantius, viii. 151; is exiled, 155; his effort in favor of the Nicene Creed, 189; advocates the ascetic life, 196; "without fear before Caesar," 319.
- Himerius**, the Sophist, complains of Constantine's intolerance, vii. 501 *note*; Greek rhetorician, famous in the fourth century, viii. 21 *note*; on Greek eloquence, 86.
- Himilco**, defender of Lilybaeum, i. 574.
- Himilco**, Carthaginian general, ii. 11.
- Hippias**, Macedonian general, ii. 164, 165.
- Hirtius, A.**, personal and political friend of Caesar, author of the eighth book *De Bello Gallico*, iii. 528; consul elect for 43 B. C., 535; consul, makes an attempt to preserve peace between Octavius and Antony, 574; enters on the campaign in Cisalpine Gaul, 575; killed before Modena, 578.
- Hispala Fecenia**, a freedwoman, denounces the Bacchanalia, ii. 301-2; is protected, 302-3; and rewarded, 304 and *note*.
- Hispania**. See **Spain**.
- History**, ancient, geographical limits of, i. 17.
- Holidays**, in early Italy, few, ii. 438 *note*.
- Honestiores** and **Humiliores**, great social division under the Empire, i. 491; its beginnings during the second triumvirate, iii. 602; distinction between, iv. 113-14; in the later Empire, vii. 200; penury of the *honestiores* under Diocletian, 413; position of the two classes before the law, viii. 32-3; on the historic formation of the two, 384-99.
- Honorius**, the Emperor, son of Theodosius, born in 384 A. D., viii. 298; exhibited by his father at Rome to the Senate and the people, 322; receives the Empire of the West, 329.
- Horace** (Q. Horatius Flaccus), his criticism of Roman manners in the theatre, ii. 334; legionary tribune, iii. 603; loses his patrimony, 622; his "Ofellus," 623; his humble station, iv. 51; guest of Maecenas, 56; furthers the designs of Augustus, 57; celebrates his reign, 124; his *Carmen seculare*, 139; prophesies future victories of Augustus, 236; date of his death, 274; his moral influence, 307-8; his tranquil and regular life, 308; his independence, 309-10, 329 and *note*; not a popular favorite, 310 *note*; his friendship sought by Augustus, 331; his picture of the juriconsult, 345; quoted, v. 554, 562; an unbeliever, vi. 381-2; yet superstitious, 386 *note*.
- Horatii** and **Curatii**, legend of, i. 151-5.
- Horatius Barbatus, M.**, consul (449 B. C.), i. 311.
- Hormisdas**. See **Persia, kings of**.
- Hortensia**, daughter of Hortensius, remonstrates with the triumvirate against the taxes laid on the rich women of Rome, iii. 398.
- Hortensian Laws**, i. 394, 395, 404; ii. 371.
- Hortensius, Q.**, plebeian dictator, i. 394, 404-5, 410, 500.
- Hortensius, Q.**, orator, joins Sylla near Elaten, ii. 681; in the battle of Chaeronea, 684-5; his pursuits, iii. 53; abandons politics, 210; proconsul in Macedon, supports Brutus, 603;

- put to death by Antony after the battle of Philippi, 613; a peacock served at his table, vi. 272.
- Hosidius Geta, Cnaeus**, propractor of Numidia under Claudius, forms Mauretania into two provinces, iv. 548.
- Hosius**, bishop of Cordova, the Emperor's secretary for religious affairs, vii. 497 and *note*; probably author of one of the Emperor's edicts, 533; carries Constantine's letter into Egypt, 537; presides at the Council of Nicaea, 538 and *note*, 543; signs first the canons and credo of the council, 543 *note*; and the synodal letter, 546; sent by the Pope to Constans, viii. 145; presides at the Council of Sardica; is excommunicated by the Council of Philippopolis, 146; resists Constantius, and is exiled, 152; submits, and is recalled, 156.
- Hospitality**, the tie of, ii. 245 and *note*.
- Hostilianus, C. Valens**, son of the Emperor Decius, vii. 223 *note*; associated with Trebonianus Gallus in the Empire; his death, 232.
- Hostilius Tullus**, third king of Rome, i. 150; his death, 156; *militaris rei institutor*, 235.
- Hostilius Mancinus, A.** See **Mancinus**.
- Human sacrifices**, i. 139 *note*.
- Hunila**, Gothic wife of a Roman general, vii. 196; pensioned by Probus, 339.
- Hypatia**, pagan martyr, viii. 297 and *note*.
- Hyrcanus I.**, king of Judaea, expelled by the Parthians, iii. 643.
- Hyrcanus II.**, his quarrel with his brother Aristobulus, iii. 144-5; reinstated as high priest, 146.
- IAMBLICUS**, an Arab chief, partisan of Antony, iii. 660; put to death by the latter, 661.
- Iamblichus**, Neo-Platonic philosopher, descended from the priests of Emesa, vi. 547 *note*; author of a Life of Pythagoras, 582 *note*; miracle-worker, 588; viii. 207.
- Iamblicus**, later Neo-Platonic philosopher, friend of the Emperor Julian, extremely hostile to Christians, viii. 207.
- Iapodes**, mountaineers of the Julian Alps, defeat the Romans, iii. 686; are subdued by Octavius, 689.
- Iapygians**, ancient Italian nation, i. 106; furnish auxiliaries to Rome in the Gallic invasion, 591.
- Iassos**, Greek city of Asia Minor, iii. 711.
- Iazyges**, a Sarmatian people, protected by the Romans, vi. 444; defeated by Marcus Aurelius, 486; invade Roman territory, vii. 288; defeated by Carinus, 351; defeated by Galerius, 373.
- Iberia**, visited by Pompey, iii. 140; geographical position, and character of the inhabitants, iv. 25-6.
- Iccius**, chief of the Remi, friendly to Caesar, iii. 293, 294.
- Icelus**, freedman of Galba, allows funeral rites to Nero, v. 51; announces Nero's death to Galba, 56; his influence supreme with Galba, 59.
- Iceni**, a British tribe, their king leaves half his possessions to Nero, iv. 612.
- Italic Laws**, 471 B. C., i. 297, 322 *note*; 456 B. C., 322, 323 *note*.
- Ililius, L.**, tribune, obtains distribution of the public lands of the Aventine, and is the first tribune to enter the curia, i. 322; affianced to Virginia, 329.
- Ililius, L.**, author of an agrarian law, i. 350.
- Ililius, Spurius**, tribune of the people, his law for the protection of the tribunes, i. 297.
- Iconium**, chief city of Lycaonia, iii. 150, 707.
- Icosium (Algiers)**, a Roman colony in Mauretania, vi. 149; taken and burned by Firmus, 249.
- Idaeae Mother**, the, a name of the Goddess Cybele, i. 638.
- Idistavivus**, the "Fairies' Plain," battle of, iv. 415.
- Igilgili (Djidjilli)**, a Mauretanian seaport, viii. 248.
- Ignatius, Saint**, on the orders in the Church, vii. 22 *note*; on his approaching martyrdom, 68.
- Iguvium (Gubbio)**, ancient city of central Italy; the Eugubine Tables found there, i. 58 *note*; some of its inhabitants receive citizenship, ii. 581; opens its gates to Caesar, iii. 426.
- Ilercaones**, a Spanish tribe, iii. 83.
- Ilerda (Lerida)**, important city in Spain, besieged and taken by Caesar, iii. 435-40 and *notes*; exported oil to Rome, iv. 222; devastated by the Franks, vi. 236.
- Ilium, or Troy**, legend attaches it to Rome, i. 140 and *note*; the new city destroyed by Fimbria, ii. 691; protected and left free by Rome, iii. 709; its privileges confirmed by Augustus, iv. 207; celebrated in verse

- by Hadrian, v. 366; visited by Caracalla, vii. 88.
- Illustres**, an honorary designation in the time of Augustus for knights of noble origin, still existing in the time of Diocletian, vii. 383; applied by Constantine to the first class of magistrates and officials, viii. 22.
- Illyricum**, or **Illyria**, a coast inhabited by pirates, i. 590; Roman embassy murdered by order of the Illyrian queen, 591; hostilities between Rome and Illyricum, and peace advantageous to Rome, with cession of Illyrian territory, 592; second war with Rome and complete subjugation, 593; Roman outpost against Macedon, 593, 603; its king invades Macedon, ii. 98; receives a part of Macedon, 106; devoted to Rome, 151; its subjugation gave Rome the Adriatic sea-coast, 223; piratical character of the inhabitants, iii. 686-8; boundary of the province, 686 *note*; united with Dalmatia as a province, iv. 147; Greek Illyria included merely the sea-coast of the Adriatic from Epirus to the country of the Liburni; Roman Illyria extended as far as the River Arsia, which was the boundary between it and Istria. In the third century A.D. the name Illyricum frequently designates the whole eastern peninsula, Macedon and Greece excepted, vii. 270, 271, 335, 336, 356, 367; the Empire strengthened by the Illyrian Emperors, 273-439; Illyria one of the four prefectures into which Constantine divided the Empire, viii. 10.
- Images** of ancestors, placed in the *atria* of the houses of the great, and borne in funeral processions wearing the insignia of the curule offices they had filled, i. 191 and *note*, 644; ii. 377.
- Images** of the Emperors, on the standards, vii. 479 and *note*.
- Immorality**, spread of, in Rome during the last century of the Republic, ii. 276-7.
- Immortality**, vague belief in a future life among the early Romans, i. 128; universality of this conviction, 128 *note*; vi. 377-8; referred to in Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, ii. 429; belief of the Barbarians, iii. 530; strong faith of the Jews on this subject in the time of the Maccabees, v. 123 and *note*; teachings of the philosophers, vi. 411-20; the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, vii. 3-8; views of the Emperor Julian, viii. 179 and *note*.
- Immunes**, class of cities exempt from taxation, ii. 244 and *note*.
- Immunity**, freedom from taxes, or freedom from services which other citizens had to perform: granted to physicians by Augustus, iv. 334; to physicians and professors, by the Antonines, vi. 107; to temples and churches, under Constantine, vii. 507; and to pagan and Christian priests, 508; to ship-owners and merchants who provisioned Rome, 567 *note*; viii. 34 *note*; to retired officials, 9, 25, 30; to veterans, 43 *note*.
- Imperator**, derived from the Samnite *Embradur*, i. 120; title borne by a Roman general who possessed the imperium, iii. 522; implying the supreme command of the armies, is given to Caesar for life, and to be hereditary in his family, 522; conferred on Augustus for life by decree of the Senate, iv. 70; originally a title of honor conferred on a victorious general by his soldiers, 71 *note*; used as a praenomen by Nero and subsequent Emperors, as appears from coins and inscriptions, where the title followed by a numeral indicates that it has been specially assumed so many times on occasion of victories, 292.
- Imperium**, power conferred by the state on an individual appointed to command an army. *Imperium militare*, in the Republic, was conferred on the King by a decree of the Comitia curiata, i. 161, 194; after the expulsion of the Kings it was conferred on the consuls, 275, 503; the *merum imperium*, its highest form, ii. 237.
- Incitatus**, Caligula's horse, vi. 285.
- Incola**, the dweller in a city of which he is not a native, and where he has not citizenship, vi. 25.
- India**, commodities of, imported by Rome, iv. 158 and *note*, 218, 224-5.
- Indibilis**, Spanish chief, ally of Carthage, i. 652 *note*; unites with Scipio, ii. 56.
- Indiction**, amount of each year's tax declared by the praetorian prefect, vii. 397.
- Indigetes**, deified ancestors of the Romans, i. 125.
- Indigitamenta**, a part of the pontifical books, containing the names of the gods and prescribing the manner in which their names should be used in public worship, i. 125, 205.
- Indutiomarus**, chief of the Treviri, iii. 314, 319.

Infamy (the *Nota Infamia*), viii. 396.

Informers (*delatores*), a class of men who gained their livelihood by informing against their fellow-citizens, iv. 444, 464; are themselves condemned if they fail to make good their accusation, 473, 479; laws against them, vii. 459 and *note*; they are appealed to by Constantine, 559; and by Theodosius, viii. 288.

Ingenuus, one of the "Thirty Tyrants," distinguished by Valerian, vii. 235; proclaimed by the Pannonian legions; his defeat and death, 260.

Inguiomar, chief of the Cherusci, assists Arminius, iv. 429; jealous of him, withdraws, 430.

Insignia, many of the Roman, received from Etruria, i. 134 and *note*; *laticlave*, 134 *note*; *prætextata* and *bulla* worn by boys of free birth, 209 *note*; v. 524; *fascies*, i. 273 *note*; *fascies* and axes, 282; of the governors, iii. 42 *note*; curule chair and ivory wand of the consuls, vi. 200; laurel-wreath for soldiers, vii. 72 *note*; great importance attached to them in the later Empire, viii. 49-50.

Interamna, on the Liris, a colony of Rome, i. 436; in the first line of Roman defence, 491; on the *Via Flaminia*, 495 *note*; unfaithful to Rome in the Second Punic War, ii. 42; cenotaph to the Emperor Tacitus, vii. 330.

Intercessio, defined, i. 273; rendered usurpation almost impossible, viii. 344.

Interest, rates of, in early Rome, i. 264; fixed at $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent by the Twelve Tables, 336, 403; fixed at $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent in 347 B. C., 403; legal rate at Athens, 403 *note*; viii. 13 *note*; rate obtained by Brutus, i. 405 *note*; viii. 13 *note*; reduced by Alexander Severus to 3 per cent, vii. 126; rates during the Empire in Egypt and in the Hellenic countries, viii. 13 *note*.

Interrex, magistrate in early Rome, appointed exceptionally, and having a brief term of office, i. 146, 195.

Iotapianus, proclaimed by the Syrian army, vii. 177.

Irenaeus, Saint, on miracles, vi. 428, 584; martyr in the reign of Severus, vii. 11 *note*; 59 *note*; author of a profession of faith, 12; on confession, 16; on miracle-working, 33; opposes Gnosticism, 37; millenarian, 38 *note*.

Irenaeus, Saint, Illyrian martyr, vii. 427.

Irminsul, the, German memorial of Arminius, iv. 431.

Iron Gates, the (Asia Minor), ii. 669 *note*.

Isauria, a district of Asia Minor, its marauding inhabitants; the country overrun by Servilius, iii. 114-15; united with the province of Cilicia, 150; desperate resistance to Rome, 707; the inhabitants persist in their predatory habits, iv. 263; vii. 267; subjugated by Probus, 336.

Isauricus. See **Vatia**.

Isis, Egyptian goddess, her temple at Rome destroyed, ii. 297; temple erected at Rome, iii. 600; the Senate hostile to her worship, 601; it is well established in Rome in the time of Augustus, iv. 187; vi. 390 *note*; her temple destroyed by Tiberius, iv. 445; her imperial worshippers; her sanctuaries in Germany, vi. 390 *note*; her colleges of priests, 392; had the tonsure; said prayers for the Emperor, 392 *note*; her mysteries, 396-7; Plutarch regards her as Divine Wisdom, 397 *note*; the Supreme Divinity, adored under many names, 403; her temple built by Caracalla, 528; Commodus one of her worshippers, 528 *note*; she is worshipped by the Blemmyes, vii. 376-7.

Issa, an Illyrian island given up to Rome, i. 562 and *note*.

Istria, peninsula near the head of the Adriatic, occupied by the Romans after the First Punic War, i. 603; finally subjugated by them, ii. 137; invaded by the Barbarians, iv. 245. (In the reign of Augustus, Istria was incorporated with Italy.)

Italica, a Spanish city, colony of Scipio's veterans, ii. 217 and *note*; birthplace of Trajan, v. 224; home of Hadrian's family, 349 *note*; never visited by him, 349; but greatly honored and favored by him, 349 *note*.

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352-62, 412-60; factions in the Italian cities, 435; organization given by the Romans, 476-500; Italian claims first recognized by Aemilianus, ii. 465; attempts of Caius Gracchus to benefit the Italians, 478; condition of Italy in the first century B. C., 570-82; the Social War, 582-604; Roman citizenship obtained by the Italians, 604-8; Sylla's military colonies established throughout the peninsula, iii. 38-40; Italian custom-houses for foreign merchandise established by Caesar, 513; rights of the Italians the same as those of the Romans under Caesar, 528; its condition about 30 B. C., iv. 33-40; reforms of Augustus, 140-5 and *notes*; condition in the second century B. C., vi. 137-41; regarded as a province, and subjected to the land-tax by Diocletian, vii. 394.

JANICULUM, the, a hill on the right bank of the Tiber, the traditional dwelling of Janus, i. 138; Numa's tomb at its foot, i. 150; its fortress constructed by Ancus, 157, 162; omen seen there by Tarquin, 158; showed a red flag during the sessions of the comitia, 274; occupied by Veientes, 315; the plebeians withdraw thither in arms, 345, 394; Roman army encamped at its foot protecting the city, 450; Numa's books discovered at the foot of the hill, ii. 297-8.

Janus, ancient Latin divinity presiding over the beginnings of things, identified with Sol, i. 89, 90 *note*, 124 *note*, 126; traditionally first king of Latium, 138; god with two faces, 146, 199 and *note*, 509; iv. 176; his temple built by Numa and closed in his reign, i. 149; gradually despoiled of his attributes, 149 *note*; Diana his feminine form, 200; appealed to by the fetial, 230; invoked by a consul, 420; temple of, closed for the second time, 595; for the third time, iv. 259.

Jericho, a city of Palestine, massacre in its hippodrome, iv. 7; its export of balm of Gilead, 225.

Jerome, Saint, depicts mercenary marriages, v. 533-4; on the fall of Tertullian and Origen, vii. 39 *note*; on Irenaeus, 59 *note*; recommends the ascetic life, viii. 195, 196; reproaches the monks for eccentricities, 197; and vices, 197 *note*; violence against Julian, 200 *note*; his translation of the Bible (the Vulgate), 236 *note*; on the luxury of priests,

237 *note*; on the Barbarian invasions; on celibacy, 274.

Jerusalem, besieged and taken by Pompey, iii. 145-6; again taken by the Romans, 643; Agrippa sacrifices in its temple, iv. 247; Caligula designs to have his statue erected there, 502; insurrections in the city, v. 113; persecution of the Christians, 114; the temple respected by the Romans, 115; violent acts of the rebels, 117-26; the city besieged by Titus, 127; its capture and destruction, 131-3; visited by Hadrian; erection of pagan temples, 378, 414-15; the city re-named by Hadrian, 415; and by Commodus, vi. 450; visited by the Empress Helena, vii. 570-3; a resort of pilgrims, viii. 57 *note*; Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple, 213-14.

Jews, the, their independence established by the Maccabees, iii. 143; their civil wars, 144-6; reduced to partial servitude by Pompey, 146; they furnish aid to Caesar in Egypt, 473-4; are greatly favored by him, and lament his death, 560; are numerous in Rome, 560 *note*; favored as to their religion by the Romans, iv. 7-8 and *note*; their contribution of the didrachma to the temple, 9; their number and wealth, 9 and *note*; dispersal, 9-11; religious hopes, 11-12; v. 114; general massacre by the Greeks, 120; severity of Vespasian towards them; tax of a didrachma for the temple of Jupiter, 132; severity of Domitian; Judaizing made a crime, 209-12; regulations of Septimius Severus, 522-3; favorable legislation of Constantine, vii. 508; favor shown them by Julian, viii. 213.

John of Giscala, leader of the moderate faction of the zealots at Jerusalem, v. 126-7; escapes from the temple to the upper city, 130; captured by Titus, 131; follows the chariot of Titus in the triumph, and finally dies in prison, 132.

Josephus, Flavius, Jewish historian, intrusted with the government of Galilee, v. 121; his opinion of the Jewish war, 122 and *note*; defeated by Vespasian, surrenders, and foretells the imperial honors of the Roman general, 123; his belief in immortality, 123 *note*; eye-witness of the siege of Jerusalem, 127; on Roman discipline, vi. 240.

Jovian, the Emperor (Flavius Claudius Jovianus), lieutenant of Julian in the Persian expedition, viii. 184; proclaimed Emperor; his age, nationality, and character, 224; un-

- suit to his position, 225; his treaty with Sapor, 225-6; his measures to protect himself, 226; his movements in Asia; his death, 227; edict of toleration issued by him; his body sent to Constantinople, 228.
- Jovian**, chief of the *notarii*, put to death, viii. 226.
- Jovinus**, Roman general in Gaul under Jovian, viii. 227; victorious at Châlons, 244.
- Juba I.**, king of Numidia, his insolence in the senatorial camp iii. 488; attacked by Sittius, 490; escape and death after the battle of Thapsus, 498; his property sold at auction by Caesar, 505 *note*; extent of his kingdom, 731.
- Juba II.**, educated at Rome, considered a very learned man; his credulity, iv. 332; strove to educate his people, vi. 147.
- Judacilius**, Italian general in the Social War, ii. 586; at the siege of Asculum; his death, 598; freed the slaves in Apulia, 602.
- Judaea**. See **Palestine**.
- Judices**, or **Judges**, persons appointed by a Roman magistrate to investigate the facts in dispute in matters brought before the latter's tribunal, i. 339, 508; originally senators, 508; ii. 343; by a law of Caius Gracchus selected from the equestrian order exclusively, 474; *judicia* in part restored to the Senate by Caepio, 548; again taken from them by Servilius Glaucia, 549; attempt of Drusus to reinstate the senators as *judices*, 563, 566; Sylla's Cornelian Law gives the *judicia* to the senators exclusively, iii. 42; by the Aurelian Law the *judices* are chosen from the knights, the senators, and the tribunes of the treasury, 107 and *note*; their number in 50 B. C., 398 *note*; the tribunes of the treasury excluded from the *judicia*, 513; property-qualification for the *judices* abolished by Antony, 562; the judicial system re-organized by Augustus, iv. 102-3 and *notes*.
- Judices decemviri**, judges of the plebeians, i. 288.
- Jugurtha**, grandson of Masinissa, sent away by Micipsa; complimented by Scipio; receives a share in the inheritance with his cousins, ii. 498; murders one of them, 500; makes war against the other, and puts him to death, 501; is invited to Rome to testify against Aemilius Scaurus, 503; causes the murder of his cousin, and is ordered to leave the city; defeats the Roman army in Numidia (109 B. C.), 504; is followed and defeated by Metellus (108 B. C.), 505; makes guerrilla warfare against the Romans; makes a partial surrender to Metellus, 506; driven back into the desert by Metellus, makes a stand at Thala; loses the place, and again makes his escape, 511; aided by Bocchus, harasses the Roman army, 512; defeated by Marius, 513; given up by Bocchus to the Romans, 514; led in triumph in Rome, and dies in the Tullianum, 516-17.
- Julia**, the *gens*, of Alban origin, i. 133, 156; claimed Trojan ancestry, 185.
- Julia**, wife of Marius, ii. 493.
- Julia**, mother of Antony, protects her brother, Lucius Caesar, included in the proscriptions of the first triumvirate, iii. 588; escapes to Sicily, 621.
- Julia**, daughter of Julius Caesar and Cornelia, wife of Pompey, her death, iii. 375; effect of this event upon the alliance between Pompey and Caesar, 396; festivals in her honor after Caesar's African victories, 509.
- Julia**, daughter of Octavius (the Emperor Augustus) and Scribonia (born 39 B. C.), betrothed (36 B. C.) to Antyllus, son of Antony, iii. 631; her scandalous life, iv. 61; married to Marcellus (25 B. C.), 78; upon his death is married to Agrippa (21 B. C.), 83, 275; mother of sons and daughters, 243; married to Tiberius (11 B. C.), 258, 276; her misconduct a great offence to Tiberius, 277; becomes at last known to Augustus; her exile, and death at Pandataria, 278; the Emperor's severity towards her accomplices, 417.
- Julia**, daughter of Agrippa and Julia, wife of L. Aemilius Paulus, banished by Augustus; her death, iv. 281.
- Julia**, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, friend of Seneca, iv. 136 *note*, 553; exiled by Caligula, 498; again exiled in the reign of Claudius and assassinated, 553.
- Julia**, daughter of Drusus and Livia, becomes the wife of her cousin Nero, iv. 441; betrays her husband to Sejanus, 471; incurs the jealousy of Messalina, and is put to death, 553.
- Julia**, daughter of Titus, seduced by Domitian, v. 181.
- Julia Domna**, wife of Septimius Severus, vi. 505; a Syrian, 510; called "the mother of the camps," 516, 548; hostility to Plautianus, 538; her birth, ancestry, marriage, and char-

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- Longinus, L. Cassius**, Caesar's lieutenant in Greece, sent into Thessaly, iii. 456.
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- Ludi Funebres**, gladiatorial combats celebrated at the funeral pyre of distinguished persons, first occasion, 264 B. C., i. 210, 623; ii. 59-60.
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Mamercus, Aemilius (Mamercinus), plebeian dictator, i. 349.

Mamertine Prison, excavated by Ancus Martius, i. 157; size and construction, iii. 185.

Mamertines, the, "Sons of Mars," Campanian mercenaries who established themselves in Sicily, i. 103; seize Messina, 110; their hostilities with Pyrrhus, 471; ask aid from Rome against Hiero, 533-4; are protected by Rome, 554-6.

Mamertinus, rhetorician, appointed consul by Julian, viii. 163.

Mamilius, tribune, institutes inquiry into the conduct of Roman senators bribed by Jugurtha, ii. 504.

Mamurra, chief of engineers under Caesar, iii. 528.

Manastabal, son of Masinissa, author of Greek poems, ii. 422.

Mancia, Helvius, his attack on Pompey, iii. 27-8.

Mancinus, A. Hostilius, consul, defeated by Perseus, ii. 161; pillages Abdera, 380.

Mancinus, C. Hostilius, Roman general, defeated by the Numantians, ii. 213.

Mancipatio, i. 269.

Mancipes, farmers of the taxes, ii. 386.

Mancipium, vi. 13-14.

Manes, Persian reformer, his system a combination of the doctrines of Zoroaster and Jesus, vii. 304.

Manes, the worship of, i. 123, 129; souls of the good, 210; homage paid to them, 210-15; festivals to appease them, vi. 416.

Mania, "mother of the Manes," Etruscan divinity to whom boys were sacrificed by Tarquin, i. 67 *note*.

Manichaeans, Persian sect, vii. 414; to which Saint Augustine at one time belonged, 414 *note*; regarded as rebels by Constantine, 508; excluded from general toleration by Valentinian, viii. 233; severest punishments decreed against them, 238.

Manilius, C., tribune, his proposal to give Pompey unlimited power in the Asiatic provinces, iii. 136.

Manilius, M., Roman poet, believer in pantheism, vi. 384.

Maniple, the, i. 514 and *note*, 519-21.

Manlius, C., consul, accused by Genucius, i. 295.

Manlius, A., deputy sent to collect Greek laws to be used at Rome, i. 326.

Manlius Capitolinus, M., saves the Capitol, i. 366; makes himself the patron of the poor, excites public jealousy, is put to death, 381; his house on the Capitoline hill

- destroyed, and his praenomen, Marcus, never again used in the *gens*, 381-2.
- Manlius Capitolinus Imperiosus, P.**, dictator, i. 387; his son's defence of him, 387-8.
- Manlius Capitolinus, Cnaeus**, consul, causes his army to establish the tax on enfranchisements, i. 388 *note*.
- Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus, T.**, overcomes a Gaul, i. 374; defends his father; is appointed legionary tribune, 387-8; hostile to the Latins, 418; orders his son's death, 419; victory over the Latins and triumph, 420; again defeats the Latins, 421.
- Manlius Torquatus, T.**, refuses the consulship, ii. 17.
- Manlius Torquatus, L.**, consul, iii. 163; defends Catiline against a charge of extortion, 164.
- Mansiones**, stations of the public post, viii. 9 and *note*.
- Manumission of Slaves.** See **Enfranchisements**.
- Manus**, power of the husband over his wife given by *confarreatio*, v. 540, 549, 552.
- Marcellinus**, count of the largesses, aids Magmentius, viii. 68.
- Marcellinus**, a tribune, correspondent of Saint Jerome, viii. 197 *note*.
- Marcellinus, Ammianus**, Roman historian: on the massacre in the Sicinian basilica, vii. 43 *note*; on the Egyptian obelisk, 513 *note*; a trustworthy author, viii. 21 *note*; on the Alemanni, 96 *note*; on the siege of Amida, 118-24; on the death of Ursulus, 165 *note*; on Julian's early measures, 166; on his dealings with the bishops, 169 *note*; on Julian's route to Ctesiphon, 217 *note*; on the situation of the army, 225 *note*; on bandits, 231 *note*.
- Marcellinus, Baebius**, aedile, unjustly condemned to death, vi. 542.
- Marcellus**, name of an illustrious plebeian family, originally clients of the *gens* Claudia, i. 193; patrons of Sicily, ii. 245; an honor to the plebeian order, 260; held nine consulships in eighty-six years, 375 *note*; the main line of the family ends with the nephew of Augustus, iv. 433.
- Marcellus, M. Claudius**, in the war with the Gauls, i. 600, 601; his triumph, 601; in command against Hannibal, ii. 3, 11; his campaign in Campania, 18; conqueror at Syracuse, 23; at Numistro, 38; for the fifth time consul (208 B. C.), is killed, 39.
- Marcellus, M. Claudius**, consul, friend of Cicero, iii. 401; his hostility to Caesar, 402; his scheme to secure Caesar's recall the next year, 404-5; murdered in Athens, 539.
- Marcellus, C. Claudius**, consul, partisan of the Senate, iii. 403; proposes Caesar's recall, 409; his proposal that Caesar be required to resign, 412-14; invests Pompey with supreme command, 414-15; receives and refuses to read Caesar's letter, 415-16.
- Marcellus, M. Claudius**, son of C. Cl. Marcellus and Octavia, Vergil's young hero, iii. 624 and *note*; nephew of the Emperor Augustus; a *congiarium* distributed in his name (29 B. C.), iv. 68; appears at the Trojan games on the same occasion, 69; son-in-law of Augustus (husband of Julia), 78; is allowed to canvass the consulship ten years before the proper age; aedile, 79; his jealousy of Agrippa; his death (23 B. C.), 83, 244, 274, 433 and *note*; theatre of, 347 and *note*.
- Marcellus, Granius**, governor of Bithynia, charged with extortion, absolved by the Senate, iv. 418-19; afterwards punished, 448.
- Marcellus**, centurion, Christian martyr, vii. 412.
- Marcellus**, general in Gaul, viii. 90; fails to assist Julian, and is recalled, 94.
- Marcellus, Nonius**, grammarian, vii. 217 *note*.
- Marcellus, Ulpianus**, general in Britain under Commodus, vi. 445; his victories, 448.
- Marcia**, mistress of Quadratus, becomes the concubine of Commodus; obtains great influence over him; is said to have been a Christian, vi. 460 and *notes*; fears for her own life, and joins a conspiracy against the Emperor, 461; put to death by Julianus, 474.
- Marcian (Aelius Marcianus)**, Roman jurist, vi. 554 *note*.
- Marciana**, sister of Trajan, v. 307.
- Marcion**, early heresiarch, vii. 37.
- Marcus**, an Italian diviner who prophesied the Roman defeat at Cannae, i. 685.
- Marcus, L.**, a Roman knight, his gallantry in Spain, ii. 52-3.
- Marcus Philippus, Q.**, Roman commissioner, negotiates with Perseus, ii. 159; consul, defeats Persens at Mount Olympus, 162-7.
- Marcus Tremulus, Q.**, defeats the Hernicans; a statue erected to him in the Forum, i. 443.
- Marcus Rex, Q.**, consul, his expedition against the Stoeni, ii. 520.

Marcomanni, "border or march men," name applied to tribes whom the Romans encountered in various parts of Germany, iv. 16; driven back from the Rhine, 256; their confederation, and hostilities with Rome and with other German tribes, 261-71, 429; their power for the time destroyed, 430, 609; they refuse aid to the Romans in the Dacian War, and their country is invaded by the legions, v. 198; they invade Roman territory in the time of Marcus Aurelius, 474-5; his treaty with them, 486; renewed by Commodus, vi. 444; they are threatened by the Goths, vii. 182-3; invade Roman territory, 239.

Marcus, bishop of Arethusa, said to have saved Julian's life, viii. 61 *note*; cruelly treated, 205.

Marcus Aurelius (Antoninus Augustus), the Emperor, his name originally M. Annius Verus, *verissimus*, adopted by Antoninus Pius, v. 424; his birth, ancestry, and boyhood, 457; name, 457 *note*; his tutors, 458 and *note*; virtuous character, 458-9; makes Lucius Verus his colleague, 459; enormous *donaticum* to the armies; is threatened on all the frontiers, 460; sends Verus to the East, 461; celebrates a triumph, 463; his deference to the Senate, 463-4; humanity towards criminals and lunatics, 464-5 and *notes*; his administration of Italy, 465-6; measures for the benefit of children and slaves, 467-9; his liberality, 469; performs expiatory rites, and disquiets the Christians, 470-1; his philosophic meditations, 472; threatened by the Germans, 473-5; expedition into Germany, 475; difficulty in obtaining soldiers, 475-7; detained for some years on the banks of the Danube, 477; legends concerning the army, 478 and *note*; goes to establish order in the East, 479; the conspiracy of Cassius against him, and its defeat, 479-85; visits Antioch, Alexandria, and Athens; institutes courses of lectures; receives initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries, 485-6; celebrates a triumph; sets out for Pannonia, 486; dies at Vienna, 487; his attitude towards his wife and son, 487-91; he should have adopted a successor, 492-3; loftiest expression of a purified Stoicism, 495-6; disapproved of suicide, 496-8; his *Meditations*, 498; compared with the Gospel, 499-501; why hostile to the Christian faith, 503-11; overestimated

by history, 511-12; financial straits of the government at the time of his accession, vi. 266; wrote in Greek, 344; hero of Stoicism, 365; added indulgence to its purity, 367-8; filled Rome with foreign religions, 389 and *note*; no certain faith in immortality, 409; his decree against the Christians, vii. 58 and *note*.

Maremma, the, i. 34-7. See also **Malaria**.

Mariamne, daughter of Antigonus, wife of Herod the Great, iii. 643; beheaded by her husband's order, iv. 6.

Marianae, Fossae, canal dug by the legionaries of Marius, ii. 227 *note*, 530-1.

Marianus, Saint, foretells the downfall of Rome, vii. 217-18.

Marinus, proclaimed by the army in Moesia, vii. 177.

Marius, Caius, character of, ii. 491; noticed by Scipio; supported by the Metelli; tribune; his measures of reform; aedile, 492; accused by the nobles, but acquitted; praetor; marries Julia, 493; with Metellus in Africa, 493, 505; for a time is loyal to him, 506; but later, aspires to the consulship, 507; and seeks to undermine Metellus, 508; arrives in Rome and canvasses for the consulship, 509; is elected consul; gives scope to his hatred of the nobles; supersedes Metellus in Numidia; introduces the proletarii into the legions; makes himself the leader of the popular opposition, 510; his skilful command in Numidia; carries the war into the western part of the kingdom, 512; his successes, 512-13; is joined by Sylla, his quaestor, 513; final victory over Jugurtha, 514; remains two years longer in Numidia, 515-16; returns to Rome and receives a triumph, 516-17; a second time consul, 519, 530; recalled from Africa and sent into Gaul, 530-1; his discipline and reforms in the army, 531-2; delays fighting, 533-4; engages at Aquae Sextiae with the Teutones, 534-5; great victory and rejoicings, 536-8; proclaimed *imperator*, 538; recalled to Rome; refuses a triumph; returns into Gaul, 540; receives deputies from the Cimbri, 540-1; gains a victory over the Cimbri at Vercellae, 541-2; honors paid him at Rome, 542-3; five times consul, 544; aspires to a sixth consulship, 549; employs Saturninus to speak for him, 550; obtains the consulship, 551; his duplicity in respect to the

- laws of Saturninus, 552; his political incapacity, 553-4; duplicity towards his late accomplices, 555; loses popularity, 556; departs for Asia (99 B. C.), 559; has need of a war to recover his importance, 560; values the Italians as soldiers, 576, 581; in the Social War, 588, 591; distrusted by the Senate, and reluctant to fight his old friends the Italians, 594-5; usual contradiction between his conduct and his convictions, 595; his hostility towards Sylla, 608; desires to command the army against Mithridates (88 B. C.), 609; his attempts to regain public favor, 609-10; employs Sulpicius as a tool, 612; protects Sylla, 612-13; quarrel with Sylla, 613-15; vain attempt to collect an army, 615; escapes from Rome, 616-18; his adventures related by Plutarch, 618-25; his recall proposed by Cinna, 626; marches upon Rome, 627; obtains the assistance of the Samnites, 628; enters Rome and massacres his enemies, 629-31; takes possession of the consulship, 631; his last days and death; his character, 632; his remains exhumed and thrown into the Anio, iii. 18; prepared the way for Caesar in Africa, 731; his *fossa Mariana*, vi. 234.
- Marius, C.**, adopted son of the dictator, ii. 618; his proscriptions, iii. 5; consul, 7; his share in the campaign against Sylla, 8, 9; defeated near Sacriportus, 9-10; orders massacre of Syllanians in Rome, 10; defeated in the battle of the Colline Gate, 14-15; his death, 15.
- Marius Gratidianus, M.**, praetor, reforms the currency, ii. 634; put to death by Catiline, iii. 18.
- Marius, M. Aurelius**, one of the "Thirty Tyrants," formerly a blacksmith, vii. 264; assassinated by a comrade, 265; length of his reign, 265 and *note*.
- Maroboduus**, a German patriotic chief, forms a confederacy against the Romans, iv. 261; is induced to make terms with them, 262; fails to respond to the patriotic appeal of Arminius, 271; forms a league of the Marcomanni against Rome, iv. 429; defeat and submission, 430.
- Marriage**, its forms in early Rome, i. 265-6; legislation of the Twelve Tables, 332; authorized between patricians and plebeians, 444 B. C., 345; encouraged by laws, iv. 136-8; under the Antonines, v. 533-41; discouraged by the Church, vi. 17-18, 53-4; vii. 217, 274; made a sacrament by the Church, vi. 19.
- Mars** (*Mavors, Marsiter*), ancient divinity of Latium, i. 126; brother or husband of Bellona, 125; his spear, 134, 672; ii. 560 *note*; father of Romulus and Remus, i. 141; god of life and strength, 199 connected in legend with Anna Perenna, 199 *note*; one of the three tutelary divinities of Rome; his priests the Salii, 225; the Romans his people, 240; invoked in hymns, 256 and *note*; his temple at Capua, ii. 5; temple on a battlefield, 525; attempts to propitiate him, 560; his statue of gold, iii. 197; temple to Mars Ultor in the Augustan Forum, iv. 129, 243, 272, 299; Mars-Camulus, 166.
- Marseilles** (Massilia), its early enemies, i. 54; a commercial competitor of Carthage, 537; friendly to Rome in the Punic Wars, 661; ii. 224; its independence and prosperity, 521-2; aided by Rome against the Ligurians, 522; Rome becomes a dangerous neighbor, 522-3; teaches the Greek alphabet to some of her neighbors, iii. 274; Pompeian at heart, resists Caesar, and is besieged, 434; surrenders, 440; terms made with the city, 441; Sextus Pompeius assembles an army at Marseilles, 574; its commercial and intellectual importance, 682; great wealth and luxury under the Antonines, vi. 126.
- Marshes**, Italian, i. 29, 32, 33.
- Marsi**, a German tribe, unite with Arminius, iv. 269; their country ravaged by the legions, 412; defeated by Germanicus, 415; defeated in the reign of Claudius, 540.
- Marsians**, renowned as sorcerers, i. 98; their country, 99; their League, 442; their hostilities with Rome, 442, 444, 445; alliance with Rome, 447, 486; leading nation in the Social War, ii. 581.
- Marsus, C. Vibius**, governor of Syria, protects Armenia, iv. 545.
- Martial** (M. Valerius Martialis), epigrammatic poet, a Spaniard, iv. 603; wit, 604 *note*; patronized by Domitian, v. 134; his neglect of his friend's birthday, 521; satirizes women, 547; and legacy-hunters, 567; his return to his native land, vi. 82; concerning the *sportula*, 89 and *notes*, 90 and *note*; concerning his verses, 124; makes *tribulis* and *pauper* synonymous, 210; his modest dinners, 277; on tradesmen, 290-1; extols life in the country, 310; author of fifteen hundred epi-

- grams, 333; a mendicant poet, 334; his epigrams read in Gaul and in Britain, 341.
- Martin, Saint**, bishop of Tours, originally a Roman soldier, founds the first monastery in Gaul, viii. 196; his zeal against paganism restrained by Valentinian, 234.
- Martinianus**, *magister officiorum* to Licinius: his defeat and death, vii. 470.
- Marusians**, a Moorish people, assisted by Sertorius to defeat their king, iii. 75.
- Masinissa**, king of Numidia: with the Carthaginians in Spain, ii. 57; makes alliance with Scipio, 58; hostilities between him and Syphax, 63; joins Scipio on the latter's landing in Africa, 63, 64; defeats Syphax, 64; fights at Zama on the Roman side, 67; is indemnified by Rome, 68; and established in Numidia, 69; incited by the Senate to harass Carthage, 112; sends aid to Rome in the war with Antiochus, 115; deprives Carthage of a third province, 147; deprives Carthage of a fourth province, and sends aid to Rome in the war with Perseus, 155, 200; sends elephants and auxiliaries, 157, 162; sends humble messages to the Senate, 187; always hostile to Carthage, 199; seizes Oroscopa, 201; death of (148 B. C.), 203.
- Massa, Baebius**, accused of extortion by the inhabitants of Baetica, and condemned, v. 187, 209, 257.
- Massilians**, a sect of pagan monks, vi. 358 *note*.
- Massiva**, grandson of Masinissa, murdered by order of Jugurtha at Rome, ii. 504.
- Mastarna**, i. 122, 239, 240.
- Maternus**, conspiracy of, vi. 456-7, 521.
- Maternus, Curiatius**, poet and rhetorician, put to death by Domitian, iv. 245.
- Maternus, Firmicus**. See **Firmicus**.
- Matho, Papirius**, celebrates a triumph on the Alban Mount, i. 633.
- Matidia**, niece of Trajan and mother of Hadrian's wife, v. 307.
- Matronalia**, festival, i. 146 *note*.
- Matuta, Mater**, the goddess of the dawn, i. 121-5; becomes Leucothea, ii. 296-7.
- Mauretania**, the northwest coast of Africa, recognized as a kingdom by the Romans, ii. 495; its exports, iii. 732; reconstructed by Augustus, iv. 204; faithful ally of Rome, 453; divided into two provinces by Claudius, 548.
- Mauricus, Junius**, Pliny's anecdote of his freedom of speech before Nerva, v. 223; his attempt to abolish the games at Rome, vi. 313.
- Mavia**, Saracen queen, viii. 271 *note*.
- Maxentius** (M. Aurelius Valerius), the Emperor: dangerous and disorderly, vii. 441; son of Maximian, son-in-law of Galerius, 445; he instigates a riot in Rome, is proclaimed Emperor, and persuades his father to resume the purple, 446; master of Italy, 447, 449; his father attempts to depose him, 449; puts an end to the persecution of the Christians in Italy and Africa, 451; the worst of Roman tyrants, 454 and *note*; establishes the *folius senatus*, 454 *note*; hostility to Constantine; alliance with Maximian Daza, 456; defeated at the Milvian Bridge and drowned in the Tiber, 457-8; his head borne as a trophy; murder of his friends and son, 459; temple and basilica built by him, 459-60 and *note*; his head sent into Africa, 522.
- Maxima Virgo**, the eldest vestal, i. 227.
- Maximi Annales**, or annals of the pontiffs, i. 183.
- Maximian**, the Emperor (M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus), Diocletian's colleague and adopted son, vii. 355; made Caesar; a brave soldier, but ignorant man; his pledge to abdicate, 356; made Augustus, 356 and *note*; his share of power, 357; his movements in Gaul, 357-8; his treaty with Carausius, 359; his interview with Diocletian and return to Gaul, 361-2; his conference with Diocletian at Milan, 363; receives Constantius as Caesar, 363, 365; and son-in-law, 366; his capital established at Milan, 368; his palace and baths, 368 *note*; visits Gaul and Africa, 370; remains in Africa till 298 A. D., 373; employed by Diocletian to deal with the Senate, 391; celebration of his birthday at Tingis, 412; his edict against the Christians, 426; celebrates his *Vicennalia* with Diocletian, 430; is required by Diocletian to abdicate, 433; proclaims Severus Caesar at Milan, 434; at the instigation of his son resumes the purple, 446; receives the surrender of Severus, 447; negotiates with Constantine and gives him his daughter in marriage, 447-8; expelled from Rome by his son, attends a meeting of the Emperors at Carnuntum, 449; conspires against Constantine, 449-50; attempts to murder him, and is required to commit suicide, 450; possible falsity of the story of

- his conspiracy against Constantine, 451; question as to manner of his death; is apotheosized, 451 *note*.
- Maximilian**, Montanist martyr, vii. 412.
- Maximin**, the Emperor (Caius Julius Verus Maximinus), a Thracian, of Barbaric ancestry; his early career, vii. 141, 145, 195; chosen Emperor by the soldiery, 141, 146; reluctant to appear in Rome; conspiracy against him, 147; his victory over the Germans; called "Dacicus" and "Sarmaticus," 148; extremely unpopular at Rome, and severe towards the Romans, 148-9; African revolt against him, 149; treated by him with disdain, 153; declared a public enemy, 153 *note*; advances towards Rome, 159; is defeated before Aquileia, and murdered by his own troops, 161; his age; said to have instituted a persecution against the Christians, 161 *note*; introduced Thracians into the Senate, 199; established a pontifex in each province, viii. 175.
- Maximin**, deputy prefect of Rome, his cruelty, vii. 233.
- Maximin Daza**, the Emperor (Galerius Valerius Maximinus), nephew of the Emperor Galerius, appointed Caesar, vii. 434; remains third in power, 445; proclaimed Augustus; his jealousy of Licinius, 449; continues the persecution of the Christians, 452; his agreement with Licinius, 452, 455; an enthusiastic pagan, 461-2; compels Licinius to abandon Asia Minor; invades his territory, 462; his defeat and death, 463 and *note*.
- Maximus**, son of the Emperor Maximin, Caesar and Prince of the Youth, vii. 146-7; his death, 147 *note*; was declared a public enemy, 153 *note*.
- Maximus**, philosopher, friend of Julian, viii. 83, 171; present at his death, 220; put to death by Valens, 256.
- Maximus (Magnus Clemens)**, the Emperor, proclaimed by the legions in Britain, viii. 290; a man of high character and station, 290 *note*; associates with himself his son Victor; negotiates with Valentinian II. and with Theodosius, 292; his statues erected in the Eastern Empire by order of Theodosius, 293; offers protection to the Catholics of Italy, 307; drives Valentinian from Milan and subjugates Pannonia, 303; negotiates with Theodosius, 310; is attacked by Theodosius, defeated, and put to death, 310-11.
- Maximus, Marius**, general under Severus, vi. 485; question of his identity with the historian, 485 *note*; receives the government of Coele-Syria, 513.
- Maximus, Marius**, historian of the Emperors from Trajan to Elagabalus, v. 216 *note*; his lost History, vii. 217 *note*.
- Maximus of Madaura**, his letter to Saint Augustine, vi. 403, 405; conception of God, 403; correspondent of Saint Augustine, viii. 176.
- Maximus of Tyre**, a religious mind, vi. 389 *note*; on immortality, 412, 418; on genii, 418-19.
- Mayence (Moguntiacum)**, city of Lower Germany, a point of defence, iv. 254, v. 100, vii. 334, 357; sacked by the Franks, viii. 87; raided by the Alemanni, 245.
- Mazaca**, early name of Cappadocian Caesarea, sacked by Tigranes, ii. 121; visited by Pompey, 480; its commerce, iv. 224.
- Meddix tuteicus**, Samnite ruler, i. 101, 120.
- Media**, a country in the western part of Asia, of uncertain extent, held by Tigranes, iii. 131; a rival of Parthia, 141; given by Antony to Cleopatra's son, 650; negotiations of Antony with the Median king, 655; the Median dynasty temporarily established in Armenia, iv. 235; ravaged by the Alani, v. 343; invaded by Cassius, 462; Caracalla's invasion, vii. 91; part of the country given to Tiridates, 381.
- Medicine and Surgery**, Cato's domestic practice, i. 218-19; first doctor established at Rome 219 B. C., 629; Cato's opposition, 629-30; Caesar's encouragement of physicians, iii. 533; numerous in the time of Augustus; female practitioners, iv. 333; laws concerning them, 333 *note*; theories, 333-4; surgery more advanced than medicine; all practitioners at this time Greek, 334; city physicians (*archiatri populares*) and physicians of the palace (*archiatri palatini*), under Nero, v. 150; exemptions granted them by Marcus Aurelius, 442; vi. 107 and *note*; organized medical service in the cities; dispensaries, 109-10; honors bestowed on the profession, 110 and *notes*; medical schools, 111; number of doctors fixed by law, 112.
- Mediozumi**, gods of the middle region, i. 203.
- Mediterranean**, the, a Roman lake, ii. 93.
- Megalithic remains** in Kabylia, ii. 495 *note*.

- Meherbates**, made king of Parthia by Claudius, iv. 545; his capture, 546.
- Mela, M. Annaeus**, brother of Seneca, iv. 602-3; victim of Nero's tyranny, v. 27.
- Mela, Pomponius**, the geographer, a Spaniard, iv. 603; vi. 340.
- Meletius**, Egyptian heresiarch, vii. 414 and *note*.
- Meletius**, bishop of Antioch, deprived of his see, viii. 156; consecrates Gregory in Constantinople, 284 *note*.
- Meletius**, bishop of Lycopolis, vii. 534.
- Melissus, C. Maecenas**, organizes the Octavian Library, ii. 435 *note*.
- Melkarth-Baal**, Phoenician divinity, i. 530, 542, 660; vii. 213 *note*.
- Mellobaudes** (also called **Merovaud** and **Merobaud**), Frankish king and Roman general, procures a share in the Empire for Valentinian II., viii. 252; count of the *domestici* in the war against the Al-*amanni*, 269; put to death by Maximus, 291 *note*.
- Memmius, Caius**, tribune, accuses the nobles, ii. 502; his speech before the comitia, 503; his success encourages the tribunes, 509; again accuses the nobles, 548; murdered by the band of Saturninus, 554.
- Memmius Gemellus, C.**, his election bargain, iii. 383.
- Memmius Regulus, P.**, prefect in Greece, is ordered to bring to Rome the Pheidian statue of Jupiter, iv. 502; indicated by Nero as a possible successor, 598.
- Memnon**, the statue of, seen by Hadrian, v. 384-5; and by Septimius Severus, by whom it was repaired, vi. 524.
- Memphis**, capital of Egypt, visited by Hadrian, v. 382; and by Septimius Severus, vi. 524; battle between Romans and Palmyrenes near the city, vii. 298.
- Menander, Arrius**, Roman jurist, member of the imperial council, vi. 545 *note*, 554 *note*; his *De re militari*, 566-7 and *note*.
- Menas**, freedman of Sextus Pompeius, advises him to break off negotiations with the triumvirs, iii. 627 and *note*; proposes treachery against Antony, 628; goes over to Octavius, whom he serves with ability, 630; called also Metrodorus, 630 *note*; deserts Octavius, and, later, again serves him, 632 *note*.
- Menenius, Lanatus T.**, the consul, allows the destruction of the Fabii, i. 293; accused of treason, starves himself to death, 294, 295 *note*.
- Menhirs**, iii. 262-9.
- Mensurius**, bishop of Carthage, vii. 423; his letter to Augustine, 128 *note*.
- Mercenaries**, the Carthaginian, i. 538-41; a body of them massacred by the Carthaginians, 556; mutiny in Sardinia, 562; their war with Carthage, 604-9.
- Mercury**, one of the Twelve Great Gods of the Capitol, father of Evander, i. 139; the god of commerce, 197, 236; called Camillus, the "Messenger of the Gods," 231; the Gallic Mercury, iii. 255; iv. 175; patron of traders, 214 *note*; in the *Apolokyntosis*, 567; called the *Logos*, v. 447; name of a function of the Almighty Power, vi. 405; called the "Great, Sacred, and August Preserver," vii. 483 and *note*; his head still on coins in the time of Constantine, 514.
- Merula, L. Cornelius**, flamen, appointed consul by the Senate *vice* Cinna removed, ii. 626; his preparations to defend Rome, 627; his suicide, 629-30.
- Mesomedes**, poet, freedman of Hadrian, his pension reduced by Antoninus Pius, v. 442.
- Mesopotamia** (including Osroene), conquered by Trajan, v. 297-8; formed into a province, 299; revolts, 300; Jewish outbreak, 302; abandoned by Hadrian, 309; reconquered by Lucius Verus, 462-3; reorganized and protected by Septimius Severus, vi. 512-13; invaded by the Parthians, vii. 97; abandoned to the Persians by Jovian, viii. 225.
- Messala, M. Valerius**, gallantry at Philippi, iii. 610; a favorite with Antony, 613; abandons Antony, 658 *note*; colleague with Octavius in the consulship, 659.
- Messala, M. Valerius** (Corvinus), colleague with Octavius in the consulship, iv. 56; his success at Philippi, 56-7; his great and varied talents, 57; victorious in Aquitania, 67; urban prefect, 94.
- Messala, Silius**, consul, announces the death of Julianus and accession of Septimius Severus, vi. 476.
- Messalina**, third wife of the Emperor Claudius. her character and influence, iv. 521; venality, 525; demoralizing effect of her example, 549; her crimes and profligacy, 549, 552 and *note*, 553, 554; marriage to Silius, 554-5; is urged by the latter to murder Claudius, 555; the freedmen procure her

- downfall, 555-6; last scenes of her life, 557-9; her death; disgraced by the Senate, 560; a brunette, wore a blond wig, vi. 278.
- Messene**, capital of the Greek state Messenia, dependent on the Aetolians, ii. 85; treated harshly by Philip, 92 *note*; member of the Aetolian League, 118; the country depopulated in the first century B. C., iii. 694.
- Messiah**, the, expected not only by the Jews, but by Persians, iv. 12.
- Messina**, Greek colony in Sicily, its siege by the Romans, i. 553-6; left nominally independent, 585; headquarters of Sextus Pompeius, iii. 630, 634, 635; abandoned by him, 636; besieged and taken by Lepidus, 637.
- Metapontum**, city of Magna Graecia, its Trojan traditions, i. 108; its disasters, 461; held by Hannibal in the Second Punic War, ii. 38, 45.
- Metaurus**, battle of the, ii. 46-9.
- Metella**, wife of Sylla, escapes the Marian proscriptions, ii. 631; insulted by the Athenians, 679; obtains great wealth from the proscriptions, iii. 20; friendly to Cicero, 23; mother of Faustus and Fausta, 43; her death, 46.
- Metellus, L. Caecilius**, proconsul, besieges and takes Panormus, i. 569, 570; honored at Rome, 570; high pontiff, 635.
- Metellus, Q. Caecilius** (Macedonicus), gains a second victory at Pydna, ii. 193; carries off Alexander's bronze statues from Pella, 197; sent into Spain (143 B. C.), 212; treats the Sicilians with injustice, 380; his praise of Aemilianus, 467.
- Metellus, Q. Caecilius** (Balearicus), subjugates the Balearic Islands, ii. 216.
- Metellus, L. Caecilius** (Dalmaticus), censor, ii. 489.
- Metellus, Q. Caecilius** (Numidicus), early friend of Marius, ii. 492; consul, obtains by lot the province of Africa; his successful campaign, 505 and *note*; is obliged to fight many petty engagements; besieges Zama; makes terms with Hamilcar; accepts a partial surrender from Jugurtha, but continues hostilities, 506; his haughty temper makes Marius his enemy, 507; is superseded in Numidia by Marius, 510; successes against Jugurtha; relinquishes the army to Marius; receives a triumph and the surname Numidicus at Rome, 511; accused of extortion, but pronounced innocent, 511-12; censor, attempts to expel Saturninus and Glaucia from the Senate, 550; refusing to swear obedience to the Saturninian laws, is fined and exiled, 552; his return opposed by the tribune Furius, 556; is recalled to Rome and received with great honor, 559.
- Metellus, Q. Caecilius** (Pius), consul, obtains the recall of his father, ii. 559; general in the Civil War, 627; recalled by the Senate, returns to Rome, 628; escapes into Africa, 629; asks Sylla for a list of the latter's intended victims, iii. 19; sent to pacify Cisalpine Gaul after the Civil War, 28; an unsuccessful general, 58; baffled by Sertorius, 76-7; injudicious conduct towards the Spaniards, 79; defeats Hirtulcius, 83; effects a junction with Pompey, 84; defeats Perperna; goes into winter-quarters, 85; puts a price on the head of Sertorius; assumes the title of *imperator*; pursues him among the mountains, 88; goes into winter-quarters, 89; returns to Italy, 90.
- Metellus, Q. (Nepos)**, tribune, hostile to Cicero, iii. 187; his ostentation, 189; proposes to intrust Rome to Pompey, 191; defeated, escapes to Asia, 192, 201.
- Metellus Pius Scipio, Q. Caecilius**, joins Pompey, iii. 454, 456; his quarrel with Domitius and Spinther, 457; at Pharsalia, 458; at Coreyra, 485; leader of the Pompeians, 487; alliance with Juba, 488; campaign in Africa, 495; defeated at Thapsus, 496; escapes on ship-board and kills himself, 497.
- Metellus, Q. Caecilius, Creticus** (1st), sent against the Cretans, iii. 115; Pompey's injustice to him, 119; sent to suppress an outbreak instigated by Catiline, 176; subjugates Crete, 701.
- Metellus, L. Caecilius, Creticus** (2d), tribune (49 B. C.), opposes Caesar's using the public treasure, iii. 433-4.
- Metius Pompusianus**, victim of Domitian's cruelty, v. 205.
- Metrodorus**, Greek philosopher, ii. 272.
- Metrodorus**, physician, receives a gold wreath, vi. 110.
- Mettius Fuffetius**, Alban dictator, i. 155.
- Metz** (Divodurum), Gallic town, inhabitants massacred by the army of Vitellius, v. 71.
- Mezentius**, Alban dictator, i. 120.
- Micipsa**, Numidian king, ii. 497-8; his proposed division of the kingdom, 498-500.
- Middle class** at Rome, disappears after the

- Punic Wars, ii. 345; cause of its disappearance, 347-50.
- Milan** (Mediolanum), chief city of the Insubres, iii. 136. (Under the Empire it became the most important city of northern Italy.) Aureolus besieged there, vii. 273; Gallienus murdered outside the city, 275; conference of Diocletian and Galerius, 363; residence of the Caesar Maximian, 368; edict of, 494-5; habitual residence of the Emperors of the West, viii. 81, 87, 230; Council of, 150.
- Mile**, the Roman, i. 278 *note*.
- Miletus**, Greek colony in Asia Minor having three hundred trading-posts, Verres steals a vessel from the city, ii. 639.
- Military service**, fidelity of the Romans to, i. 523; exhausting the Roman population, ii. 347; accepted from mercenary motives, 348 and *note*.
- Milo**, **T. Annius**, tribune, agent of Pompey, iii. 362; hostility to Clodius, 366; his purchase of gladiators, 372 *note*; murder of Clodius, 391; exiled to Marscilles, 397.
- Minerva**, or **Menafru**, one of the great Etruscan divinities, i. 53, 127; her temple at Sorrento, 69; the olive her sacred tree, 145 *note*; an agricultural goddess, 199; etymology of the name caused her to be identified with Pallas Athene, 199 *note*; the palladium, a shapeless statuette representing her, 227; one of the three tutelary divinities of Rome, 236; in whose honor the Great Games were celebrated, 624; worshipped at Athens by Paulus Aemilius, ii. 176; seen by Sylla in his dream, 614; her gold statue carried in Pompey's triumph, iii. 192; Cicero consecrates a statue of her in the Capitol, 219; her statue in Modena, 632; the Athenians offer her hand to Antony, 642; temple on the Aventine vowed her by Augustus, iv. 68, 298; Minerva-Belisarna, Gallic goddess, 166; *jus trium liberorum* given to the Trojan Minerva, 167; her Pheidian statue restored to Samos, 208; protectress of slaves, vi. 2; patroness of weavers, fullers, and dyers, 101; originally represented as air and water; later as personified intellect, 403; finally, as Divine Wisdom, 406-8; the Minerva Promachos of Athens; the Pallas Athene of Lindos, vii. 565.
- Minervina**, wife or concubine of Constantine the Great, vii. 366, 443 *note*.
- Mint** established in Rome, i. 630.
- Minucia**, a vestal, accused of violating her vows, i. 424-5; buried alive, 425.
- Minucius, L. Augurinus**, consul during the war with the Aequi, i. 312-13.
- Minucius, M. Rufus**, *magister equitum*, i. 676, 681; killed at Cannae, 685.
- Misenum, Cape**, defeat of the Etruscan fleet by the Italiot Greeks, i. 316; residence of Cornelia, ii. 486; pillaged by pirates, iii. 112; scene of the meeting of Octavius, Antony, and Sextus Pompeius, 627-9; station of the fleet under Augustus, iv. 99, 453.
- Mishna**, the religious book of the Jews, v. 417 and *note*.
- Misopogon**, satire on the people of Antioch by the Emperor Julian, viii. 208-11.
- Mithra**, worshipped by the pirates of the Mediterranean, iii. 111; worship of, iv. 185 *note*; vi. 389, 390, 392 and *note*, 394 and *note*; vii. 15 *note*; "the invincible Sun," 403; rites of, resembled Christian rites, 431 *note*, 580 and *note*; identified with Sol, 483 *notes*; and with Apollo, 484 and *note*.
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- Mithridates**. See **Pontus**, kings of.
- Mnester**, a pantomimic actor in the time of Claudius, favorite of the elder Poppaea Sabina and of Messalina, iv. 553; endeavors to save his life on the downfall of the Empress, 558; but is put to death by the freedmen, 559.
- Mnestheus**, secretary of Aurelian and instigator of a conspiracy against him, vii. 320.
- Modares**, a Goth, general in the army of Theodosius, viii. 275, 277.
- Modena** (Mutina), important city of northern Italy, i. 22; drainage of its territory, 33; surrendered by the Gauls, 599; a Roman colony, 602; besieged by the Boii in the Second Punic War, 661; siege, iii. 373-9.
- Modestinus, Herennius**, eminent jurist, vi. 112.
- Modius**, the principal dry measure of the Romans, ii. 551; iv. 117 *note*.
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- Mona** (Anglesey), an island off the coast of Britain, sanctuary of the Druids, iii. 311; iv. 538; Roman officers murdered there, 540; taken by the Romans, 611-12.
- Monaco** (Portus Herculis Monacæ), seaport of Liguria, origin of the name, i. 525 *note*; trading-post founded by the Greeks of Massilia, ii. 224, 522.
- Monica, Saint**, her offering to the Church, vii. 24 *note*; mother of Saint Augustine, viii. 195.
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- Montanus, Votienus**, orator, exiled by Tiberius; a Spaniard, iv. 603.
- Motulus, Papius**, a Samnite, Italian consul in the Social War, ii. 586; invades Campania, 589; defeated and mortally wounded at Aesernia, 603; his death at Nola, iii. 16.
- Mount Olympus**, between Thessaly and Macedonia, battles of, ii. 164-6.
- Mucia**, mother of Sextus Pompeius, persuades her son to make terms with Octavius, iii. 627.
- Mucianus, Licinius**, governor of Syria, sends his allegiance to Galba by Titus, v. 60; unfriendly to Vespasian; afterwards reconciled with him, 84; assists Vespasian in obtaining the Empire, 84-5; joins Antonius Primus at Bedriacum, 87; urges Vitellius to negotiate, 90; receives the ornaments of the triumph, 134; military successes in Moesia; meets Vespasian at Brundisium, 136; the Maecenas and the Agrippa of the new Augustus, 137; quells a riot of the praetorians; deals wisely with Domitian, 138; allowed by Vespasian to assume the tone of a colleague, 139; his estimate of the philosophers, 151.
- Mules**, Marius', ii. 531.
- Mummius, L.**, consul, victorious over the Greeks at Leucopetra, destroys Corinth, ii. 195; his character, 197; his contempt for art, 335 and *note*; censor, colleague with Scipio Aemilianus, 427.
- Munatius Plancus, L.**, the Senate's envoy to the mutinous legions of Gaul, narrowly escapes death, iv. 411.
- Munda**, a city of Spain, scene of Caesar's victory over the sons of Pompey, iii. 517-19.
- Munderic**, a Goth, general under Theodosius, viii. 275.
- Mundus**, early Roman, i. 134 and *note*.
- Munera et Curationes**, obligations imposed, at first by custom, afterwards by the law, on the inhabitants of a city, vi. 61, 114: these were either personal (*munera personarum*), or pecuniary (*munera patrimonii*), 67 and *note*, 81-2, 216; viii. 29 and *note*, 369; law of Diocletian on the subject, vii. 399-400 and *note*. See also **Immunity**.
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- Murena, A. Terentius Varro**, conspirator against Augustus, iv. 46; addressed by Horace in Ode II., 10; his death, 46 *note*.
- Murena, L. Licinius** (1st), Sylla's lieutenant in the Second War with Mithridates, ii. 684; iii. 30; takes and pillages Comana, iii. 120; is defeated near the Halys, 121.
- Murena, L. Licinius** (2d), lieutenant of Lucullus in the third war with Mithridates before Tigranocerta, 132; consul, 173, 175; accused by Cato; saved by Cicero, 190; saves Cato in a riot, 192.
- Mursa**, Roman colony in Pannonia, headquarters of a legion, v. 332; scene of the defeat of Magnentius, viii. 71-2.
- Musa**, the physician of Augustus, iv. 79 and *note*, 331.
- Musonius, L. Rufus**, Stoic philosopher, exiled by Nero, v. 11; endeavors to arrest the advance of Vespasian's troops upon Rome, 93; favored by Vespasian, 153; mentioned with respect by Saint Justin, 447; his teaching, vi. 372-3.
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- Mylae**, naval victory of (260 B. C.), i. 561, 563 (36 B. C.), iii. 634.

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Naso, Sextius, one of Caesar's assassins, iii. 541.

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Nectarius, a praetor, made bishop of Constantinople, viii. 198 *note*; chosen bishop before he had been baptized, 287.

Nemae, funeral wailings, i. 614 *note*.

Nemesianus, M. Aurelius Olympus, poet, vii. 217 *note*.

Nemesis, divinity who seeks to restore equilibrium in the fortunes of men; Caesar's attempt to propitiate, iii. 508 and *note*; vi. 386 *note*.

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Nero, the Emperor (L. Domitius Ahenobarbus), son of Cnæus Domitius Ahenobarbus and Agrippina, eleven years of age at the time of his mother's marriage with Claudius, iv. 560 and *note*; receives the name Nero and is adopted by Claudius, 562; honors granted him, 563; presented to the praetorians on the death of Claudius and proclaimed Emperor, 565; is confirmed by the Senate, 566; his age, 571; hereditary characteristics, 571-2; personal traits, 572; is taught various accomplishments, 575 and *note*; his *quinquennium*; promises a good reign, 577; early, frivolity but kind-heartedness, 578; influenced by his mother, 579; desires to throw off her control, 580; his murder of Britannicus, 581-3; sends Agrippina out of the palace, 583; receives information of a pretended conspiracy; his rage and terror; is propitiated, and yields to Agrippina, 584; good measures of his reign, 585-9; personal misconduct, 589; love for Poppaea, 590; again turns against his mother, 591; compasses her death, 592-4; remorse after the murder, 594; is congratulated by the Senate; under the influence of Poppaea, devotes himself to amusements, 595; drives a chariot in the circus, 595-6; sings on the stage; establishes the Neronian games, 596; his age, 597; his severity and alarm, 598; applies the law of treason, 599; military results of his reign, 605-14; increasing cruelty; divorces Octavia, 614; is obliged to recall her, 615; compasses her death, 615-16; birth of his daughter, and the infant's death, 616; proposes to go into Greece to sing,

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- Nervii**, a nation of Belgica, their territory invaded by Caesar, iii. 296; battle of the Sambre, 297-8; attack Cicero's camp, 320-23.
- Nesactium**, an Istrian city, siege of, ii. 137.
- Nevitta**, chief of Gallic troops in Julian's Persian War, viii. 224.
- Nicaea**, chief city of Bithynia, iii. 713; authorized to build a temple to Rome and Caesar, iv. 65, 170 *note*; its theatre and gymnasium, v. 277; its legal rights, 279; victory of Niger near the city, vi. 486; council held in its basilica, vii. 539.
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- Nicomedeia**, the capital of Bithynia, its temple to Rome and Augustus, iv. 170 *note*; its aqueduct, v. 277; temple of Cybele, 279; seized by the Goths, vii. 242; residence of Diocletian, 368, 416; his first edict of persecution issued and enforced there, 416-18; the imperial palace set on fire, 418; scene of his abdication, 434.
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- Nicopolis**, "the city of Victory," founded by Octavius in commemoration of the battle of Actium, iii. 665.
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- Nigrinus, C. Avidius**, conspires against Hadrian, v. 313; put to death by the Senate, 314; his son-in-law later adopted by Hadrian, 314, 418.
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- Norbanus, Flaccus C.**, under Octavius before the battle of Philippi, iii. 608.
- Norcia**, ancient city of central Italy, its necropolis, i. 35 *note*.
- Noricum**, ancient name of the larger part of the Austrian Empire, subjugated by Drusus and Tiberius, iv. 246-7; the native race mostly exterminated, and the country filled with colonists, vi. 134.
- Nortia**, Etruscan divinity, Fate, or Fortune, i. 128.

Notitia dignitatum, a sort of imperial directory, viii. 2 and *note*.

Novatian, rival of Pope Cornelius, vii. 43; his followers, 43 *note*; martyred under Valerian, 252.

Novatians, the, a rigid sect, vii. 43 *note*.

Novatus, African priest accused of various crimes, vii. 38 *note*.

Noviodunum (Nevers), Gallic town, iii. 338.

Noviodunum (Sancerre), Gallic town, iii. 332.

Noviodunum (Soissons), Gallic town, iii. 292.

Novius, Q., organizes the *velites*, ii. 32.

Novum Castrum, a Roman colony in Pice-num, i. 457, 492.

Nuceria, city of Campania, i. 57; captured by Rome, 443; faithful to the Romans in the Social War, ii. 589.

Numa Pompilius, Sabine king of Rome, i. 147; augural rites confirming his election, 147; measures of his reign, 146-9; books of, 150 and *note*, 156; believed to have been the author of the religious customs of Rome, 199; books attributed to him discovered and burned (181 B. C.), ii. 297-9.

Numantia, successfully defended against the Romans, ii. 211; treaty made with, 213; siege of, 214-15.

Numenius, a philosopher, vi. 403 and *note*.

Numerianus, a grammarian, raises troops and money to aid Septimius Severus, vi. 498-9, 521.

Numerianus (M. Aurelius), the Emperor, gentle and intelligent, appointed Caesar, vii. 341; accompanies his father to the East, 342; proclaimed by the army, 344; his illness, 344; and death, 345.

Numidia, furnishes mercenary troops to Carthage, i. 539; revolts from Carthage, 567; returns to fidelity, 607; posts of Carthage on the Numidian coast, 651; Numidian mercenaries in the Carthaginian army in the wars with Rome, 662, 668, 684; ii. 9, 33, 46; in alliance with the Romans, turned against Carthage, 61, 63-9; territory increased by the Romans, made a kingdom for Masinissa, 69; territory increased by Masinissa, 200; perhaps the early home of the Basque race, 493-4; extent and importance of the kingdom, 495-7; carefully watched by Rome, 497-8; division of the kingdom, 498-500; Roman campaigns, 502-16; the country dismembered, 516; again dismembered by Caesar, and Eastern Numidia made a province, iii. 506; its con-

dition at the time of the establishment of the Empire, 732; a senatorial province, iv. 147 *note*; seat of the Donatist schism, viii. 528.

Numitor, i. 140.

Nuraghe, Phoenician monument, i. 530.

Nymphæum, in Spain, iii. 82 *note*.

Nymphidius Sabinus, receives honors from Nero, v. 25; his attempts to obtain the throne, 49, 57; murdered after the accession of Galba, 57-8; sum promised by him to the praetorians, 59 *note*.

OBNUNTIATIO, announcement of bad omens which must put a stop to public proceedings, ii. 344.

Obodas, king of the Nabathæan Arabs, iv. 209.

Obsidional crown, i. 416.

Ocriculum, city of central Italy, sides with the Italians in the Social War, ii. 595-6; its prosperity, 595 *note*.

Octavia, a plebeian *gens* of Volscian origin, i. 133; leaders of the plebs, 276.

Octavia, sister of Octavius, becomes the wife of Antony, iii. 625; hopes of peace between Antony and Octavius arising from this marriage, 626; her attempts to promote friendly relations between her husband and brother, 630, 631; at Athens with Antony, 641; left alone at Tarentum, 643; at Rome, asks permission of Octavius to rejoin Antony in Syria, 648; at Athens is ordered by Antony to come no farther; returns to Rome, where she still endeavors to promote her husband's interests, 649; is divorced by Antony, 657; always honored at Rome, iv. 61-2, 243; her death, 274; universally respected, vi. 313.

Octavia, daughter of Claudius and Messalina, iv. 554; is sent by Messalina to plead her cause with the Emperor, 557; dreaded by the freedmen, 561; her marriage with Silanus broken off; affianced to Nero, 562; kept within reach by Agrippina after the murder of Claudius, 565; wife of Nero, obstacle to his marriage with Poppæa, 590; gentle and innocent character, 595; divorced by Nero, 614; recalled, 615; plot laid against her, 615-16; her murder, 616.

Octavius Caesar. See **Augustus**.

Octavius, Cnaeus (1st), praetor in command of the Roman fleet, receives the surrender of Perseus, ii. 175.

- Octavius, Cnaeus** (2d), partisan of Sylla, consul, ii. 616; unable to defend Rome against Marius, 625, 629; killed in his curule chair, 629.
- Octavius, M.** (1st), colleague of Tiberius Gracchus, ii. 453; hostile to the Sempronian Law, endeavors to prevent voting, 453-4; attempts of Tiberius to persuade him; is deposed, 455; diminishes the gratuitous distributions of corn, 489; respects the Egyptian religion and customs, 719; his Egyptian governors of low rank, 720.
- Octavius, M.** (2d), consul B. C. 54, defeats Dolabella off the Illyrian coast, iii. 437.
- Odenathus, Septimius**, influential Palmyrene, stimulates his people to a war with Sapor, vii. 253; defeats Sapor, 254; proclaimed king by the Arabs, and later Augustus by Gallienus, 255 and *note*, 294; importance of his position, 268; circumstances of his death, 294 and *note*, 295.
- Odessus**, a town on the west coast of the Euxine, capital of the Thracian Pentapolis, ii. 251 *note*; v. 327; vi. 136.
- Odryse**, a Thracian people friendly to Persens, ii. 150; faithful to Augustus and rewarded by him, iv. 252.
- Oea**, city of the African Tripolis, at war with Leptis, v. 136; its deliberative assembly, vi. 158.
- Oenotria**, earliest Greek name for Southern Italy, "the country of the vine," i. 46; its people, 49 and *note*; invaded by the Lucanians, 104.
- Ofella, Q. Lucretius**, leader in Sylla's army, iii. 10, 11, 13; murdered by Sylla's order, 40-1.
- Officiales**, persons employed in the public offices of the later Empire, viii. 9 and *note*.
- Ofilius, Aulus**, codifies the praetorian edicts, iii. 532.
- Ogulnian Law**, i. 392, 393.
- Olbia**, a Greek commercial town in Scythia, v. 327; Dion Chrysostom addresses its people on philosophy, vi. 163; it disappears from history, vii. 187.
- Olybrius**, prefect of Rome, regulates Roman schools, viii. 241-2.
- Olympia**, a plain in Greece with the temple and sacred grove of Zeus Olympios; visited by Paulus Aemilius, ii. 177; visited by Nero, v. 39; temple of Trajan and statue of Hadrian erected there, vi. 357; scene of a philosopher's suicide, 375; retains its Pheidonian statue till the time of Theodosius, vii. 565.
- Olympus, Mount**, the battle of, ii. 164-7.
- Opimius, L.**, consul, hostile to Caius Gracchus, ii. 481; convenes the Senate, 482; receives dictatorial powers; prepares an armed attack on Gracchus, 483; pays its weight in gold for the head of Gracchus, 485; represents himself as the pacificator of Rome, 488; prosecuted, but acquitted, 489; afterwards exiled, and dies in disgrace, 514.
- Opimius, Q.**, tribune, deposed by the praetor, iii. 101.
- Oppian Law**, forbids women to wear more than half an ounce of gold, ii. 16; is repealed, 394.
- Oppianus of Cilicia**, his *Halieutica*, vi. 583 *note*; almost a poet, vii. 215.
- Oppianus of Syria**, patronized by Severus, vi. 551; his *Cynegetica* dedicated to Caracalla, 551 *note*; the Vergil of his time, 583 *note*.
- Oppius, C.**, friend of Caesar, iii. 528.
- Oppius, Q.**, captive of Mithridates, ii. 674.
- Optatianus**, Roman poet with whom Constantine corresponded, vii. 496.
- Optatus**, brother-in-law of Constantine, his murder, viii. 61.
- Optatus, Saint**, on church and state, vii. 517.
- Oracles**, revelations made by a divinity through the medium of some person or thing: that of Faunus, i. 123 *note*, 637 *note*; of Mars, 217; despised by Cicero, ii. 321 *note*. See also **Apollo** and **Praenestine Lots**.
- Orations**, funeral, i. 613.
- Oratory**, cultivated under the Republic, ii. 328-9.
- Orbiana, Sallustia Barbia**, wife of Alexander Severus, vii. 126 *note*.
- Orchian Law**, ii. 341, 413.
- Orchomenus**, Greek city, scene of a Roman victory, iii. 688-9.
- Orcini**, slaves set free by will, term of reproach for certain senators, iv. 72 and *note*.
- Orestilla**, wife of Catiline, iii. 178.
- Orfitus, Servius Scipio Salvidienus**, urban prefect under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, v. 439 and *note*.
- Orgetorix**, chief of the Suevi, iii. 280.
- Oribasius**, Julian's physician in Gaul, makes an abridgment of Galen's writings, viii. 105 and *note*.
- Origen**, on the Gospels, vii. 10 *note*, 11 *note*; on the canons of Scripture, 11 *note*; on

- baptism, 15 *note*; on confession, 16 *note*; took refuge with Firmilianus, 30 *note*; on miracle-working, 34; on vices of church-members, 38 *note*; hostility of the Roman Senate against him, 39 *note*; excommunicated by Demetrius, 43; admirer of the old philosophy, 51; on religious liberty, 56; visits the martyrs in prison, 59; on the number of Christians, 62 *note*; on the martyrs, 66 and *note*; his letters to the Emperor Philip and Otacilia, 173 *note*; precursor of the Greek Fathers of the fourth century, 216; on the number of martyrs before Decius, 228; threatened with martyrdom, 229; his age at the time of the persecution, 229 *note*.
- Ornamenta consularia**, conferred no rights, iv. 85 *note*.
- Orodes**. See **Parthia**, kings of.
- Oscans, Opici**, or **Osci**, nation of central Italy, an agricultural people, i. 45, 88; the true Italian race, 88; kindred with the Sabelians, 88; their language, 88 *note*; blended with other nations, 90; in Campania, 95.
- Ostia**, seaport of Rome, founded by Ancus Martius, i. 157; salt-works at, 377; arrival of Carthaginian fleet, 470; pillaged by pirates, iii. 112; connected with Rome by the *Via Suburbana*, iv. 37; distance from various points, 216 *note*; a poor roadstead, 220; new basin excavated by Claudius, 529-31 and *note*; improvements made by Trajan, v. 274; port of the Egyptian corn-ships, vi. 447; its theatre rebuilt by Septimius Severus, 569; regulations of the port, viii. 35 *note*.
- Osuna, Bronzes of**, vi. 39, 48, 52, 60.
- Otacilia Severa, Marcia**, wife of the Emperor Philip, vii. 170 *note*; said to be a Christian, 173; in correspondence with Origen, 173 *note*.
- Otacilius Crassus, T.**, rejected candidate for the consulship, ii. 17.
- Otho** (M. Salvinus), the Emperor, gay companion of Nero, iv. 580; husband of Poppaea Sabina; sent as governor into Lusitania, 590; vindictive towards Nero, v. 43; supports Galba, 48; candidate for adoption by Galba, 60; is preferred by the praetorians, 62; and declared Emperor by them, 63-4; his birth and ancestry, 66; his early measures, 66-7; defends himself against Vitellius, 72-4; defeated, he commits suicide, 74-5; his tomb, 75 *note*; a worshipper of Isis, vi. 390 *note*.
- Outlaws**, early Italian, i. 121, 122; sometimes patriots, iii. 28.
- Ovates**, Gallic diviners, iii. 261-2.
- Ovid** (P. Ovidius Naso), required by Augustus to write the *Fasti* in honor of the old Roman religion, iv. 128, 328; his exile, 281 and *note*, 328; death, 282; his *Ars amatoria*, 328 and *note*; character of his poetry, 328; on the celebration of birthdays, v. 521; quoted, 524; on the *Liberalia*, 525-6; an unbeliever, vi. 382-3.
- Ovinian Law** or **Plebiscitum**, i. 392.
- Oxyntas**, son of Jugurtha, ii. 593.
- PACCIUS, OVIUS**, forms the linen legion, i. 451, 452.
- Pachomius**, early hermit, viii. 153, 196.
- Pacorus**, son of the Parthian king, defeated by Cassius, iii. 85; killed in battle with the Romans, 642.
- Pactumeius Clemens, Q. Aurelius**, first African appointed Roman consul, v. 141.
- Pacuvius, Calavius**, Capuan favorable to Carthage, ii. 7, 8.
- Pacuvius, M.**, Roman tragic poet, ii. 320, 326-7 and *notes*.
- Pacuvius, Sextus**, tribune (27 B. C.), his flattery of Augustus, iv. 78.
- Padua** (Patavium), city of northern Italy, basaltic mountains of the district, i. 25, 56; claims to be of Trojan origin, 108; Livy a Paduan, 133; often plundered by the Gauls, 445; its important manufactures in the time of Augustus, iv. 220; held by the partisans of Vespasian, v. 86.
- Paestum** (Posidonia), Greek city of southern Italy, i. 25; its luxuriant vegetation, 35 *note*; its temples, 35 *note*, 111 and *note*; iv. 351; furnishes ships to Rome, i. 486 *note*; a colony, 494; on the *Via Augusta*, 495; loyal to Rome in the Punic Wars, 649 *note*; ii. 41; invaded by malaria, iv. 39.
- Paetus, Caecina**. See **Caecina**.
- Paetus, C. Caesennius**, sent to assist Corbulo in Syria, iv. 606; is defeated by Vologeses, 607.
- Paetus, P. Autronius**, consul-elect, condemned for bribery; engaged in a conspiracy with Catiline, iii. 165.
- Paetus, S. Aelius**, his *Tripartites*, ii. 329 *note*, 330, 331.
- Paetus, Valerianus**, put to death by Elagabalus, vii. 108 *note*.

Paganalia, festivals of the rural tribes, i. 241.

Pagi, divisions of the rural tribes, i. 496.

Palaemon, a Greek sea-god identified with the Roman Portunus or Portumnus, ii. 297.

Palaeopolis, old city on the site of Naples, its siege marked by the institution of the proconsular office, i. 428.

Palatine, one of the Seven Hills, earliest tradition in respect to it, i. 139; spot where Romulus took the auspices, 142; his sacred city, 143, 196; height and circumference of the hill, 143-4; one of the four quarters established by Servius, 163; site of an earlier city, 187-8; the *Roma quadrata*, 257, 258; iv. 349 *note*; bronze wolf placed there, i. 625; residence of Augustus on this hill, iv. 90, 121 and *note*, 285, 291, 349; temple of the Palatine Apollo, 126, 129-30 and *note*, 298; temples of Juventas and the Mater Magna built by Augustus, 298; temples of Jupiter and house of Livia, 349 *note*; the Flavian palace, v. 180 and *note*; the imperial residence, vi. 196; the Septizonium of Septimius Severus, 568.

Pales, Roman divinity of flocks and shepherds, i. 203, 232; her festival, the Palilia, 204; etymology of the name, 204 *note*; identified with Ceres, 233.

Palestine, country of Syria lying between the Mediterranean and the desert: in the time of Pompey, iii. 143-6; in the time of Caesar, 478-9; at the accession of Augustus, iv. 6-12, 208-9; its exports, 225; visited by Caius Caesar, 260; interference of Caligula, 511; of Claudius, 548 and *note*; of Vespasian, v. 108-33; Hadrian's visit, 370-6; insurrections against the Roman rule, vi. 412-17; contests between Jews and Samaritans, 487, 520-1; visit of Septimius Severus, 520-3; vi. 68-9; persecution of the Christians, 420.

Palfurius, a brigand in the reign of Probus, vii. 336.

Palfurius Sura, degraded from the consulship by Vespasian, v. 151-2; a jurisconsult who sought to increase the imperial prerogatives, 186.

Palilia, festival, i. 204, vii. 359; the battle of Munda commemorated on that occasion, iii. 519.

Palina, tutelary divinity of the Frentani, i. 124.

Palladium, an ancient image of Pallas Athene, revered as a pledge of the safety of the town or place where it was kept. The

Trojan Palladium said to have been brought to Rome, i. 108, 140; kept in the temple of Vesta, 227; saved by Metellus when the temple was burned, 570; a copy of it placed under Constantine's column in the forum of Constantinople, vii. 513.

Pallantium, Greek city, according to tradition the home of Evander, whence was named the Palatine Hill; for which reason the city received privileges from Antoninus Pius, ii. 244 *note*.

Pallas. See **Minerva**.

Pallas, freedman of the Emperor Claudius, iv. 522; sells the Roman citizenship, 525; law proposed by him; made praetor; his great wealth, 528 *note*, 616; secretly hostile to Messalina, 555; recommends Agrippina to the Emperor, 560; persuades him to adopt Nero, 562; favorite and steward of Agrippina, 579, 580; disgraced by the ministers of Nero, 580; put to death, 616; his arrogance, vi. 225; amount of his fortune, 263.

Pallor and Terror, divinities invoked by Tullus, i. 155, 156.

Palma, A. Cornelius, Trajan's lieutenant in the East, his victories, v. 255-6; long an enemy to Hadrian; disgraced by Trajan, 312; conspires against Hadrian, 313; put to death by the Senate, 314; his care for the water-supply in Arabia, vi. 520.

Palmyra (Tadmor), a city in the Syrian desert, contributed archers to Vespasian's army, v. 123, 373 *note*; Jews resident there, 370; recognizes the authority of Rome, 373; Hadrian's visit, 373-4; receives the *jus Italicum*; becomes a Roman colony with the name Hadrianopolis, 374 and *note*; its great buildings belong to the Antonine period, 428; great commercial centre, vi. 173, 183; vii. 253; its Roman institutions and garrison, vi. 519; vii. 253; opening of the war with Aurelian, 294; the city besieged and taken, 305-6; a fatal blow to its prosperity, 308-9; its site marked by a spring, 309 *note*.

Paludamentum militare, the war-cloak of the Roman general, ii. 55-6; iv. 149; vi. 479.

Pamphylia, a country on the south coast of Asia Minor, its frontier visited by Manlius with an army, ii. 123, 125; obtains liberty and the title of ally of Rome, 127; made part of the Roman province Cilicia, iii. 150; some districts receive their liberty from Augustus, iv. 208; invaded by the Goths, vii. 208.

- Pan**, Greek god of flocks and shepherds, takes the place of Faunus at Rome in the second century B. C., ii. 297; the source of the Jordan consecrated to him, iv. 10.
- Panaetius**, his disbelief in a future life, ii. 326.
- Pandataria**, small island off the Latin coast, place of exile of Julia, iv. 278; of the elder Agrippina, 475; of the Empress Octavia, 616; of Domitilla, wife of Clemens, v. 212.
- Pandects**, material for the, i. 387. See also *Digest*.
- Panhellenium**, a temple of Jupiter and Hadrian in Athens, a political sanctuary of Greece and meeting-place of Greek deputies, ii. 252 *note*; v. 357 and *note*, 358.
- Pannonia**, country of central Europe, south and west of the Danube, peopled by various tribes, many of them of Celtic race: ravaged by the Cimbri, ii. 526; its restless population, iii. 291; invaded by Octavius, and a military post established, 688; iv. 19; devastated by Tiberius (12 B. C.), 252; great insurrection in the year 6 B. C., 262; again devastated by Tiberius, and reduced to a province, 264; revolt of the Pannonian legions in the reign of Tiberius, 410; Roman defence of the country, 453; policy of Claudius, 544; peaceful condition in Nero's reign, 608; visited by Trajan, v. 233; Hadrian's command there, 307; a dangerous frontier, 330; Lower Pannonia, 332; Barbaric invasion in the time of Marcus Aurelius, 474, 486; the native race almost exterminated in the second century A. D., vi. 134; numerous military posts, 134-5; Septimius Severus proclaimed by the Pannonian legions, 472; he visits the province, 531; furnished soldiers to the Roman army, vii. 141; insurrection of the legions, 237; its governor proclaimed Emperor, 256, 260, 266-7; Barbaric invasion, 284; visited by Aurelian, 285; visited by Diocletian, 361; by Valentinian I., viii. 251.
- Panormus** (Palermo), Phoenician colony in Sicily, taken by the Romans in the First Punic War, i. 568; Hasdrubal's defeat in attempting to retake it, 569; for six years an important point in the war, 575; left free by the Romans, 585.
- Pansa, C. Vibius**, destined by Caesar to be consul, in 43 B. C., iii. 534; consul, makes an attempt to preserve peace between Octavius and Antony, 574; his origin and early honors, 574 *note*; joins Hirtius and Octavius in Cisalpine Gaul, 575; mortally wounded near Bologna, 577; his death, 578; last attempt to promote reconciliation between Octavius and Antony, 580.
- Pantaenus**, Christian teacher, admirer of the old philosophy, vii. 51.
- Pantaleon**, Aetolian chief, saves Eumenes, ii. 153-4.
- Pantheon**, the, built by Agrippa, iv. 121-2; 347-9 and *notes*, 350.
- Panticapaeum**, a Greek city on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, capital of the kingdom, great commercial centre, iv. 224.
- Paphlagonia**, a country in the north of Asia Minor, joins the Galatians against Rome, and is defeated, ii. 124; seized by the king of Bithynia; relinquished, 666; part of it given to Attalus, iii. 149, 151.
- Papian Law** *de peregrinis*, expels all foreigners from Rome, iii. 166.
- Papian-Poppaeae Law** *de maritandis ordinibus*, instituted by Augustus, iv. 136-40; in part abolished by Constantine, vii. 503.
- Papias**, bishop of Hierapolis, prefers tradition to Scripture, vii. 10 and *note*.
- Papienus, Maximus, L. Clodius**, the Emperor, a Roman general proclaimed by the Senate, vii. 155; in command at Ravenna, 159; receives the allegiance of the soldiers at Aquileia, 162; apprehends their hostility; on bad terms with his colleague, 163; of low origin, 163, 195; murdered by the praetorians, 164.
- Papinian** (Aemilius Papinianus), Roman jurist, member of the Emperor's council, v. 395; of Syrian birth, vi. 344; fellow-student with Septimius Severus, 478; praetorian prefect, 545, 554-5; relative of Julia Domna, 550 and *note*; *magister libellorum*; greatest of Roman jurists, 554; accompanies the Emperor into Britain, 573; is murdered by Caracalla's soldiers, vii. 78; his refusal to justify the murder of Geta, 78 and *note*; price of slaves fixed by him, 207 *note*.
- Papirian Law**, ii. 417 *note*.
- Papirian-Plautian Laws**: concerning the Italians, ii. 603-4 and *notes*; concerning the *judicia*, 611-12.
- Papirius**, a senator murdered by the Gauls, i. 365.
- Papirius Cursor, L.**, dictator in the Second Samnite War, i. 429; his quarrel with Fabius, his *magister equitum*, 429-31; defeats

the Samnites, 431; is made consul, 433; dictator, 439, 440, 473.

Papius, C., tribune, iii. 166.

Papus, Aemilius Q., consul, his small estate, i. 490 *note*; commissioner to treat with Pyrrhus, 468; his frugality, 500.

Para. See **Armenia, kings of**.

Parasite, the, in Roman literature, ii. 314-16.

Parus Publicus, the apotheosized Emperor, iv. 181.

Parentalia, festival in honor of the paternal Lares, v. 562.

Paris, name of two celebrated pantomimes in the first century, A. D.: the elder, reveals to Nero a pretended plot, iv. 584; the younger, beloved by Domitia; his murder, v. 205.

Parisii, Gallic people occupying Lutetia, iii. 345.

Paros, one of the Cyclades, garrisoned by Philip of Macedon, ii. 91; given to Athens by the Senate, 106; its famous marble, iii. 790; iv. 223, 356, 357 *note*.

Parthamasiris, nephew of Chosroës, defeated by Trajan, v. 293-6.

Parthaspates, made king of Parthia by Trajan, v. 300.

Parthia, embassy received by Sylla (93 B. C.), ii. 688; iii. 381; defeated and humbled by Tigranes, 130; equivocal conduct towards Rome; kept in check by Armenia, 139; the Euphrates the boundary between it and the Roman Empire, 140, 381; an important empire, out of reach of Rome, 152; expedition of Crassus, 378; its geographical position; the dynasty of the Arsacidae, 380; character of its inhabitants; its relations with Rome, 381; civil war in the Empire, 381-2; details of the campaign, 382-3; campaigns in the two years following, 385; Parthians invade Asia Minor, 623; defeated by Ventidius, 623-4, 642; interfere in the affairs of Judaea, 643; the country nominally given by Antony to Cleopatra's son, 650; character of the Parthian Empire, iv. 28 and *notes*, 29-30; relations of the two Empires in the time of Augustus, 233-5; of Tiberius, 428, 433, 490-1; of Caligula, 512; of Claudius, 545-6; of Nero, 605-8; of Vespasian, v. 156; of Domitian, 198-9; Trajan's war with the Parthians, 292-301; letter of Antoninus to them, 444; Parthian war in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, 460-4; Parthian invasion of Roman provinces repelled by Septimius Severus, vi. 491-2,

503; Roman invasion of Parthian territory, 505-8, 510; internal dissensions and Caracalla's attack, vii. 88-9; Parthian war and treaty in the reign of Macrinus, 97-8; the Parthian Empire subjugated by the Persians; fall of the Arsacidae, 132-5.

Parthia, kings of:—

Arsaces I., founder of the Parthian monarchy, iii. 380; vii. 132.

Mithridates I (Arsaces VI.), distinguished ruler, iii. 380.

Mithridates II. (Arsaces IX.), sends envoys to Sylla, ii. 609; iii. 381.

Phraates III. (Arsaces XII.), his friendship solicited by Lucullus, iii. 133; and by Pompey; hostilities with the king of Armenia, 139-40; relations with the Romans, 140-1, 381; murdered by his sons, 381.

Mithridates III. (Arsaces XIII.), iii. 381-2.

Orodes I (Arsaces XIV.), iii. 382; defeats Crassus, 383-5; events of his reign, 385, 623-4, 642-3; resigns the throne to his son, 644.

Phraates IV. (Arsaces XV.), iii. 644; events of his reign, 645-7, 655; iv. 234; gives back the Roman standards; marries an Italian, Thermusa; commits his children to Augustus as hostages, 235; murdered by his son, 260 *note*.

Phraataces (Arsaces XVI.), son of Phraates and Thermusa, murdered by his subjects, iv. 260.

Orodes II. (Arsaces XVII.), iv. 260.

Vonones I. (Arsaces XVIII.), iv. 260; expelled by the people, escapes into Syria, 428, 431-2; his death, 432.

Artabanus III. (Arsaces XIX.), obtains the throne on the expulsion of Vonones, iv. 428; makes overtures to Germanicus, 432; endeavors to obtain Armenia for his son, and claims Asia Minor, 490; his relations with Rome and submission, 491; his death, 545.

Gotazes (Arsaces XX.), iv. 545-6.

Vardanes (Arsaces XXI.), iv. 545-6.

Vonones II. (Arsaces XXII.), made king by Augustus, iv. 260, 546.

Vologeses I. (Arsaces XXIII.), his reign of thirty years; seizes Armenia, iv. 546, 605; successful campaign of Corbulo against him, 605-6; his war against Tigranes, 606-7; sues for peace with the Romans, 607;

- offers assistance to Vespasian, v. 84, 136; disaffected, is easily reduced to quiet; asks aid against the Alani, 156.
- Chosroës** (Arsaces XXV.), his proceedings in Armenia; embassy to Trajan, v. 295; war with Rome, 297-301.
- Vologeses III.** (Arsaces XXVIII.), invades Armenia and Syria, v. 460; campaigns against him, 461-3; he solicits peace, 463.
- Vologeses IV.** (Arsaces XXIX.), invades Mesopotamia, vi. 491-2, 505; defeated by Septimius Severus, 506-10.
- Vologeses V.** (Arsaces XXX.), war with Caracalla, vii. 88-9.
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- Petronius**, conspirator against Caesar, iii. 541.
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- Pharsalia**, a city of Thessaly renowned as the scene of the decisive battle between Caesar and Pompey, 48 B. C., iii. 457-61.
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- Pisanum**, a town of central Italy, on the Flaminian Road, i. 495 *note*; welcomes Caesar, iii. 426.
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- Praefectus frumenti dandi**, originally superintendent of distributions, iv. 95 *note*; later, chief of commissariat for Rome, vi. 466.
- Praefectus morum**, an office created by Caesar as a substitute for the censorship, iii. 506, 522, 529; held by Augustus, iv. 91, 92, 103.
- Praefectus praetorii** (praetorian prefect), this office established by Augustus, iv. 95; its gradual extension and vast importance, vi. 533-4 and *note*; reduced by Diocletian, vii. 391-2; four praetorian prefects in charge of the four prefectures, viii. 4.
- Praefectus sociorum**, military officer in command of contingents of the allies under the early Republic, i. 515.
- Praefectus urbi** (urban prefect): under the Republic called also *custos urbis*, one of the military tribunes having supreme command in the city, i. 346 and *note*; this magistracy, reorganized by Augustus, the most important in the Empire, iv. 94; extent and unlimited character of his jurisdiction, 94 *note*; v. 396 and *note*; under the later Empire, viii. 5.
- Praefectus vigilum**, commander of the night-watch, iv. 90, 104, 123 and *notes*.
- Praeneste**, i. 371, 372, 486; ii. 571; stronghold of Marius, iii. 8, 9; siege of, 10, 12, 15; surrender of the city, 15; Sylla's revenge upon, 27.
- Praenestine Lots** (*Sortes Praenestinae*), i. 201 *note*; iv. 446; v. 213.
- Praenomen**, individual name: about thirty in use in Rome, as Caius, Lucius, Sextus, etc.; the boy as a rule received that of his father or grandfather, ii. 491 *note*; v. 521 *note*.
- Praestatio annonaria**, vi. 250 *note*.
- Praetextati**, boys of noble family who wore the purple-bordered toga (*praetexta*), vi. 57, 561.
- Praetextatus, Vettius Agorius**, Roman prefect, on luxury of the Roman bishops, viii. 237 *note*; organizes medical relief for the poor, 241; favorably received by Justina, 302; priest of Vesta and of the Sun, 302; a zealous pagan, with his wife, 302 and *note*.
- Praetorian cohorts**, originally the general's body-guard, ii. 531; reorganized by Augustus, iv. 95 and *note*; from 41 A.D. they repeatedly interfere in the succession and sell the imperial power to the highest bidder, until they are disbanded by Septimius Severus in 193, and replaced by soldiers taken from the provincial legions, vi. 478-9; Diocletian reduces their number and makes them the city guard of Rome, vii. 393; entirely abolished by Constantine, 459.
- Praetorship**, a curule magistracy, inferior to the consulship, having the administration of justice as its chief duty; created in 366 B. C., i. 385; originally but one praetor (the

- urban), 385; his election, duties, and honors; his *edictum*, 386, 508; a *praetor peregrinus* appointed to settle matters in dispute between citizens and foreigners, 386-7; two additional praetors appointed for Sicily and Sardinia, 590; two praetors sent to Spain, increasing the whole number to six, ii. 131; number increased to eight under Sylla, six of them being sent to govern the provinces, 35; their judgment in civil cases continued, 369 *note*; increased to sixteen by Caesar, iii. 525 *note*; their office, duties, age, in the reign of Augustus, iv. 89 and *note*; could convoke the Senate, 92 *note*; eligible for the office of proconsul, 148; their work in the development of Roman law, 341-2; legislation of Claudius in respect to them, 528; of Hadrian, vi. 392; their only duty in the later Empire to give public games at their own expense, viii. 7 and *note*, 8.
- Praetorium**, the name of the general's tent in the Roman camp, i. 516.
- Praetutians**, a tribe of central Italy, i. 98.
- Praxeas**, early heretic, vii. 36; attacked by Tertullian, 37.
- Presages of evil** (207 B. C.), ii. 44.
- Prevaricatio**, a frequent offence against the law, ii. 341; definition of the word, 341 *note*.
- Primus, M. Antonius**, legate in Illyria, declares for Vespasian, v. 85; his early career, 85 *note*; invades Italy, 86; gains a victory at Bedriacum, 87; and sacks Cremona, 88; negotiates with Vitellius, 89; advances upon Rome, 92; his negotiations with Civilis, 99; conduct after the accession of Vespasian, 137.
- Princeps Senatus**, "prince of the Senate," the first senator to vote, iii. 523.
- Principes**, a class of legionaries, i. 513.
- Principes Juventutis**, "princes of the Roman youth," a title of honor applied by Augustus to his grandsons, as at the head of the equestrian order, iv. 109, 277; and by succeeding Emperors to their heirs, v. 177.
- Prisca**, wife of Diocletian, suspected of being a Christian, is obliged to sacrifice to the gods, vii. 419; her misfortunes and death, 437, 463.
- Prisci Latini**, inhabitants of Latium, composed of Caeci, Umbrians, Ausonians, and Siculi, i. 89; their national songs, 182.
- Priscianus**, conspirator against Antoninus Pius, v. 442.
- Priscillianists**, an heretical sect persecuted under Theodosius, viii. 307 and *note*.
- Priscus**, defender of Byzantium, vi. 488; with Septimius Severus at the siege of Atræ, 507.
- Priscus**, brother of the Emperor Philip, in command of the army of Syria, vii. 175; his severity causes revolt, 176-7.
- Priscus**, governor of Macedon, assumes the purple, vii. 224 and *note*.
- Priscus**, philosopher, friend of Julian, viii. 84, 171; present at his death, 220.
- Priscus, Helvidius**, lover of liberty in the reign of Nero, iv. 594; dispute between him and Vitellius, v. 79; denounces informers under Vespasian, 137; offensive attitude towards that Emperor; banished and put to death, 153.
- Priscus, Julius**, praetorian prefect under Vitellius, his death, v. 137 *note*.
- Priscus, Marius**, proconsul of Africa, prosecuted and condemned for malversation under Trajan, v. 257 *note*, 261.
- Priscus, Statius**, recalled from Britain and sent into Cappadocia by Marcus Aurelius, v. 461.
- Prison**, the municipal, guarded by public slaves, vi. 41.
- Privilegium**, a private law, *i. e.*, one having for its object a single individual, forbidden by the Twelve Tables, i. 337.
- Probus**, a Roman general, attempts to seize Egypt; his defeat and death, vii. 298 and *note*.
- Probus, M. Aurelius**, the Emperor, made governor of the East, vii. 191; his pay as tribune, 191 *note*; his German troops, 196 *note*; multitude of prisoners sent home by him, 207; owed his first honors to Valerian, 235; expels the Palmyrenes from Egypt, 309; his victory over the Franks, 319; proclaimed by his soldiers, 330, 332; highly esteemed by Valerian, Aurelian, and Tacitus, 331-2; birth and ancestry, 331 *note*; did not desire the Empire; asked the Senate's confirmation, 332; received with gratitude by the Senate, 333; his campaign in Gaul, 334; number of Barbarians slaughtered by him, 334 *note*; his great engineering works intimidate the Barbarians; his campaign in Rhaetia, Illyricum, and Moesia, 335; and in Asia Minor; his scornful treatment of the Persian king, 336; his review of the frontiers; establishes Barbarian colonies in Thrace, 337-8; his dealings with competitors, 338-9; favors works of public utility, 339-40; is murdered by his troops,

- 340 and *note*; limits the number of Barbarians in his army, viii. 45.
- Procedure**, legal. In civil suits, three successive methods: 1st, by *legis actiones*, i. 339 and *note*; 2d, by formula indicated (*in iure*) by the praetor, and applied (*in iudicio*) by the judge whom he selected, 385, 508; 3d, by the *cognitio extra ordinem* in the later Empire, vii. 394 and *note*. In criminal cases, jurisdiction belonged at first to the *Centuriatae*, i. 337; later, to the *quaestiones perpetuae*, ii. 368-9; under the Empire, to the Emperor, the Senate, the urban prefect, the praefectus vigilum, and governors of provinces, iv. 102-3; vi. 40-8 and *notes*.
- Proclus**, Neo-Platonist philosopher, "priest of nature," vi. 588; viii. 297.
- Proconsulship**, creation and design of the office, i. 428 and *note*; proconsuls governors of the senatorial provinces, iv. 148-9; their service considered gratuitous, but they receive an indemnity, vi. 221 and *note*, 222.
- Procopius**, Christian martyr, quotes Homer, vii. 422 *note*.
- Procopius**, Roman general, lieutenant of Julian in the Persian War, viii. 217; believed by Jovian to be his rival, 225; sent with Julian's body to Tarsus, 226; disappears for the time, 227; attempts a revolution in the Eastern Empire, 242, 252; his head sent by Valens to Valentinian, 244; his defeat, 253; had in his service three thousand Goths, 262.
- Proculeius, C.**, officer of Octavius, seizes Cleopatra, iii. 670-7.
- Proculus**, eminent jurist, founder of a school (the *Proculiani*), iv. 344; v. 186.
- Proculus**, Roman general, proclaimed in Lyons, at once overthrown by Probus, vii. 339.
- Proculus, Licinius**, friend of Otho, v. 62.
- Proculus, Scribonius**, victim of Nero's cruelty, v. 34.
- Procurators**, originally financial agents of the Emperor in the imperial provinces, corresponding to the quaestors of the senatorial provinces; persons of low rank, but frequently with extended powers, iv. 148-51; salaries, 148 *note*; in fiscal cases their decisions made absolute by Claudius, 150; v. 528-9; have the rank of knights, iv. 150 *note*; and consular insignia, v. 528 *note*; their increased importance under the Antonines, vi. 165, 219.
- Procus**, king of Alba Longa, i. 140.
- Professio**, declaration of the tax-payer, vii. 396 *note*.
- Proletarii**, the poorest class of inhabitants of Rome, i. 399 *note*; increased number in the second century B. C., ii. 346, 359; not admitted to serve in the army, 346 *note*; enlisted by Marius, 531; in the time of Augustus iv. 385-6; in the third century A. D., vii. 195.
- Promotus**, Roman general, killed by the *fœderati*, viii. 283; his victory over the Gruthunges, 298.
- Propertius, Sextus Aurelius**, lyric poet, iv. 327-8; quoted, v. 524; concerning cremation, 559.
- Property** of the first class, i. 243 *note*.
- Propraetor**, governor of a province in which there was no army, usually a former praetor at Rome: not to be appointed till five years had elapsed from the expiration of his former office, iii. 35, 398; *legati pro praetore*, 526; in command in the imperial provinces, iv. 149; vi. 219.
- Proscriptions** of Sylla, number of victims in, iii. 25; involved permanent legal disabilities, 26; extend throughout Italy, 26-7. See also **Marius**, **Octavius**, and **Antony**.
- Proserpine**, Roman name for the Greek goddess Persephone: her temple at Locri pillaged by Pyrrhus, i. 471; tutelary divinity of Enna, ii. 443 *note*; carried off by Pluto, 608; restored to the light of day, vi. 415.
- Protection** of Italian agriculture in the second century B. C., ii. 354.
- Protectores**, imperial body-guard, later form of the praetorian cohort, viii. 15 and *note*, 16, 42.
- Provinces, the Roman**: Sicily the first organized, i. 585 and *note*; theory of provincial administration, 585-9; method of assigning them, ii. 121; details of their organization in the second century B. C., ii. 223-57 and *notes*; Cato's law for restraining the exactions of the governors, 416; miserable condition under Roman government, 636-54 and *notes*; laws powerless to protect them, 654-7 and *notes*; extensive insurrection among them, 658-92; designation of the consular, iii. 371 *note*; Caesar determines the praetorian, 507; their condition about the year 30 B. C., 674-734; division between the Emperor and the Senate, iv.

- 146-50; administration and reforms of Augustus in the provinces, 150-232; their administration under Claudius, 533-49; under the Antonines, vi. 121-88; high moral tone in provincial society, 308-23.
- Provincia**, etymology of the word, i. 585 *note*; extension of meaning, ii. 228.
- Provocatio**, originally an appeal to the people in a matter affecting life, i. 154; sanctioned by the Twelve Tables, 337; question of its suppression, ii. 368, 371.
- Prudentes**. See **Jurisconsults**.
- Prudentius, Aurelius Clemens**, his description of the *taurobolium*, vi. 390; satirizes pagan devotees, viii. 297; celebrates the victory of Saint Ambrose, 305.
- Prusias**. See **Bithynia, kings of**.
- Ptolemais**, important city of Cyrenaica, iii. 727, 729; its present ruins, 727 *note*.
- Ptolemy**. See **Egypt, kings of**.
- Ptolemy**, king of Mauretania, ally of Rome, honors paid him by the Senate, iv. 453; invited to Rome by Caligula, and afterwards put to death, 512.
- Ptolemy (Apion)**, king of Cyrene, bequeaths his kingdom to the Roman people, iv. 602.
- Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus)**, famous geographer, contemporary of Hadrian, v. 407; an enthusiast in science, 346-7.
- Ptolemy (Philadelphus)**, son of Antony and Cleopatra, acknowledged by his father, iii. 643; receives provinces from Antony, 650.
- Publicans**, or farmers of various taxes, contractors for public works, or for transportation of public stores: a class of the equestrian order, ii. 386-7; their exactions in the provinces, ii. 650-4.
- Publicola, P. Valerius**, colleague of Brutus in the first year of the establishment of the consular office, i. 175; destroys his house not to give offence to the people, 177.
- Publian Law**, i. 296, 297, 391 and *note*; ii. 371.
- Pudicitia**, Roman goddess, her temples, i. 396; ii. 317.
- Pullus, L. Junius**, his naval disaster, i. 574.
- Punic Wars**: the First, i. 549-80; the Second, i. 648-86; ii. 1-70; the Third, ii. 201-8.
- Pupienus Maximus, M. Clodius**, the Emperor, formerly urban prefect, proclaimed by the Senate, vii. 155; makes his headquarters at Ravenna, 159; receives the submission of Maximin's army, 162; welcomed at Rome, but regards the situation with anxiety, 163; is murdered by the praetorians, 164.
- Puteal**, stone inclosure surrounding a consecrated place, usually a well, i. 259 and *note*.
- Pydna**, battle of, ii. 172-3; second battle of, 193.
- Pylades**, a celebrated dancer in the reign of Augustus, iv. 120.
- Pylae Amanides**, northern pass across the range of Amanus, between Syria and Cilicia, vii. 299 *note*.
- Pylae Ciliciae**, southern pass between Cilicia and Syria, vii. 245, 299 *note*.
- Pyrrhon**, sceptical Greek philosopher, ii. 272.
- Pyrrhus**. See **Epirus, kings of**.
- Pythagoras**, Greek philosopher, his reverence for the Egyptian priests, iii. 723; morality of his followers, vi. 359; his great doctrine, 411, 417.
- Pythia**. See **Apollo and Delphi**.
- QUADI**, a German tribe, established as a kingdom in the reign of Tiberius, iv. 430; disloyal towards the Empire, v. 198; submissive towards Antoninus, 444; and Marcus Aurelius, 475, 486; deliver up Roman captives, 487; their treaty with Commodus, vi. 444; their king put to death by Caracalla, vii. 87; harass Pannonia in the reign of Constantius, viii. 87; hostilities with Valentinian, 250; their country ravaged, 251.
- Quadrantes**, i. 141 *note*.
- Quadratilla, Ummidia**, her liberality to Casinum, vi. 83.
- Quadratus**, one of the Apostolic Fathers, his *Apology* presented to Hadrian, v. 409.
- Quadratus, Stratius**, proconsul in Asia, his conduct towards the Christians, v. 448-9.
- Quadratus, Ummidius**, governor of Syria, his disagreement with Corbulo, iv. 605; incurs the displeasure of Hadrian, v. 421 *note*.
- Quadratus, Ummidius**, shares in the conspiracy of Lucilla; his unsuccessful attempt to murder the Emperor, vi. 452; is put to death, 453.
- Quadruplatores**, public informers who received a fourth part of the condemned person's property, ii. 369; iv. 464 and *note*; vii. 398-9.
- Quaestiones perpetuae**, tribunals originating

- in the appointment of a special commission (*quaestores parricidii*), i. 508; established as permanent (*perpetuae*) in 149 B. C., ii. 368-9; its judges originally all of senatorial rank, 369, 418; and their decisions without appeal, 418; its judges all of equestrian rank, 474-7; the judges to be chosen by the people from the three ranks, 613; re-organized by Sylla, the judicial positions restored to the Senate, iii. 42; the number of judges, 398 *note*; fall into desuetude under Augustus, iv. 102-3; their jurisdiction in Italy under the Antonines, vi. 40, 47 *note*.
- Quaestor**, a name given to two distinct classes of Roman officers, originally patrician, — one, the financial agents or paymasters (*quaestores aerarii*); the other, the public accusers (*quaestores parricidii*), i. 195 and *note*, 277 *note*, 287, 345.
- Quaestores aerarii**, their duties, i. 345 and *note*; patrician, and at first two in number; in 421 B. C. four; in 410 B. C. three plebeian, 351; in 265 B. C. four quaestors for Italy appointed, 496; duties of the quaestors accompanying a provincial governor, ii. 237-8; number of quaestors increased to twenty by Sylla, iii. 35; *ex-officio* senators, 35 and *note*; number increased to forty by Caesar, 525; quaestorship the first step in a public career; limited to men of wealth, iv. 527-8; duties in the municipia, vi. 66.
- Quaestores alimentarum**, administer the funds of the alimentary institution, v. 269 *note*.
- Quaestores candidati principis**, iv. 90 *note*.
- Quaestores parricidii**, public accusers in the early Republic, i. 345; give place to the *triumviri capitales*, 394.
- Quaestores sacri palatii**, in the later Empire, viii. 3.
- Quaestorium**, the part of the camp where the army-chest, hostages, and spoils of war were kept, i. 516.
- Quietus, C. Fulvius**, one of the "Thirty Tyrants," son of Maerianus, proclaimed Augustus, vii. 261; besieged in Emesa, and put to death by Odenathus, 262.
- Quietus, Q. Lucius**, Moorish general, his ability first recognized by Vespasian, v. 141; accompanies Trajan in the Parthian War, 297; forms a plot against Hadrian, 312; put to death by the Senate, 314; made consul by Trajan, vi. 196.
- Quinctius, L.**, tribune, his attempts to reinstate the knights as judges, iii. 101; is prevented by Lucullus, 101, 124; praetor, deprives Lucullus of his command in Asia, 135.
- Quinquennales**, the duumvirs of the fifth year, whose duty it was to take the census, iv. 156.
- Quinquennalia**, or Neronian Games, iv. 596-7; renewed by Domitian, v. 178-9.
- Quinquennium** of Nero, iv. 571-90.
- Quintianus, Afranius**, conspirator against Nero, v. 20.
- Quintilian** (M. Fabius Quintilianus), the rhetorician, a Spaniard, iv. 603; of uncommon accuracy, 604 *note*; state professor of rhetoric under Vespasian, v. 149; vi. 108, 342; speaks favorably of Domitian; has charge of the grand-nephews of the Emperor, 185; his valuable work, 311; his *Institutions of Oratory*, 340; on morals, 358 *note*.
- Quintilii**. See **Condianus**.
- Quintillus**, his courageous death, vi. 541.
- Quintillus, M. Aurelius**, vii. 273 *note*; general in the army of Claudius, 279; proclaimed Emperor; his death, 283.
- Quintus**, Phrygian apostate, v. 448-9.
- Quirina**, a *tribus* established in 241 B. C., i. 582.
- Quirinal**, one of the Seven Hills, forming, with the Palatine and the Capitoline, the most ancient part of the city, and occupied by the Sabine population, i. 189 and *note*; the Gardens of Sallust adjacent, iv. 347.
- Quirinus**, the name of the apotheosized Romulus, i. 146, 205; etymology of the word, 189 *note*; represented by a spear, 217; his flamens, 225; united with Janus, 230.
- Quiritarian ownership**, ii. 242, 243.
- Quirites**, etymology of the word, i. 121 *note*; Roman citizens, 189 *note*; local limitations of their power, 479; antithesis of *commilitones*, as used by Caesar, iii. 485.
- RABIRIUS, C.**, senator, serves as executioner of Saturninus, ii. 555; prosecuted for the murder, iii. 167.
- Rammius**, of Brundisium, testifies against Perseus, ii. 154.
- Ramnenses**, i. 189.
- Rasena**, name by which the Etruscans called themselves, i. 62, 65, 67.
- Ravenna**, city of northern Italy, often suffered

- from freshets, i. 31 *note*; headquarters of Caesar, iii. 415; station of the imperial fleet, iv. 199, 453; residence of Maroboduus, 430; its fleet declares for Vespasian, 86; soldiers chiefly Dalmatians and Pannonians, 90 *note*; seized by Septimius Severus, 474; headquarters of Pupienus; an important position, vii. 159; threatened by the Alemanni, 237.
- Recognitiones**, the, a religious work of the second century A. D., vii. 36.
- Rediculus, Deus**, temple to, ii. 36.
- Regalianus**, one of the "Thirty Tyrants," proclaimed in Pannonia, vii. 260, 266; his death, 267.
- Regia**, the dwelling of the pontifex maximus in the Forum, i. 226 *note*; residence of Caesar, iii. 528.
- Regulus, M. Atilius** (1st), consul, victorious over the Samnites, i. 451.
- Regulus, M. Atilius** (2d), consul, victorious in a sea-fight, i. 556; taken prisoner, 567; sent back to Rome, and on his return to Carthage put to death, 571.
- Reims** (Durocortorum), city of Belgica, altar of, iv. 175; claimed to have been founded by Remus, 221; meeting-place of Gallic deputies, v. 102.
- Religion, Roman**, borrowed from Latin; Sabine, and Tuscan sources, i. 131; a contract with the gods, 131, 221; sprang spontaneously from customs; twofold in its nature, 222; subordinate to state interests, 224; the offspring of fear, 268; national, early enfeebled at Rome, ii. 290; phases of the Roman mind in respect to, 310-11; considered as a means of government, 418; a state religion formed by Augustus, iv. 164-172; its worthlessness under the Antonines, vi. 377-87; many Oriental superstitions and ceremonies engrafted upon it, 387-401; later developments of it, 578-88.
- Remancipatio**, formula of divorce, ii. 331.
- Remus**, twin brother of Romulus, i. 141; his followers, the Fabii, 142; his unlucky omen, 142-3; killed by Romulus, 143.
- Republic**, the Roman: it passes through three phases, — 1st, an aristocratic government, in the hands of the patricians, i. 272-315; 2d, political and religious equality of the two orders, the golden age of the Republic, 315; ii. 71; 3d, the oligarchy, 70; iv. 64.
- Res Mancipi**, and **Res nec Mancipi**, ii. 385.
- Rescript**, an imperial decision concerning a special case, but having in reality the force of a general law, since every expression of the imperial will was an edict, vi. 191-2.
- Revenue**, the public: from salt-works, forests, mines, and quarries, i. 157; iv. 100; vi. 254 and *note*; viii. 12; rent of the *ager publicus* and land-tax in various forms, i. 289-90, 361, 380, 496; ii. 502 *note*; iv. 100; vi. 251-2; viii. 22 and *note*; from tax on enfranchisements, i. 388; ii. 41, 343 *note*, 363; iv. 100; from fines, i. 402 and *note*; vi. 54; viii. 10 *note*; war indemnities and spoils of war, i. 452, 579; ii. 68, 69, 103 *note*, 122, 124, 277-81; from the provinces in various forms, ii. 238-41; from taxes on capital, personal property, and slaves, ii. 409; iv. 100; vi. 252; from *portoria* (customs dues), ii. 471-2, 576, 642 *note*; iv. 100, 157-8 and *notes*; v. 66-7; vi. 174; 253-4 and *note*; vii. 209 and *note*; viii. 12; from confiscations, iii. 20, 505 *note*, 598; iv. 406 *note*; viii. 12 *note*; from coinage, vi. 253; from various indirect taxes, 253-4.
- Revenues** of the cities, ii. 227 *note*.
- Revolts**, plebeian, i. 284, 331, 390, 394.
- Rewards and pay**, military, i. 521, 522 and *note*.
- Rex, Q. Martius**, sent against the Catilinian conspirators, iii. 176.
- Rex sacrorum**, i. 273, 393 *note*.
- Rhadamistus**, the Iberian, seizes the throne of Armenia; is driven out by Vologeses, iv. 546.
- Rhescuporis I**, Thracian king, partisan of the Republicans, iii. 607-8; iv. 3.
- Rhescuporis III**, Thracian king, obliged to share the throne with his nephew Cotys; treacherously seized by the Romans and put to death, 432.
- Rhegium**, legionaries of, punished, i. 474; in the Second Punic War, ii. 11.
- Rhine**, the river, bridged by Caesar, iii. 310 and *note*; by Trajan, iv. 226 and *note*.
- Rhodes**, friendly to Rome, and threatened by Philip of Macedon, ii. 96; friendly to Egypt and Athens, 97; receives cities of Caria at the close of the war, 107; places her troops at the service of Rome against Antiochus, 115; defeated by Antiochus at Samos; afterwards defeats Antiochus and Hannibal, 119; receives more territory on the mainland, 127; friendly to Syria and to Macedon,

- 151; displeased with the Roman Senate, 151 and *note*; sends vessels to assist Rome in the Third Macedonian War, 156; the Rhodians propose to mediate between Rome and Persens, 167 and *note*; they withdraw the proposal; are greatly injured by Rome, 188; render divine honors to Rome, 224 and *note*; colossal statue of Apollo, 265; ally of Rome against Mithridates, 674; furnishes vessels to the Roman fleet, 690; victory of Cassius over the Rhodians, and plunder of the island, iii. 605; islands temporarily added to Rhodian territory, 708; Rhodes still independent at the time of the establishment of the Empire, 709; Roman policy towards the Rhodians, iv. 2.
- Rhoemetalcès I.**, made king of Thrace, iv. 252; assists the Romans, 253, 263.
- Rhoemetalcès II.**, killed by his wife, 544.
- Rhone**, the river, crossed by Hannibal, i. 661 and *note*.
- Richomer**, a Frank, sent by Gratian with troops to Valens, viii. 267; desires to await the arrival of Gratian before attacking the Goths, 270; valued general of Theodosius, 310; consul, 321 *note*; recommends Eugenius for the Empire, 324.
- Ripenses**, Roman troops guarding the frontiers, viii. 16, 43-4.
- Roads**, great military, marked by mile-stones, i. 278 *note*; ii. 472; their extent and importance, i. 494, 495 and *note*.
- Roma quadrata**, i. 143 *note*, 260.
- Romanus, Saint**, the *Acts* of, vii. 422.
- Rome**, the city, its site consisted of marshy valleys between salubrious hills, i. 40-3; legends of its foundation, 134, 142-4; its growth under the early Kings, 149, 157; the Servian *agger*, 162 and *note*; earlier settlements on the same site, 189-90; growth under the Tarquins, 251-2 and *notes*; sewerage, 252 and *note*; sacked by the Gauls, 364-7; rebuilt, 369-70, 380; its care intrusted to the aediles, 385; suffers from pestilence, 424; ten new temples built in twelve years, 497; building of temples during the third century B. C., 602, 627, 630, 681; streets widened, 626; first marble building erected, ii. 198; Caesar's buildings, iii. 526; those erected in the reign of Augustus, 632, 651, 654; population of the city enormously increased, iv. 37-8; great fire in 64 A. D., v. 1-3; city rebuilt with regularity and splendor, 12-14; Trajan's embellishments, 246-54, 271; new wall built by Aurelian, vii. 293-4.
- Rome**, the state, summary of its history, viii. 334-82.
- Romulus**, son of Mars and Rhea Sylvia, legendary founder of Rome, i. 141; consults the auspices and begins to build, 142; murders his brother Remus, 143; makes the Capitoline the citadel, 144; victory over the Coenmates; offers the *spolia optima*, 145; concludes peace with the Sabines; legend concerning his death, 146; worshipped under the name of Quirinus, 146; believed to have organized Rome, 198.
- Romulus**, son of the Emperor Magnentius, vii. 459 *note*.
- Rosalia**, domestic festival, v. 562.
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- Rostra**, stage in the Forum whence orators addressed the people; it was adorned with the brazen beaks of the galleys taken at Antium, i. 423 *note*.
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Sibyl, name designating various prophetic

- women who appeared at different times in antiquity; some authors mention only four, — the Erythraean, the Samian, the Egyptian, and the Sardinian; but it was more generally believed that there were ten, of whom the Cumaean is the most celebrated: she comes to Tarquin with books, i. 169; etymology of the name, 169 *note*; a priestess of Apollo, 237; her cave at Cumae, iv. 39.
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- Sicarii**, Jewish assassins, v. 118.
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- Sicca**, Numidian city, Carthaginian mercenaries at, i. 604; surrendered to the Romans, ii. 504–5; charitable foundation existing there in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, v. 269 *note*.
- Sicily**, originally colonized by the Dorians, i. 76; later by the Mamertines, 103; situation of the Greek colonies in, 461; desired both by Rome and Carthage, 552; divided among three powers (264 B. C.), 553; condition after the First Punic War; general decay of the Greek race extends to, 461; campaign of Pyrrhus in, 470–1, 552; relations of Carthage to, 536, 553; her mints furnish Carthage with coins, 537; mentioned in Tarquin's treaty with Carthage, 549; theatre of the First Punic War, 555–80; lost to Carthage; carefully fortified by the Romans, 589; declared a province, 585 and *note*; her share in the Second Punic War, ii. 22–7; finally abandoned by the Carthaginians, and devoted by Rome to agriculture, 27; crossed by Scipio on his way to Africa, 62–3; legal usages in, 235; her two quaestors, 238; legal position of the cities, 246 *note*; regulations in respect to taxes, 247 and *note*, 248; *latifundia*, 356; first revolt of the slaves, 432–4; organized by Rupilius, 444; second revolt, 545–7; exactions and tyranny of Caius Licinius (Verres) in, 639–46; defended by Cicero, iii. 105–7; falls to the lot of Octavius, 584; scene of the resistance of Sextus Pompeius to the triumvirs, 602, 621, 630; their concerted attack upon, 632–7; her condition at the beginning of the Empire, 698–9; one of the Senate's provinces, iv. 147 *note*; visited and re-organized by Augustus, 206; her products, 220; possessed the *jus Latii*, vi. 141 *note*.
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- Siculi**, a Pelasgic race established in the north of Italy, i. 49; driven southward by the Sicani, 54; and later by the Umbrians; settle in Sicily, which receives their name, 56; a remnant uniting with the Umbrians, Ausonians, and Casci, or Aborigines, form the *Prisci Latini*, 89.
- Sicyon**, a city of Greece, member of the Achaean League: its poverty, ii. 87; member of the Amphictyonic Council, iv. 207.
- Sidicini**, a people of central Italy, i. 95; threatened by the Samnites, 413–14; make a league with the Latins, 417–18; attack the Aurunci, 423; are defeated and reduced to submission by the Romans, 424.
- Sidon**, Phoenician seaport, deprived of liberty by Augustus, ii. 251; its slave-mart, 436; an important centre of the glass manufacture, iii. 717; iv. 225; its dispute with Damascus, 489 *note*.
- Sidonius, C. Sollius Apollinaris**, Latin poet, prefect in Gaul, and bishop of Clermont, viii. 23 *note*.
- Signaculum**, leaden medal identifying the soldier, vi. 239.
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- Second Punic War, ii. 41; important position held by Marius, iii. 8.
- Signifer**, or **Vexillarius**, the standard-bearer, i. 515.
- Sila**, the great forest in Bruttium, seventy miles long, i. 23, 36; half of it ceded to Rome, 496; last shelter of Hannibal in Italy, ii. 49.
- Silana, Julia**, widow of Silius, proposes to re-marry, iv. 583; Agrippina prevents her marriage; she revenges herself; her exile, 584.
- Silanus, M. Junius**, legate in Spain, defeats Hanno, ii. 57.
- Silanus Manlianus, D. Junius**, condemned by his father for extortions in Macedon, kills himself, ii. 424 and *note*.
- Silanus, M. Junius**, consul, defeated by the Cimbri, ii. 528.
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- Silanus, M. Junius**, great-grandson of Augustus, poisoned by command of Agrippina, iv. 566.
- Silanus, L. Julius**, his marriage with Octavia broken off; his death, iv. 562.
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- Silius, C. (2d)**, lover of Messalina, who marries him publicly during the lifetime of Claudius, iv. 555; courage and death, 558.
- Silius Italicus, C.**, consul, announces the flight of Nero, v. 50; proconsul of Asia under Vespasian, 146; praises Domitian, 185; senator and poet, vi. 332.
- Silo, Q. Pompeadius**, a Marsian, designs by violence to secure citizenships for the allies; seeks to obtain the partisanship of the child Cato, ii. 565; the soul of the Social War, 581; Italian consul, 586; in the third year of the war arms the slaves; seeks aid from Mithridates, 602; enters Bovianum in triumph; is killed in a skirmish, 603.
- Silphium**, a valuable product of the Cyrenaica, i. 517.
- Silvanus**, Roman officer left in charge of Salomonius; his defeat and death, vii. 258.
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- Similis, Sulpicius**, centurion in the reign of Trajan, becomes prefect under Hadrian, v. 402.
- Simon Ben Giora**, leader of the Idumaeans during the Roman war, occupies the upper city, v. 127; escapes from the temple during the siege of Jerusalem, 130; captured by Titus, 131; follows the victorious general in his triumph; is put to death, 132.
- Singara**, a city of Mesopotamia, captured by Trajan, v. 297; limit of the Roman possessions, vii. 381; scene of Roman victory over Sapor, viii. 65-6; taken by Sapor, 124; finally abandoned by the Romans, 225.
- Sinope**, Greek colony on the Euxine, besieged and taken by the king of Pontus and made the capital of his kingdom, ii. 661 *note*, 665; iii. 127; Mithridates buried there, 148; favored by Pompey, 151; receives a Roman colony, 708-9; v. 156.
- Sinuessa**, a city of Latium, occupied by the Romans, with a colony, i. 450; on a branch of the *Via Appia*, 195 *note*.
- Sipontum**, a city of southern Italy, taken by Alexander the Molossian, i. 425; a Roman colony established there, ii. 348; who desert the place after a few years, 348 *note*; occupied with troops by Caesar, iii. 432.
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- Sirmium** (Metrovitz), a city in Pannonia, great centre of Roman influence, iv. 256; attacked by the Pannonians, 262; important city under the Antonines, vi. 135; death of Claudius II., vii. 282; birthplace of the Emperor Probus, 331 *note*; visited by Dio-

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- Siscia** or **Segesta** (Sisseck), a city of Pannonia, taken and garrisoned by Octavius, iii. 654; centre of Roman influence, iv. 256; held by Tiberius against the Pannonians, 263; eclipsed by Sirmium, vi. 135; taken by Magnentius, viii. 71; taken by Theodosius from Maximus, 310.
- Sister's Post**, the, i. 155.
- Sistrum**, sacred musical instrument of Isis, ii. 322 *note*.
- Sitifis** (Setif), Mauretanian town, centre of the insurrection of Tacfarinas, vi. 148; in a fruitful territory, 151.
- Sittius**, African adventurer employed by Caesar, iii. 490, 498; established at Cirta, 506 and *note*.
- Sixtus II.**, Pope, martyred under Valerian, vii. 251.
- Slaves**, in early Rome employed in agriculture, i. 261, 263; two legions enlisted in the Roman army during the Second Punic War, ii. 3, 16, 18; price of, 353 *note*, 364; practise various trades at Rome, 360-1 and *notes*; a fifth of the population of Rome, 365 *note*; employed in financial affairs, 388 *note*; Cato's view of, 419-20; their wrongs drive them to revolt, 432; contrasted with citizens of Cicero, 433 and *notes*; contempt of antiquity for, 433-4; market of, largely supplied, 434-5 and *notes*; and in what ways, 435-7; great numbers owned by individuals, 437 and *note*; rules for their treatment, 439-41; legal status, 439-41; revolt of, in central Italy, incited by Vettius, a Roman knight, defeated by Lucullus, 545; cause of the revolt in Sicily, 546; its temporary success, 546-7; final defeat, 547; many furnished to the market by piracy, iii. 113; ameliorated condition under the Antonines, vi. 1-8; and under Septimius Severus, 567-8 and *note*; generally ruder and more barbaric in the third century A. D., vii. 206-7; severely treated by the laws of Constantine, 550 *note*; condition under the Christian Empire, viii. 37-40.
- Slavs**, succeed the Goths on the shores of the Baltic, vii. 182 *note*; they people the peninsula of the Balkans, 373.
- Sling-missiles** used in the Social War, ii. 598 *note*.
- Smyrna**, city of Asia Minor, subjugated by Antiochus, ii. 75; member of a league, 86; faithful to the Romans and rewarded by them, 127; its temple to Rome and Augustus, iv. 170 *note*; early temple to Rome, 183 *note*; its valuable wines, 223 *note*; desires to build a temple to Tiberius, 490; visited by Hadrian, v. 362; aided by Marcus Aurelius, 469; persecution of Christians at, 506; vii. 230; its electoral comitia, vi. 31.
- Soaemus**, made king of Ituraea by Caligula, iv. 511.
- Soaemus**, king of Sophene, furnishes contingents to Titus for the siege of Jerusalem, v. 127.
- Social War**, the, causes of, ii. 570-81; Italian league in, 582-4; strength of the two sides, 584-5; very formidable for Rome, 586; Italian attempts to negotiate, 587; military operations, and Roman reverses of the first year, 586-96; Roman successes, 597-602; concluding events, 603-4; advantages obtained by the Italians, 604-5.
- Socialist doctrines** of the present day founded on a Roman idea, ii. 449.
- Socrates**, eminent Greek philosopher, speculative character of his teaching, ii. 268; despised by Cato, 287; his ethics set forth by Apuleius, vi. 419 *note*, 420.
- Socrates**, ecclesiastical historian, vii. 472 *note*; 474 *note*; 495 *note*; 537 *note*; viii. 145 *note*; 146 *note*; 148 *note*.
- Solarium**, a sun-dial, i. 629.
- Soldiers' Pay**, established 405 B. C., i. 351, 355; its amount, 522 and *note*; increased by Caesar, iii. 405 *note*; its amount under Augustus, iv. 388 and *note*; under Domitian, v. 184 *note*; under the Antonines, vi. 238.
- Solidus**, a gold coin of the later Empire, vii. 103 *note*.
- Solon**, **Julius**, a senator, put to death by Septimius Severus, vi. 480 *note*.
- Sopater**, a Neo-Platonist, put to death by Constantine, vii. 496 and *note*.
- Sophene**, a district of Armenia, made a separate kingdom by Pompey, iii. 139; made a kingdom by Nero, iv. 605; one of the Roman provinces relinquished by Jovian to Sapor, vii. 381 *note*.
- Sophocles**, Greek tragedian, ii. 320; an Athenian, 675; ignores the passion of love, iv. 327; religious awe of his dramas, v. 300; his *Antigone*, vii. 56.
- Sophonisba**, daughter of Hasdrubal, becomes

- the wife of Syphax, ii. 63; falls into the hands of Masinissa and is put to death, 64.
- Sora**, a city of Latium, taken by the Romans, i. 378; colonized by Rome, 402, 413; garrisoned, 423; in the first line of defence against the Samnites, 492; mentioned by Juvenal, vi. 283.
- Sortes of Praeneste**. See **Praenestine Lots**.
- Sosianus, Antistius**, banished for satirical verses against Nero, iv. 599.
- Sosigenes**, Alexandrian astronomer, employed by Caesar to regulate the calendar, iii. 511.
- Sosius, C.**, governor of Syria, victorious over the Parthians, iii. 642; order to support Herod, takes Jerusalem, 643; consul; is disgusted with Antony's folly, 651; in Antony's name reproaches Octavius, 655.
- Soter, Demetrius**, Seleucid king, friend of Polybius, ii. 219.
- Sozomenus**, ecclesiastical historian of the fifth century, vii. 511, 519.
- Spain** (*Hispania Citerior*, or *Tarraconensis*, *Hispania Ulterior*, or *Baetica*), legendary visit of the Tyrian Hercules to Spain, i. 530; furnishes silver to commerce, 531 and *note*, 536; explored by Tyrian colonists, 532; trading-posts established by the Carthaginians, 536; furnishes mercenaries to Carthage, 539; conquest by Amilcar; Hasdrubal founds Carthage on the coast facing Africa, 610; country only partially subdued by Carthage, 651-2; scene of the earliest campaign of the Second Punic War, 652-60; and of its conclusion, ii. 50-8; command in Spain hereditary with the Roman Scipios and the Carthaginian Barcas, 53; final expulsion of the Carthaginians, 58; founding of the Roman colony Italica, 59; hostility of the people to a provincial organization, 131; character of the people, 132; Roman attempts to subjugate the country, 132-4; easy terms made with the Spaniards by Sempronius Gracchus, 133-4; her persistent resistance, 209; continued hostilities, 210-16; the country quickly Latinized, 217 and *notes*, 218; complains of the rapacity of its cities, 233; administration, 237; legal condition of its cities, 246 *note*; regulation in respect to its taxes, 247-8; its provincial assemblies, 254; supplies Rome with corn, 359; invaded by the Cimbri, 530; governed by Sertorius, iii. 63; who rouses the Spaniards and makes a last stand for the Marian party in the province, 73-91; stand made against Caesar by Pompey's lieutenants, 439; campaign there, and pacification of the province, 439-40; falls to the share of Octavius, 614; population of the country, 676, 678; condition in the time of Octavius, 679-82; visited by Augustus, iv. 78, 201; divided between the Senate and the Emperor, 147 *note*; subject to customs regulations, 157; reorganized, 202; his popularity in the country, 203-4; products of the country, 222 and *note*; great prosperity of the province, 602; list of distinguished Spaniards under the Caesars, 602-3, and v. 224 and *note*; Galba, governor of Spain, saluted Emperor by the Spanish legions, 56; the Seventh Legion (*Gemina*) Spanish, 76; receives the *jus Latii* from Vespasian, 158; Trajan, the first provincial Emperor, a Spaniard, 224; Hadrian of Spanish ancestry, 305 *note*; Hadrian in Spain, 344; the family of Marcus Aurelius of Spanish origin, 457 *note*; condition of Spain under the Antonines, vi. 130-2; absorbed into the Gallic prefectures, 132; Spanish towns plundered by the Franks, vii. 236; the Emperor Theodosius a Spaniard, viii. 276.
- Spalato** (*Salonae palatium*), Diocletian's residence after his abdication, vii. 431-8.
- Sparta**, condition of (200 B. C.), ii. 83-5; her reduced population, 84 *note*; manufacture of purple, iii. 694; has charge of the Actaeon Games, 697; honored by Augustus, iv. 206.
- Spartacus**, a Thracian, his character, chief in the Servile War, iii. 93; his successes, 94; his difficulty in obtaining obedience, 95-6, 98; defeats Mummius, 96; is pursued by Crassus and defeated, 97-8; his death, 98.
- Spartianus**, one of the authors of the *Augustan History*; concerning Hadrian, v. 348, 404 and *notes*.
- Spendius** and **Matho**, generals of the mercenaries, i. 605-8.
- Spoleto** (Spoleto), city of central Italy, Roman colony, i. 492; on the *Via Flaminia*, 495 *note*; its resistance to Hannibal, 538, 675 and *note*; ii. 41; some of its inhabitants receive citizenship, 581; its aqueduct, 581 *note*.
- Spolia opima**, armor and weapons stripped by the commander-in-chief of a Roman army from the leader of the enemy on a field of battle, and dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius:

- first offered by Romulus, i. 145; second, by Cornelius Cossus, 352; third, by M. Claudius Marcellus, 601.
- Sportula**, the patron's gift of food or money to his clients, iv. 119; v. 87-9.
- Sporus**, a freedman, favorite of Nero, v. 32.
- Spurinna, Vestriccius**, general in Germany, v. 226; mentioned by Pliny with admiration, vi. 317.
- Stabiae**, a city of Campania, buried under ashes, i. 26; joins the allies in the Social War, ii. 589; deprived of part of its territory, iii. 27; scene of Pliny's death, v. 169.
- Standard**, the Roman: the wolf their original emblem, i. 515 *note*; replaced by the eagle (105 B. C.), ii. 531; worshipped by the soldiers, vi. 233; vii. 480; the introduction of the eagles and the *labarum*; the Roman, placed in the *aerarium* on return from campaigns, i. 510 *note*; vii. 480; set up in camp in front of the general's tent, 516; the *labarum*, 475-80 and *notes*.
- Statielli**, tribe in the Maritime Alps, ii. 154. See *Liguria*.
- Statilius, L.**, accomplice of Catiline, iii. 174 *note*; seized and placed in Caesar's charge, 180; put to death, 184.
- Stationarii**, a class of troops, viii. 47.
- Statius, P. Papinius**, Roman poet, invited by Domitian to his palace, v. 184; eulogy on Etruscus and Abascantus, two freedmen, vi. 224; describes Polla, Lucan's widow, 317; an improvisator, 333.
- Stativa, castra**, permanent garrisons of the frontiers, iv. 99, 387-8 and *notes*; v. 198; become by degrees demoralized, 318; and are restored to discipline by Hadrian, 319-22.
- Stephanophoros**, the crown-bearer, ii. 138 *note*.
- Stephanus**, murderer of Domitian, v. 214.
- Stephen, Pope**, his dispute with Cyprian, vii. 30, 43; and Firmilianus, 30 *note*, 43.
- Stertinus, Q.**, Roman physician, his liberality to Naples, vi. 33; amount of his fees, 83 *note*.
- Stilicho**, a Vandal, Roman general attempts to revenge the murder of Promotus, viii. 283-4; husband of the niece of Theodosius, 327.
- Stimuli**, used by Caesar, iii. 344.
- Stoeni**, destroyed by Marcius Rex, ii. 520-1.
- Stoicism**. See *Philosophy*.
- Stola**, characteristic dress worn by the Roman matron, i. 373.
- Stolo, Licinius**, tribune of the people, i. 382, 383.
- Strabo**, the geographer, on the invention of legends, vi. 378.
- Strabo, Acilius**, governor of the Cyrenaica under Nero, iv. 602.
- Strasburg (Argentoratum)**, scene of Julian's victory over the Alemanni, viii. 96-7.
- Strategius**, called also **Musonianus**, an Arian, at the court of Constantine, vii. 495.
- Streets of Rome**, paved (174 B. C.), ii. 336 *note*.
- Stromboli**, i. 27.
- Suburra**, name of a street in Rome, i. 252 *note*.
- Suessa Aurunca**, a city of Campania, native place of Lucilius, i. 133; stronghold of the Aurunci, 423; colonized by the Romans, 436; in the second line of Roman defence, 492.
- Suessa Pometia**, a city of Latium, besieged and taken by Tarquin, i. 167; taken by Servilius, 283.
- Suessiones**, defeated by Caesar, iii. 294.
- Suetonius Tranquillus, C.**, imperial secretary under Hadrian; disgraced on account of an offence against Sabina, v. 406; vi. 225; a man of moderate tastes, 311; a collector of facts rather than historian, 340.
- Suevi**, invade Gaul, iii. 213; their alliance with the Gallic tribes, 279-80; formidable to Gaul; Caesar's account of them, 286, 307-8; his campaign against them, 286-90; their retreat into Germany, 291; molest the Usipetes and Tencteri, 307-8; are destroyed by Caesar, 379.
- Suffetes**, Carthaginian judges, i. 545 and *note*.
- Suffragii, jus**, the right of voting in the Roman comitia, i. 483 and *note*.
- Suicide**, frequent in the latter part of the reign of Tiberius, iv. 483-5; among philosophers, vi. 312, 314-15.
- Sulla, Servius**, accomplice of Catiline, iii. 174 *note*.
- Sulpicia**, Roman poetess in the reign of Domitian, v. 203-4; respected by Martial, vi. 316.
- Sulpicianus, Flavius**, father-in-law of Pertinax, sent by him to the praetorians, vi. 469; on the death of Pertinax bids against Julianus for the Empire, 469-70; put to death by Severus as a partisan of Albinus, 503.
- Sulpicius, Q. Longus**, military tribune, his treaty with the Gauls, i. 366-7.
- Sulpicius, Servius Praetextatus**, delivers

- Tusculum, i. 372; son-in-law of Flavius Ambustius, 382.
- Sulpicius Gallus, C.**, legionary tribune, explains an eclipse of the moon, ii. 172 *note*; is chosen patron by the Spaniards, 233.
- Sulpicius Rufus, P.**, tribune, friend of the nobles, Cicero's praise of, ii. 610; tool of Marius, 610-12; his revolutionary measures, 611-13; influences the Senate to forbid Sylla's advance, 614-15; is betrayed and killed, 615; his head placed above the rostra; his laws abolished, 616.
- Sulpicius Lemonia Rufus, Servius**, orator and jurist, prosecutes Murena, iii. 175 *note*; his wife Postumia devoted to the interests of Caesar, 195; consul, 404 and *note*; sent by Caesar as proconsul into Greece, 537; praised by Cicero, iv. 341.
- Summanus**, ancient Etruscan divinity, god of the night, i. 128, 130.
- Sumptuary Laws**, concerning silver, i. 500; concerning gold, ii. 16; the Orchian, 286 *note*; concerning dress and equipage, 394-7, 409; against luxury of the table, 414 and *note*; against extravagance at festivals and funerals, iii. 44 and *note*; Caesar's law, 513; Aurelian's laws, vii. 317-18.
- Sun**, the (the Greek Helios), identified in early Roman worship with Janus, i. 126, 134; worshipped at Carthage, 526; his altar on Haemus, ii. 143; Egyptian kings claim descent from, iv. 176; Nero's colossus consecrated to the Sun by Vespasian, v. 145; his temple at Baalbec, 372; the supreme divinity, vi. 403; his temple and priests at Emesa, 547; vii. 101, 315; his worship established at Rome by Elagabalus, 111; where it assumes great importance, 113; worshipped in Armenia, 245; his temple at Palmyra restored by Aurelian, 306; his temple at Rome, 315-16; identified with Mithra and Apollo, 483-4 and *notes*; special protector of the Constantinian family, 485-6; identified with Christ, 486-90 and *notes*; special divinity of Julian, viii. 170-1.
- Sun-dial**, first introduced in Rome, i. 629; uncorrected for a century, ii. 336.
- Suovetaurilia**, sacrifices of three animals, — swine, sheep, and bull, i. 233-4, 507 *note*; performed at the closing of the census, 508; iv. 156.
- Superindictions**, viii. 13 and *note*.
- Sura, Bruttius**, Roman general, defeats the army of Mithridates in Greece, ii. 676.
- Sura, L. Licinius**, his ability first recognized by Vespasian, v. 141; recommends Trajan to Nerva, 223; Trajan's gratitude to him, 223 *note*; a Spaniard, 224 *note*; remains the Emperor's confidential adviser, 307, 308; inscription detailing his honors, vi. 241.
- Sura, P. Cornelius Lentulus**, accomplice of Catiline, iii. 174; his previous career, 174 *note*; thought himself predestined to reign over Rome, 174 *note*, 175; his dealings with the deputies of the Allobroges, 179; taken into custody, 180; put to death in the Tullianum, 184.
- Surrentum** (Sorrento), city on the Bay of Naples, occupied by the Etruscans, i. 68; on a branch of the *Via Appia*, 495.
- Sutrium**, ancient Etruscan city, occupied by a Roman colony, i. 79; frontier fortress, 360, 371, 491; besieged by the Etruscans, 438; scene of a decisive battle, 439 and *note*; on the *Via Cassia*, 495 *note*; refuses aid to Rome in the Second Punic War, ii. 42.
- Sybaris**, a city of southern Italy, in a malarial region, i. 34; extreme fertility of its territory, 37 *note*; figure of an ox on its coin, 45; extensive sway, 104, 110; great prosperity and downfall, 110-11; mentioned by Juvenal, ii. 283.
- Sylla Felix, L. Corneli us**, quaestor with Marius in Numidia; his character and popularity, ii. 513; gallantry in battle; sent to hold a conference with Bocchus; receives Jugurtha a prisoner, 514; is associated by Marius in the latter's triumph, 517; becomes hostile to Marius, 540; propraetor in Asia, 561, 595, 609, 668; persuades the allies to assist Rome, 582; open hostility to Marius; his slow advance, 594, 608; seeks to supplant Marius, 595; consular legate of Porcius in the Social War, 597; exhibits great zeal and activity, 600; dealings with mutincers; successful campaign, 602-3; obtains the consulship, 603, 609; besieges Nola, 604; obtains command of the army against Mithridates, 609; in Rome, narrowly escapes death, 612-13; begins civil war, 613-14; his conduct in Rome, 614-17; departs for Asia, 617; and is thus out of the way of Marius, 631; crosses the Adriatic, 676; and advances upon Athens, breaks through the Long Walls, and attacks the Piraeus, 677; winters at Eleusis, and renews the attack in the spring, 678; besieges Athens, 679; enters the city; resumes his siege of the Piraeus, 680;

advances into Boeotia, 681; victory over the Greeks and Asiatics at Chaeroneia, 682-6 and *notes*; marches against Dorylaeus and fights at Orchomenus, 687-9; terms made by him with Mithridates, 689-92; announces his intended vengeance, iii. 1; a deputation is sent him by the Senate, 2; he crosses the Adriatic, 3; is well received at Brundisium; is joined by Metellus Pius, 4; his cause that of the Roman aristocracy; is joined by Pompey, 5; advances on Rome; defeats Norbanus, 6; deprives Scipio of his army, 7; continues his advance, 8; defeats Marius near Sacriportus, 9; enters Rome, 10; defeats Carbo at Faventia, 13; defeats the remaining Marian leaders at the Colline Gate, 14-15; his supreme power, 17; his severities in Rome, 17-20; his offering to Hercules, 21; makes out a list of intended victims, 19 and *note*; probably friendly to Cicero, 23; sends his lieutenants to pacify the provinces, 28, 30; undertakes himself to punish Greece and Asia, 28; but avoids incurring war with Mithridates, 30; allows discipline to be relaxed in the army, 31 and *note*, 32; proposes himself as dictator, 32; receives absolute power, 32-3; is elected consul; celebrates a triumph, 33; restores power to the aristocracy, 34, 40; political laws promulgated by him, 34-42 and *notes*; his respect for the gods; his equestrian statue; assumption of the surname Felix, 43; religious measures, 44; laws in the interest of morality, and sumptuary regulations, 44 and *note*, 45; his abdication, 45-6; death of his wife; his second marriage; his Commentaries, 46; his death, 47; his funeral, 48-50; his epitaph; Seneca's sentence, 50; his work as a general, 51; as a legislator, 51-3; his conduct and character compromise his laws, 53-4; his statues restored by Caesar, 521; his superstition, vi. 386 *note*.

Sylla, Faustus Cornelius, son of the dictator, appointed by the Senate to rebuild the curia, iii. 392; husband of Pompeia, 396 *note*; Pompeian general in Africa, 486; his death, 488.

Sylla, P. Cornelius, nephew of the dictator, consul-elect, condemned for bribery; engages in a conspiracy with Catiline to murder the consul who took his place, iii. 165; accused of being concerned in Catiline's treason, 174 *note*; protected by Cicero, makes him a gift, 364 *note*.

Sylla, Servius Cornelius, nephew of the dictator, accomplice of Catiline, iii. 174 *note*.

Sylla, Faustus Cornelius, accused of conspiracy by Nero, and exiled to Marseilles, iv. 598; put to death, 614.

Sylvanus, rustic divinity, i. 203; ii. 296 and *note*.

Sylvanus, imitator of Magnentius, viii. 68; deserts to Constantius, 72; his services in Gaul, 80; accused of treason, allows himself to be proclaimed, and is put to death, 81.

Sylvia, Rhea, a vestal, mother of Romulus and Remus, i. 140, 141.

Symmachus, Q. Aurelius, on Constantine's religion, vii. 519 *note*; Roman author and orator, viii. 21; urban prefect, 34 *note*; appointed prefect of Rome, 235; his fear of brigands in Campania, 258; on the religious situation, 285; favorably received by Justinian, 302; endeavors to obtain the reversal of Gratian's decree; his debate with Saint Ambrose, 303-5; consul under Theodosius, 321; in temporary disgrace; his pardon obtained by the Arian bishop of Rome, 322 *note*.

Syndicus, an agent appointed by the Curia to defend its interests in courts of justice, vi. 70; and in the presence of the Emperor or the proconsul, viii. 240.

Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, richest citizen of the Cyrenaica, viii. 198 *note*; scarcely a Christian when made bishop, 278-9; calls for the reconstruction of a national army, 284 *note*; seems to ignore the existence of the Pope, 286 *note*; excommunicates the president of the Pentapolis, 320 and *note*.

Synnada, a city of Phrygia famous for its marble, united by Pompey to Cilicia, iii. 150, 712; its marble exported to Rome, iv. 224; vi. 280 *note*.

Syphax, king of Numidia, visited by Scipio and persuaded to become an ally of Rome, ii. 58; abandons that alliance, marries the daughter of Hasdrubal, and expels Masinissa from Numidia, 63; is defeated and made prisoner by Laelius and Masinissa, 64.

Syracuse, Greek colony in Sicily; besieged by the Carthaginians, i. 470; independent kingdom under Hiero, 553; ally of Rome, 557; left free by Rome, 585; its defection, ii. 22; besieged by the Romans, 23; taken and sacked, 27; receives a Roman colony, iv. 206; pillaged by the Franks, vii. 338.

Syria, the kingdom seized by the Ptolemies, and reconquered by Antiochus III., ii. 74-5; possessions greatly reduced after the Roman victory at Magnesia, 126-7; Syrian invasion of Egypt, 187; the king of Syria gives up a Macedonian usurper to the Romans, 192; Roman policy towards the kingdom, 219; seized by Tigranes, king of Armenia, iii. 130; its deplorable condition, 142; reduced to a province by Pompey, 143; Crassus in Syria, 379-82; exactions of Aemilius Scaurus and Gabinius, 380; of Cassius, 604-8; given by Antony to a son of Cleopatra, 650; the Semite population partly Hellenized, 676; its misfortunes as a Roman province, 715-16; its native princes divided in allegiance between Rome and Parthia, iv. 6; an imperial province, 147 *note*; its prosperity under Augustus, 237-8; visit of Germanicus, 429, 432, 435; Judaea and Ituraea united to it, 548 and *note*; protected by Corbulo from the Parthians, 606; its organization, v. 106; great massacre of Jews in the principal cities, 120; Trajan governor of Syria, 224; protected by the Caucasus, 296; visited by Hadrian, 367-8; threatened by the Parthians, 460; military administration of Cassius in the province, 461-3; governed by Niger, vi. 485; its affairs regulated by Septimius Severus, 491; his long residences there, 510-22; invasion of the Parthians and their defeat, vii. 97-100; Elagabalus and Alexander Severus natives of the country, 101-5; invasion of Sapor, 169-70, 245-7; in the hands of the Persians, 252; reconquered for Rome by the Palmyrenes, 253-5; its coasts infested by pirates, 298; victories of Aurelian, 300-13; defeat of Galerius, 378-9; finally protected by Diocletian, 381; administration of Gallus, viii. 75-9; visit of Julian, 200-14.

Syria, kings of:—

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Antiochus II. (Theos), ii. 263 *note*, 267.

Antiochus III. (the Great), his successes in the East, ii. 75; in alliance with Philip of Macedon, 97; claims extensive dominion, 110; receives Hannibal, 110-11; invades Greece, 113-15; war declared against him by the Romans, 116-17; defeated at Thermopylae, he escapes into Asia, 117; defeated at Magnesia, he accepts

humiliating terms, 122; war indemnity paid by him, 122 *note*; killed by his own subjects, 146.

Seleucus IV., seeks friendship of the Achaean League, ii. 144; his whole reign spent in gathering money to pay the Roman tribute, 146; father-in-law of Perseus, 151; assassinated by Heliodorus, 151 *note*.

Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), given by his father as hostage to the Romans, 122; obtains the throne, 151 *note*; attempts to deprive Egypt of territory and to obtain the friendship of Rome, 155; conquers part of Egypt, but retires at the Senate's order, 187; iii. 717; his death, ii. 219.

Antiochus V. (Eupator), proclaimed and protected by the Senate, ii. 219.

Demetrius Soter, son of Seleucus Philopator, hostage at Rome in the place of Epiphanes, ii. 155, 219; escapes and claims his inheritance, 219.

Antiochus VIII. (Grypus), murders his mother, Cleopatra, ii. 659; his five sons, 659 *note*.

Antiochus XIII. (Asiaticus), on his way to Rome with gifts, plundered by Verres, ii. 643; seventeenth and last of the Seleucidae, iii. 142 *note*; his kingdom reduced to a province by Pompey, 143.

Syrianus, Roman *dux*, installs George of Capadocia in the Alexandrian see, viii. 153.

Syrtica Regio, a tract on the coast of northern Africa between the two gulfs, Syrtis Major and Syrtis Minor, ii. 517.

Syrus, Pubilius, a Syrian slave, dramatic poet, iv. 325-6; aphorisms ascribed to him, 326-7, 329; compared with Cicero, 326.

TABELLARIAE, *leges*, establish vote by ballot, ii. 416-17.

Tabellarii, letter-carriers, iv. 162 *note*.

Table of Aljustrel, vi. 254 *note*.

Table of the Baebiani, v. 265-6 and *note*.

Table of Velleia, v. 265-7.

Tablinum, part of a Roman house, vi. 281 and *note*.

Tabula hospitalis, marble or bronze tablet on which was engraved the name of the city's patron, vi. 92.

Tabularium, place where the public records were kept, a building on the Capitoline hill, i. 384 *note*; *tabulariae* in the provinces, iv. 159.

- Tacfarinas**, his attempt to invade the province of Africa; defeated, iv. 433; second attempt, 451-2; defeat and death, 461; hero of a national resistance, 494.
- Tacita**, her worship recommended by Numa, i. 150.
- Tacitus, C. Cornelius**, Roman historian, severe judge of Tiberius, iv. 402; accuses him of the murder of Agrippa Postumus, 406; his account of Sempronius Gracchus, 417 *note*; even reproaches Tiberius for his good sense, 421; shows Tiberius master of himself, 434; on the Emperor's selection of Piso as hostile to Germanicus, 434-5; his argument as to the supposed murder of Germanicus, 436 *note*; on the character of Tiberius, 654-5; gap of three years in his history, 473 *note*; mentions Christians with scorn, v. 6; his ability first recognized by Vespasian, 141; appointed quinquaginta and praetor by Domitian, 185, 186 *note*; his subsequent life in Domitian's reign, 185 *note*, 186 *note*; his hatred of Domitian, 202 *note*; estimate of his literary work and personal character, vi. 339-40; quoted, 352 *note*; no positive faith in immortality, 409.
- Tacitus, M. Claudius**, the Emperor, aged senator, believed to be a descendant of the historian, proposes the apotheosis of Aurelian, vii. 325; endeavors to shield himself from the imperial dignity, 325; accepts it with reluctance, 326; depends entirely upon the Senate, 327; visits the army in Thrace, 328; his modest address to them; his liberal *donativum*; is murdered by the soldiers, 329; acts of his reign, 329-30; preserves the works of the historian Tacitus, 330; prophecy of the reign of a descendant of his family, 330-1.
- Tactics**, Roman naval, i. 561.
- Tages**, the dwarf, Etruscan legendary personage, i. 64; lawgiver, 71; gives place to Mercury, ii. 296.
- Taïfales**, Barbaric tribe associated with the Huns, viii. 268.
- Talent of silver**, its value in francs, ii. 105 *note*.
- Talionis, lex**, early rule of punishment, i. 334; re-established by Trajan, v. 262.
- Talmud**, its legend of the death of Titus, v. 167; the formation of the two Talmuds, 417 *note*.
- Tanaïs** (the river Don), its great fisheries, iv. 224.
- Tanaïs**, Sarmatian city, centre of Scythian commerce, iv. 224.
- Tanaquil**, wife of the elder Tarquin, i. 158, 160, 161, 261.
- Tanit**, Carthaginian goddess, i. 525; represented by the sacred cone, 536 *note*; called by the Romans the Celestial Virgin, 542 *note*.
- Tarann**, Celtic and Gallic divinity, spirit of the thunder, iii. 255; iv. 612; identified with Jupiter, 166.
- Tarcondimotos** (1st), Cilician chief defeated and killed by Agrippa, iii. 661; his son expelled from his kingdom by Octavius, iv. 6.
- Tarcondimotos** (2d), receives from Augustus his father's possessions, iv. 208-9.
- Tarentum**, its early importance, i. 110; attitude towards Rome, 456; sole Italian city assisting the Romans in 282 B.C., 458; dissolute and haughty city, 462; attacks the Romans, 463; invites Pyrrhus to make a descent upon Italy, 464; falls into the power of the Romans, 473; its government, 486; defection, ii. 29, 30; Hannibal's siege of the citadel, 32; attempt to revictual the citadel, 38; recaptured by the Romans, 39.
- Tarpeia**, legend of, i. 145.
- Tarpeian Mount**, early name of the Capitoline hill, i. 147.
- Tarpeian Rock**, a part of the Capitoline hill which still retained the ancient name: place whence the condemned were thrown, i. 334; its present aspect, 335 *note*; Manlius Capitolinus thrown thence, 381; and Tarentine hostages, in the Second Punic War, ii. 30; amphitheatre at its foot proposed by Caesar, iii. 532; a magician thrown thence in the reign of Tiberius, iv. 422; and Marius, a Spaniard, 448; the Hundred Steps adjacent, v. 92.
- Tarquinius**, a Pelasgian town, i. 50; with Veii, demands the restoration of the house of Tarquin, 175; attack Rome unsuccessfully, 176; war with, 375-7.
- Tarquinius Priscus, L.** (the elder Tarquin), omens on his arrival in Rome, i. 158; his accession to the throne, public works in Rome, conquest of Collatia, 158, 159; encounter with Navius, death, 160.
- Tarquinius Superbus, L.** (Tarquin the Proud), married to Tullia, i. 165; murders Servius Tullius and becomes king, 166; reigns as a tyrant in Rome, and becomes supreme over the Latins, 166, 167; defeated at Gabii, 167; but overthrows the city by a fraud, 168;

- finds two colonies, finishes public works in Rome, purchases the Sibylline books, 168, 169; consults the oracle of Delphi, 170, 171; besieges Ardea, 172; dethroned by a decree of the Senate, 173; takes refuge in Caere, 175; obtains the aid of Porsenna, incites Latium to revolt, 177; wounded in the battle of Lake Regillus, dies in exile, 179; assumed to be the champion of the patricians, 250; Greek version of the history of, 253.
- Tarquinius, Aruns**, son of Tarquin the Proud, sent by his father to consult the oracle of Delphi, i. 170; escapes to Caere, 174; killed in battle near Rome, 176.
- Tarquinius, Sextus**, son of Tarquin the Proud, his treachery to the people of Gabii, i. 167; his crime, 173; escapes to Gabii and is killed there, 174.
- Tarquinius, Titus**, son of Tarquin the Proud, sent by his father to consult the oracle of Delphi, i. 170; takes refuge at Caere, 174; killed in the battle of Lake Regillus, 179.
- Tarquins**, their reign, probably a period of Etruscan supremacy in Rome, i. 254.
- Tarraco** (Tarragona), Phoenician colony in Spain, submits to the Romans, ii. 132; seaport used by the Romans, 210; winter residence of the consul, 237; a Latin colony, 242 *note*; deputies convoked there by Caesar, 254; illness of Augustus there, iv. 78; its temple to Rome and Augustus, 170 and *note*; four days' voyage from Ostia, 216 *note*; its wine, 223 *note*; its temple of Augustus rebuilt by Hadrian, 348; quite Latinized from the time of Strabo, vi. 131; pillaged by the Franks, vii. 236 and *note*.
- Tarraconensis**. See **Spain**.
- Tarsus**, capital of Cilicia, its revenues, ii. 227 *note*; a free city and residence of its governor, 244; deputies of the province assembled there by Caesar, 252; *caput Ciliciae*, iii. 150; visited by Caesar, 479-80; heavily fined by Cassius, 606; relieved by Antony, 616; visited by Cleopatra, 616-17; taken by the Persians, vii. 246; burial there of Julian, viii. 226 and *note*.
- Tarutius Firmanus**, a mathematician and astrologer, friend of Varro, iv. 332.
- Tasgetius**, chief of the Carnutes, friendly to Caesar, iii. 318; put to death by his own tribe, 319.
- Tatianus**, a Christian writer, ridicules philosophers, vi. 375.
- Tatianus**, his downfall, viii. 320 and *note*; praetorian prefect of the East, 320, 321.
- Tatius**, Sabine king, i. 145, 146.
- Taurea, Jubellius**, Campanian patriot, ii. 37.
- Taurica Chersonesus** (the Crimea), important kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, iii. 703.
- Taurini**, a Ligurian tribe, their quarrel with the Insubres, i. 594; destroyed by Hannibal, 665; Augusta Taurinorum (Turin), Roman colony founded in their country, iv. 198.
- Taurisci**, ancient name of the inhabitants of Noricum, iii. 686, 688; iv. 20.
- Taurobolium**, the, great expiatory sacrifice offered for Antoninus, v. 453; vi. 390-1 and *notes*; offered at Lyons, 505.
- Tauromenium** (Taormina), Greek city of Sicily, under the tyranny of Tyndarion, i. 461; occupied by Marcellus, ii. 23; allied city, 229 *note*, 243 *note*; occupied by Octavius, iii. 634.
- Taurus, Mons**, great mountain range of Asia Minor, often regarded as a boundary, ii. 121, 125, 224, 666; iii. 113; crossed by Pompey, 142; its valleys pervaded by Greek influence, 705.
- Taurus, M. Statilius**, proconsul of Africa, prosecuted at command of Agrippina, iv. 563; his suicide, 564.
- Taurus, T. Statilius**, naval officer of Octavius, iii. 632; tomb of his family, 632 *note*; governor of Africa, 640; obtains a victory over Antony's cavalry, 662; his amphitheatre, iv. 56, 346; victorious in Spain, 67.
- Taxes**, the principal, imposed by the Roman government:—
- Capitatio**, a poll-tax, iv. 100; vi. 252; vii. 400, 401; viii. 11.
- Centesima rerum venalium**, a tax of one per cent levied on all goods offered for sale: introduced in the later period of the Republic, and regulated by Augustus, iv. 107-59; under the Antonines, vi. 253.
- Decumae**, tax of ten per cent (tithes) paid by those occupying the public lands: farmed out by the censors, i. 345; regulated by the Licinian Law, 401-2; payment of this tax secured by the quaestors, 496; ii. 239 *note*.
- Gleba senatoria** (or *Follis*), tax paid by the provincials, on obtaining senatorial rank: established in the later Empire, viii. 11, 14.
- Lustralis collatio** (or *Chrysargyrum*).

a sort of license which must be obtained by persons carrying on any trade or business under the later Empire, viii. 11 *note*, 14, 15.

Quinquagesima, a tax of one fiftieth on the sale of slaves, iv. 101; vi. 253.

Scriptura, tax paid by those who kept cattle in the public pastures under the Republic, i. 401-2 and *note*; ii. 239 *note*, 241.

Stipendium, a fixed tax in money paid by the free cities, ii. 244, 246 *note*.

Tributum ex censu, earliest tax paid by the Roman citizens, levied upon property as made known in the Servian census, and collected by the tribunes of the treasury, i. 242 and *note*, 290, 401 *note*, 642 *note*; abolished after the conquest of Macedon, ii. 186; exemption lasted a hundred and twenty years, 186 *note*; temporarily resumed after the death of Caesar, iii. 574 *note*; was practically re-established by Augustus, iv. 107; and formally by Diocletian, vii. 394.

Tributum soli, general name for taxes imposed upon the provincials, ii. 178, 238-9; of four kinds, 239 and *notes*; with extra requisitions, 239-40; varying in different provinces and cities, 246 and *note*; often very burdensome, 642 and *notes*; under the Antonines, vi. 252, 254.

Vectigal artium, tax paid by freedmen as such, vi. 287.

Vicesima hereditatum et legato- rum, tax of five per cent on inheritances and legacies, iv. 101, 158; vi. 252; abolished by Diocletian, vii. 396.

Vicesima manumissionis, tax of five per cent on enfranchisements, i. 388 *note*; ii. 41, 343 *note*, 363; iv. 100; abolished by Diocletian, vii. 396.

Taxiles, general of Mithridates in Greece, ii. 681; employs slaves in the battle of Chaeroneia, 685.

Tazza, Farnese, the, viii. 49.

Teanum, a Campanian city, originally an Etruscan colony, i. 68 *note*; capital of the Sidicini, 95; threatened by the Samnites, 413-14; abandoned by the Romans, 417; its inhabitants attack the Aurunci, and are defeated by a Roman army, 423-4; in the second line of Roman defence, 492; an outpost against Hannibal, ii. 3; insolence of a Roman consul to its citizens, 572; its tribunes of the people, vi. 26 *note*.

Tegula, P. Licinius, author of a hymn, i. 618 *note*.

Telamon, city in Etruria, important seaport in ancient times, now a swamp, i. 75; scene of a great victory over the Gauls, 597-8; landing of Marius at, iii. 627.

Telegonus, son of Ulysses, legendary founder of Tusculum, i. 107.

Tell, a fertile region of northern Africa, iii. 725-6; iv. 433.

Tellus, god of the under-world, i. 203; his temple, ii. 615.

Tempestates, the Tempests, divinities to whom Scipio builds a temple, i. 563.

Temples, offered by victorious generals, i. 627.

Templum, early meaning of the word, i. 147 *note*, 437 *note*.

Tencteri, a German race, cross the Rhine, iii. 307-9; are repulsed by Caesar, 309; a formidable body of men, iv. 16; cross the Rhine, defeat Roman cavalry, and capture a legion, 244; are subjugated by Tiberius, 265.

Tenia, the Etruscan Jupiter, i. 127.

Terence (P. Terentius Afer), of Carthaginian origin, a slave, afterwards enfranchised, Roman poet, i. 133; ii. 319; his sentiment concerning human brotherhood, 333; his *Hecyra* twice deserted for a boxing-match, 334; fortune of, 401 *note*; friend of Aemilianus, 427; on match-making mothers, v. 534.

Terentia, Cicero's wife, iii. 195.

Terentia or **Terentilla**, wife of Maecenas, v. 547.

Terentilian Law, its object to obtain written laws, i. 312, 320, 325, 344.

Terentius or **Terentillus Arsa, C.**, tribune, i. 320.

Terentius Culleo, Q. (1st), praetor, president of the tribunal which judged Scipio Asiaticus, ii. 402.

Terentius Culleo, Q. (2d), senator, takes charge of one of Catiline's accomplices, iii. 180.

Tergeste (Trieste), city of Northern Italy, at the end of the Aemilian Road, i. 495 *note*; towns of the Carni in its jurisdiction, ii. 249 *note*; vi. 22; Roman colony, often pillaged by the Iapodes, iii. 686.

Terminalia, festival of the, i. 149; edict against the Christians enforced on that day (303 A. D.), vii. 303.

Terminus, the god of boundaries, i. 119, 123, 222; his sanctuary on the Capitol, 236.

Terni, cascade of, i. 454, 455.

Terra Mater, goddess of the under-world, i. 203.

Terracina, or **Anxur**, city of central Italy, mentioned as subject to Rome in 509 B. C., i. 253; a Volscian city, in 406 B. C. besieged and taken by the Romans, 355; its loss a great blow to the Volscians, 356; Roman outpost on the Appian Way, 491; its canal, iv. 220.

Tertia, an actress, receives the gift of a city from Verres, ii. 641.

Tertullian, Christian Father, on the number of Christians, vi. 428; vii. 55 *note*; eminent writer, 584; most ancient of the Latin Fathers; uses the Latin word *Trinitas*, vii. 12 *note*; on baptism, 15 and *notes*; on compensation of the priests and purchase of cemeteries, 24 and *notes*; on miracle-working, 34 *note*; on heretics, 36; a Montanist, 37; cause of his fall, 39 *note*; on visions, 41; on Christian charities and Christian magistrates, 46 *notes*; the son of a centurion, himself a man of strife, 48 and *note*, 49; on abandonment of civil duties, 53 and *note*, 54; on celibacy, 53 *note*; on religious liberty, 56; claims justice for Christians, 57; on Trajan's rescript, 58 *note*; left undisturbed to extreme old age, 59 and *note*; on Justin and Irenaeus, 59 *note*; his work against the games, 62; on ransoms, 70 *note*; on pagan magistrates, 72; on a Carthaginian soldier, 72 *note*; on martyrdoms, 73; on the attitude of the Christians towards Barbaric invaders, 218 *note*; on the Roman standards, 479 *note*.

Tertullianum, a senatus-consultum establishing the mother's right to inherit, v. 397 *note*.

Tertullianus, Roman jurist, vi. 554 *note*.

Tesserae frumentariae, tickets exchangeable for money or food, distributed gratuitously among the people, ii. 474 *note*; iii. 651; iv. 115; vi. 210.

Tesserae, theatrales, iii. 212 *note*; vi. 207 *note*.

"**Testament of the Defunct Jupiter**," title of a farce, vii. 7.

Testamentaria, lex, or **de falsis**, a law of Sylla, iii. 41; to which various additions were made, until it included as a crime the refusal to accept plated coins issued by the state, iv. 160.

Testudo, the, ii. 167, 168 *note*.

Tetrarchy, division of the supreme power among four persons, — two Augusti, and two Caesars, vii. 363–82.

Tetricus, C. Pesuvius, one of the "Thirty Tyrants," a Roman senator, vii. 255; governor of Aquitaine, 265; kinsman of Victoria; Emperor in Gaul, 266; the estimate of Claudius of his importance, 275–6; his mild reign, 311; he desires to lay aside the imperial power; comes to an understanding with Aurelian, 312; walks in the Emperor's triumph at Rome, 313; honors paid him, 314; apotheosized, 314 and *note*; *corrector Lucaniae*, 386 *note*.

Teuta, Illyrian queen, i. 591, 592.

Teutates, Gallic divinity, the "orderer of the world," iii. 255; his feast celebrated the first night of the new year, 256; assimilated to Pluto, iv. 166.

Tentobokh, Gallic chief, delivered up to Marius, ii. 537.

Teutones. See **Cimbri and Teutones**.

Thala, a Numidian city, successful siege of, ii. 511; its position, 511 *note*.

Thalassius, prefect of the East, his hostility to Gallus, viii. 77.

Thalna, the Etruscan Juno, i. 127.

Thamugas, Album of, list of decurions, vi. 580 and *note*.

Thapsacus, a city on the Euphrates at a ford, iv. 224; v. 296; vi. 513.

Thapsus, a city of Northern Africa, scene of Caesar's victory over the Pompeians, iii. 495–7; an important position, 735.

Thasos, an island of the Aegean, garrisoned by Philip, ii. 91; declared free by the Romans, 107; held by Cassius, iii. 609.

Thebaïd, the territory of Egyptian Thebes, iii. 723; ravaged by the Blemmyes, vii. 375.

Thebes, capital of Boeotia, once supreme in Greece, ii. 78; seized by Flaminius, 103; factions in the city, 107; makes treaty with Perseus, 150; destroyed by Mummius, 195; extremely demoralized, 267; its citizens sold at auction by Roman consuls, 380, 647; itself sells Plataeans, 434 *note*; occupied by Sylla, 687; reduced condition in Caesar's time, iii. 691–2.

Thebes, ancient Egyptian capital, its tombs, i. 82; abandoned by the Ptolemies, ii. 76; ruined by the building of Ptolemaïs, iii. 725; pillaged by Gallus, iv. 210; persecution of the Jews living there, v. 155; visited by Septimius Severus, vi. 524.

Thebes, important town in Thessaly, its port ruined by Philip, ii. 140.

Themistius, Greek rhetorician, on the use of lights in religious festivals, vii. 525 *note*; on Christian sects, 535; on the statue of a Gothic chief, 574; his fame, viii. 21 and *note*; made senator by Constantius, 114 *note*, 137; court orator of Constantius, 137; official orator under Jovian; his noble sentiments, 228; on the peace with the Goths, 262.

Theocritus, i. 557; ii. 264; iii. 698; iv. 315.

Theodora, Flavia Maxima, daughter of the Emperor Maximian, becomes the wife of Constantius Chlorus, vii. 366.

Theodoretus, Church historian of the fifth century, viii. 468, 495 *note*.

Theodoric, Gothic king, vii. 2-1.

Theodorus the Atheist, master of Euhermerus, ii. 290 *note*.

Theodorus, pontiff of the province of Asia, viii. 175.

Theodorus, imperial secretary, denounced as a conspirator, viii. 254-5; and put to death, 256.

Theodosius, Count, father of the Emperor, Roman general under Valentinian, successful in Britain, viii. 248; successful against Firmus in Africa, 248-50; beheaded at Carthage, 276; an equestrian statue decreed him by the Senate, 276 *note*.

Theodosius, the Emperor, duke of Moesia, defeats the Sarmatae and saves a Roman province, viii. 250-1; on the execution of his father withdraws into Spain, 276; is invited by Gratian to become his colleague in the Empire, and receives the Eastern prefectures, 277; early measures of his reign, 277-8; his illness and baptism, 278; edict of persecution against the Arians, 279; endangered by the Goths, asks help from Gratian, 280; receives Athanasius at Constantinople, and concludes peace with the Goths, 280-2; takes their part and is called "the friend of the Goths," 283-4; deposes the Arian bishop of Constantinople, 284; issues sixteen constitutions against heretics, 285; calls a council at Constantinople, 286; continues the persecution of heretics, 287-8; brings into use the word *inquisitor*, 288; celebrates his *quinquennalia*, and takes his son Arcadius as colleague, 289; receives a proposition from Maximus, 292; and accepts it, 293; orders the pagan temples to be closed, 294; abolishes the

Olympian Games, and transports the Pheidippian Jupiter to Constantinople, 295 *note*; final measures in respect to paganism, 296 and *note*; succession of events favorable to him, 298; his triumphal entry into Constantinople, 299; replaces Constantine's obelisk, 299-300; celebrates his *decennalia*, 300; his parsimony excites displeasure, and his statues are overthrown by rioters in Antioch, 301; his intended revenge, 301; is pacified, 302; receives the fugitive Valentinian, and marries Galla, 308; re-enacts his laws against heretics, 308-9; enlists great numbers of Barbarians, 309-10; negotiates with Maximus, 310; advances against him, 310; his victory over Maximus, and subsequent measures, 310-12; his relations with Saint Ambrose, 313; makes complete submission to the bishop, 314; the vacillating character of his legislation, 314 *note*; orders the massacre of Thessalonica, 316; is excommunicated by Saint Ambrose; his penitence and restoration, 317; his punishment of the Lycians, 320; his rescript of amnesty in the case of his personal enemies, 321; his measures while in Italy, 321-2; visits Rome, 322 and *note*; his probable design upon Italy and measures in execution of the plan, 322-3; his relations with Eugenius, 326-7; his war with Eugenius, 327-9; and complete victory; his death; his division of the Empire between his two sons, 329; his devotion to the Church; unprofitable character of his reign, 330; question as to his clemency; why at peace with Persia and with the Goths, 331-2; his rescript concerning the revenues of the temples marks the close of paganism, 333.

Theodotus, tutor and counsellor of Ptolemy Dionysos, urges the murder of Pompey, iii. 464; presents the latter's head to Caesar, 469.

Theodotus, one of the three geometers employed by Augustus to make a survey of the Roman world, iv. 155.

Theodotus, heretic in the third century A. D., vii. 36.

Theodotus, Roman general, defeats Aemilianus, vii. 267.

Theognis, bishop of Nicaea, one of the two bishops who sided with Arius at the Nicene Council, vii. 546; exiled by Constantine, 549 *note*; recalled, 551.

- Theomnestus**, Academic philosopher, iii. 602.
- Theonas**, bishop of Alexandria, friendly to pagans, vi. 409 *note*; predecessor of Athanasius, 539 *note*.
- Theophanes**, author of a chronicle of the later Empire, vii. 473 *note*.
- Theophilus of Antioch**, first to employ the word "Trinity," vii. 12; in the reign of Commodus, 12 *note*; on miracle-working, 34 *note*.
- Theophrastus**, Greek philosopher, possessor of Aristotle's manuscripts, ii. 269; favorite author of Sylla, 646; contrasted with Pliny, vi. 337.
- Theoxena**, story of, ii. 141.
- Therapeutae**, early hermits, vi. 392 and *note*.
- Thermae**, of Agrippa, in the Campus Martius, iv. 348; favorite buildings of the Romans, 354-5; of Titus, v. 164-5; attached to private houses, vi. 282 and *note*; of Caracalla, one of the grandest ruins in Rome, vii. 92-4; of Diocletian, 393, 406 *note*.
- Thermopolium**, a wine-shop, ii. 400 *note*.
- Thermopylae**, Roman victory at, ii. 117.
- Thermus, Q. Minucius**, pro-praetor, his severity towards the allies blamed by Cato, ii. 574.
- Thermus, M. Minucius**, praetor, sent against the pirates, iii. 30; superior officer of Caesar at the siege of Mitylene, 157 *note*.
- Thermusa**, an Italian girl, becomes the wife of Phraates, king of Parthia, iv. 235; seeks to secure the crown for her son Phraataces, 236; is murdered by the Parthians, 260.
- Thessalia** (Thessaly), great plain in northern Greece: campaign of Flaminius, ii. 100-5; of Acilius Glabrio, 117; policy of Perseus there, 152; held by Andriscus, 192; scene of the final defeat of Pompey, iii. 455-61; its desolate condition, 691.
- Thessalonica**, capital of Roman Macedonia, threatened by Barbarians, vii. 219, 262; besieged, 278; residence of Theodosius, viii. 277-8, 308; massacre ordered by him, 315-17.
- Thorius**, tribune, his Agrarian Law, ii. 489.
- Thrace**, country in the southeastern part of Europe, nearly corresponding to the modern Roumelia: governed by native chiefs, ii. 74; threatened by Antiochus, 75, 110; the Thracians plunder Manlius on his return from Asia, 129-30; conquests made in the country by Philip, 139, 142; friendly to Rome, 151, 156; sought by Rome as an ally, 189; Thracian tribes in alliance with Mithridates, 670, 675; Thracian chiefs desert the republican side at Philippi, iii. 612; take opposite sides in the Civil War, iv. 3-4; ravaged by the Getae, 20; the legions expel the Barbarians from the country, 245; insurrection against the Roman rule, 252; interference of Tiberius in Thracian affairs, 432, 448, 453; reduced by Claudius to a province, 544; separated from Moesia by Vespasian, v. 157; visited by Hadrian, 315 *note*; its *strategiae*, vi. 136; long remained uncivilized and disorderly, 136-7; had many Greek cities, 137; held by Septimius Severus, 485; visited and regulated by Caracalla, vii. 88; the Emperor Maximin a Thracian shepherd, 141, 145; the country ravaged by the Goths, 239 *seq.*; great Gothic invasion in the fourth century, viii. 273-84.
- Thrasea Paetus, P.**, Stoic, refuses to share in the Senate's adulation of Nero, iv. 594; indirectly protects Sosianus, 599; opposes request made by Syracuse to celebrate more games and employ more combatants, 601; organ of the old Roman party, 604; most illustrious victim of Nero, v. 28-9; son-in-law of Caecina Paetus, vi. 315.
- Thrasimene, Lake**, battle of, i. 673-5.
- Thurium, or Thurii**, a Greek colony in southern Italy, attacked by the Lucanians, i. 105, 111; an ally of Rome, 111; Alexander the Molossian attempts to make it the centre of a league, 425; threatened by the Lucanians, seeks protection from Rome, 458; receives a Roman garrison, 458, 462; which is driven out by the Tarentines, 463; on a branch of the *Via Appia*, 495 *note*; held by Hannibal in the Second Punic War, ii. 38.
- Tiber**, the river, its character, i. 30; freshets of, 141 *note*; religious ceremonies at, 204.
- Tiberias**, principal town of Galilee, famous for its school of learned Jews, v. 414, 417; vi. 423.
- Tiberina Insula** (*Isola Tiberina* or *di San Bartolommeo*), devoted to Aesculapius, 176 and *note*, 630, 637.
- Tiberius Claudius Nero**, Emperor, son of Tiberius Claudius Nero and Livia Drusilla, shares the flight of his parents from Rome 40 B. C., iii. 622; appears at the Trojan games (29 B. C.), iv. 69; allowed to canvass the consulship five years before the legal age; quaestor, 79; sent into Armenia to place Tigranes on the throne, 234; sent

against the Rhaetians, 246; vigorous campaign in Pannonia, 252; accompanies Augustus into Gaul, 253; victorious in Dalmatia, 255; establishes a lasting peace, 256; attends his brother's death-bed, and brings the body back to Rome, 256; is obliged by the Emperor to marry Julia; accompanies him into Gaul; makes a successful campaign, 258; makes two successful campaigns in Germany, 260-1; advances against Maroboduus; is able to negotiate with him, 262; and returns to protect Italy, 263; devastation of Pannonia; triumph at Rome, 264; Barbarian homage paid him, 266; his energetic defence of Gaul against Arminius, 271; hostility to the sons of Julia; displeasure at his wife's misconduct; leaves Rome and goes to live in Rhodes, 277; remains apparently forgotten there for seven years, 278; becoming alarmed, makes submission to the Emperor, and is allowed to return, 279; is adopted by him, and obliged to adopt his own nephew, Germanicus, 280; is made colleague by Augustus, 282; convokes the Senate on his death, 286, 406; is one of his heirs, 286; pronounces a funeral oration, 288; pontiff of the Augustal cult, 291; has been too much blamed in history, 401-2; affection for his brother and for his wife Vipsania, 403; his early precocity, 403-4; disavows the order for the murder of Agrippa Postumus, 406; the Senate's jealousy and fear of him, 407-8; object of sarcasm as Julia's husband, 408; his favors to the Senate, 408-9; suppresses a revolt of the Pannonian legions, 410; his severity, 417 and *note*, 418; his simplicity and patience, 418-19; his fair dealing, 420; his liberality, 420-1; instances of his good sense and of his economy, 421; his dealings with the soldiers, 423-4; and with the provinces, 424; the encroachments of the Senate, 425-6; suspected of poisoning Germanicus, 433; injustice of this charge, 434, 436 *note*, 439; honors paid by him to Germanicus, 438; severe moral legislation, 441-2 and *note*; his moderation in regard to the Senate, 442-3; asks the office of tribune for his son; instances of his moderation, justice, economy, and sagacity, 443 and *notes*; his government of the provinces, 448-51; prohibits the ceremonies of the Druids, 451; summary of the first nine

years of his reign given by Tacitus, 453-4; statement of the historian as to his later life, 455; his democratic sentiment as to Curtius Rufus, 455 *note*; origin of his relations with Sejanus, 456; death of his son, 457; presents the sons of Germanicus to the Senate, 457-8; details of his administration, 458-63; allows encroachments of the Senate, 459 *note*; perils surrounding him; he protects himself by the law against treason, 466-7; commends Gemellus to Caligula, 466 *note*; hostility of Agrippina to him, 467-9; leaves Rome; establishes himself in Capri, 469; abandons much of the care of government, 469 *note*; becomes jealous of the sons of Germanicus; causes the death of Sabinus, a friend of Agrippina, 471; gives the people executions instead of gladiatorial games, 473; his continued fear of treason, and apprehension of danger from Agrippina and Nero; obtains the Senate's order for their exile, 473; refuses to allow Sejanus to marry Livilla, 475; honors paid Sejanus by the Senate excite his jealousy, 475-6; his dissimulation in respect to Sejanus, 477-8; his cruelty, 479; not always pitiless, 480-1; returns to the neighborhood of Rome, 481-2; goes back to Capri, 482; popular belief as to his vicious life there probably unfounded, 482-3 and *note*; firmness and good sense of his administration, 486-7; his measures to remove financial distress; his liberality, 487; administration of the provinces, 488-90 and *notes*; his economy and wealth, 488 and *note*; successful policy towards the Parthians, 491; his advanced age and feeble health, 491-2; his death, 492; improbable accusation of causing his death made against Caligula, 492 *note*; his character, 492-3; and the difficulties of his position, 493; his humble obsequies and the Senate's lack of respect to him, 495; his legacies to the soldiers and people, 496 *note*; his judgment of Caligula, 498; amount of money left in the treasury at his death, vi. 255; his liberality to gladiators, 300.

Tiberius Gemellus, son of Drusus, grandson of the Emperor Tiberius, commended by Tiberius to Caligula, iv. 466 *note*; eight years of age when Tiberius withdrew to Capri, 470; seventeen years old at the death of the Emperor; made joint heir with Caligula, but dispossessed by the Senate, 495; adopted

- by Caligula; made *Princeps Juventutis*, 496; put to death, 498.
- Tibullus, Albius**, elegiac poet, iv. 57, 328.
- Tibur** (Tivoli), its cascades, i. 31; founded by the Siculi, 49; the name retained in part of the town, 49 and *note*; its Greek traditions, 107; ruins of a temple, 123 *note*; long retained its independence, 303; seems to have supported the Gauls in their attack on Rome, 374; makes a treaty with Rome, 376; later retains its independence, but loses part of its territory, 422; sends back the Roman flute-players, 437; protects Rome against the Etruscans, 444; asylum for Roman exiles, 481; relations with Rome, 486; on the *Via Tiburtina*, 495 *note*; two praetors in exile there, ii. 233, 380; Falls of the Anio at, 655 *note*; place of voluntary exile under Augustus, iv. 190; residence of Horace, 308; site of Hadrian's Villa, 382; residence of the captive Zenobia, vii. 314.
- Ticinus**, battle of the, i. 666, 667.
- Tides of the Atlantic**, a mystery to the Romans, ii. 212 and *note*.
- Tigellinus, Sophonius**, appointed prefect by Nero, iv. 613; confederate with Poppaea, urges the divorce of Octavia, 614; his banquet in the Aemilian Gardens, 618; puts to death Sylla and Plautus, v. 17; favorite with Nero, 19; honors decreed him, 25; makes terms with Galba, 49; is protected by him, 59; put to death under Otho, 67.
- Tigranes**. See **Armenia, kings of**.
- Tigranes**, son of Tigranes I., story of his revolt against his father, iii. 139; taken a prisoner to Rome, 140.
- Tigranes the Cappadocian**, made king of Armenia by the Romans, iv. 606; defeated by Vologeses, resigns the crown, 606-7.
- Tigranocerta**, capital of Armenia, besieged by Lucullus, iii. 132; its fall, 133.
- Tigurini**, a people of Helvetia, join the Cimbri in invading Gaul, ii. 526, 528; are defeated, 528.
- Timagenes**, rhetorician, his freedom of speech in addressing Augustus, iv. 330.
- Timesitheus, C. Flavius Sabinus Aquila** praetorian prefect and father-in-law of Gordian III., vii. 166; his correspondence with the Emperor, 166-7; greatly honored by the Emperor; his death, 170.
- Tingis** (Tangier), city of Mauretania, taken by Sertorius, iii. 75; a Roman colony in the time of the Antonines, vi. 152.
- Tingitania**, western portion of Mauretania, iv. 548.
- Tinia**, the Etruscan Jupiter, i. 127.
- Tiridates**. See **Armenia, kings of**.
- Tiro, M. Tullius**, freedman and pupil of Cicero, iv. 370; vi. 13, 325.
- Titianus, Atilius**, conspirator against Antoninus Pius, v. 442.
- Titianus Postumius**, consul, and *corrector Italiae Transpadanae*, vii. 314 *note*.
- Titienses**, or **Sodales Titii**, a college of priests representing the second tribe: Augustus enrolls himself among them, iv. 126 *note*.
- Tities** or **Titienses**, one of the three tribes of Romans, i. 189.
- Titus, M.**, one of the generals of Octavius, victorious over Antony's cavalry, iii. 662.
- Titus**, the Emperor (Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus), elder son of Vespasian, sent with his father's pledge of allegiance to Galba, v. 60; serviceable lieutenant to his father, 83; intrusted with the reduction of Jerusalem, 85; opens the campaign, 127; carries it on for five months, 127-31; is finally victorious, 130; his disposition of his captives, 131; allows part of the city to remain standing, 132 *note*; created Caesar and Prince of the Youth, 134; colleague with his father in the censorship, 140; arch erected in his honor near Vindonissa, 157; his accession to the throne; character and past services, 160; age, 160 *note*; passion for the Jewess Berenice, 161 and *note*; his early measures, 161-5; great popularity, 165; lavish gifts and charities; early death, 166; Jewish legend concerning his death, 167; his opinion of gladiatorial combats, vi. 301.
- Toga**, mantle, usually of white wool, the national garment of the Romans, i. 134; iv. 113; vi. 279, 524-5.
- Togati**, Roman citizens, ii. 501 *note*.
- Toletum** (Toledo), Jewish or Phoenician colony in Spain, scene of a victory of Hannibal, i. 654; scene of a Roman victory over the native tribes, ii. 133.
- Tolistoboii**, a Galatian people, iii. 150.
- Tolosa**, capital of the Volcae Tectosages, ii. 525; taken and sacked by Caepio, 529; commercial city, iv. 220; imitates Rome, vi. 279; Christian preaching in, vii. 353 *note*.
- Tolumnius**, Lars of Veii, i. 353.

Tomi (Kustendjé), city of Moesia, on the Euxine, member of a pentapolis, ii. 251 *note*; place of exile of Ovid, iv. 281-2; a Greek colony, vi. 136; threatened by the Goths, vii. 283.

Toranius, C., guardian of Octavius, victim of the proscriptions of the First Triumvirate, iii. 587-8.

Torquatus, Manlius. See **Manlius**.

Torquatus, Novellius, called Tricongius, vi. 276.

Torquis, the Gallic collar, iii. 249, 271 *note*, 273; iv. 175.

Totila, last king of the Goths in Italy, vi. 218 *note*.

Toxandria, a district near the Schelde, given up by Julian to the Salian Franks, viii. 99.

Trachonitis, a portion of Palestine granted by Augustus to Zenodorus, iv. 209.

Trajan, the Emperor (M. Ulpius Trajanus), consul in the reign of Domitian, v. 186 *note*; his command in Germany, 189, 190; adopted by Nerva, 223-4; origin and early career, 224 and *note*; irregularity of his adoption, 224 *note*; receives news of Nerva's death; renews Nerva's pledge to the Senate, 225; establishes a line of defence upon the Rhine, 226-8; punishes persons seditious in the late reign, 228; his arrival in Rome; simplicity of manners; admirable character; respect for the Senate, 228-31; re-issue of coins, 231 *note*; great popularity in Rome, 232; question as to his sobriety, 232 and *note*; his expedition to Dacia, 232-8; bridges the Danube, 236, 239; triumphal return into Rome; surname of Dacicus, 238; second expedition against Dacia, 238-41; organizes a province of Dacia, 243-5; details from his column, 246-54; great rejoicing at Rome on account of his victories, 256-7; his moderation and respect for the Senate, 257-8; introduces the secret ballot, 258; his authority really absolute, 259; his nobility of character, 260; and admirable administration, 260-5; his alimentary institution, 265-9 and *notes*; his colonization of Dacia, 270-1; great public works in Rome, 271; constructs two harbors, 272; his arch at Ancona, 272; and at Beneventum, 273; enlarges other harbors, and builds bridges, 274; his laws in the interests of cities, 275; conspiracies against him, 276; scantiness of material for his history, 276 and *note*; extracts from his cor-

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Trajan, Count, Roman general in the Persian war under Valens, viii. 259; orders the murder of Para, 260; a Christian, 260 *note*.

Trajanus, Ulpius, father of the Emperor Trajan, lieutenant of Vespasian, v. 83; made a patrician by him, 111.

Tralaticium Edictum. See **Edicts**.

Tralles, Greek city of Asia Minor, abandons Mithridates, ii. 687; injured by an earthquake, is rebuilt by Augustus, iv. 211; its pottery an article of commerce, 224; its electoral comitia, vi. 32.

- Transvectio equitum**, procession of the knights on the anniversary of the battle of Lake Regillus, i. 410; v. 401; vii. 557-8.
- Transylvania**, part of Dacia, v. 241.
- Trapezus** (Trebizond), city of Pontus, ii. 661; iii. 150; eastern frontier town of Asia Minor, 704; visited by Hadrian; his statue and a temple of Mercury erected there, v. 367; taken by the Goths, vi. 241.
- Travertino**, how formed, i. 41.
- Treason**, law concerning (*crimen majestatis*), of early origin, iv. 463; its employment under Julius Caesar and Augustus, 464 and *note*; defined by Ulpian as nearest to sacrilege, 465 and *note*; used by Tiberius, 465 and *note*.
- Trebellianus**, one of the "Thirty Tyrants," defeated and slain, vii. 267.
- Trebia**, battle of the, i. 667-8 and *notes*.
- Trebonian Laws**: of 447 B. C., concerning the election of tribunes, i. 342 *note*, 344; of 55 B. C., concerning the consular provinces, iii. 376.
- Trebonius, C.**, tribune, agent of the triumvirs, brings forward the *plebiscitum de provinciis consularibus*, iii. 376; legate of Caesar at Marseilles, 434-5; consul, 507 *note*; one of the conspirators against Caesar, 541; murdered by Dolabella, 576, 604.
- Trebonius, L.**, tribune (447 B. C.), i. 342 *note*.
- Trees**, consecrated, i. 216, 217.
- Treveri**, a Belgic or Celtic people, offer resistance to Caesar, iii. 314, 319, 325; are subjugated, 326, 340; incited to insurrection by Florus, 448.
- Treverorum Augusta** (Trèves), a Roman colony, its early importance, iv. 221; offers troops to Vitellius, v. 70; in insurrection against Vespasian, 102-3, 138; important Roman position, vi. 126; chief city of the Gallic provinces; imperial residence, vii. 358, 359, 362; its amphitheatre, 453; buildings erected by Constantine, 454; sacked by the Alemanni, viii. 87.
- Triads**, Gallic, iv. 174-6; vi. 585 *note*.
- Tribunals**, political importance of, ii. 474 *note*, 477 *note*.
- Tribuneship**, properly the office of chief or president of a Roman tribe, or a person representing the tribe for a special purpose. This, which was the original meaning of the word, may be traced in all later uses of it. For officers of various duties designated as tribunes, see below.
- Tribuni aerarii**, tribunes of the treasury, i. 242 *note*; iii. 107 *note*.
- Tribuni militum**, military or legionary tribunes, six to each legion, i. 511-12; their duties in the camp, 512-19; subordinated by Caesar to the legate, iii. 526 and *note*; two classes (*tribuni majores* and *tribuni minores*) established by Augustus, iv. 107; the latter dismissed by Hadrian, v. 322; semestrial tribunes and *tribuni laticlavii* under the Antonines, vi. 204 *note*; allowed four orderlies by Alexander Severus, vii. 192 *note*; the office originally elective, viii. 406-7; ceases to be so in 70 B. C., 407.
- Tribuni militum a populo**, mentioned in inscriptions, viii. 400-4; question as to their duties, 404-6; not the legionary tribune, 406-8; a municipal dignitary, 408-10; having various functions chiefly connected with the maintenance of public order, 410-18; origin of his office, 418-19.
- Tribuni militum consulari potestate**, military tribunes, with consular authority, instituted by the Senate (444 B. C.): three, four, or six in number; either patrician or plebeian; one of them the *praefectus urbis*, i. 346-7; the office abolished 367 B. C., 383.
- Tribuni plebis**, tribunes of the people, a class of inferior magistrates having the duty of protecting the plebeians from abuse on the part of the patrician magistrates, i. 285; their position and privileges, 285 and *note*, 286; chosen from the plebeians; at first two, afterwards five, later ten; finally arrive at great power, 286; how appointed, 286 *note*, 295 and *note*; by successive advantages gained over the patricians, the tribunes gradually obtained almost complete equality for the plebeians, Chapters VI., VIII., IX., XII., and XIII.; after this the tribunes are regarded as representatives of the entire people, and peace prevails, Chapter XVIII.; until the former separation re-appears in the rise of a new nobility, founded on the principle of wealth, which in the second century B. C. protects itself against tribunitian attacks by itself invading the tribuneship, Chapter XXXVI.; the excesses of this oligarchy call out a revolutionary tribuneship,—the Gracchi, Marius, and Saturninus, Chapters XXXVIII., XLI.; Sylla for the time destroys this, Chapter XLVII.; the military leaders restore it, Chapter XLIX.; and use it against

- the aristocracy, Chapter LIII.; and Augustus silences it forever by uniting its prerogatives to the imperial dignity, iv. 80-2.
- Tribunicia potestas**, signification on coins, i. 17 *note*.
- Tribunus celerum**, commander of the cavalry under the Kings, i. 195.
- Tribunus voluptatum**, an officer of the later Empire, viii. 18.
- Tribus** (tribes), chief division of the citizens of Rome: three recognized by Romulus, — the Ramnes, or Ramnenses, the Tities, or Titenses, and the Luceres, or Lucerenses, respectively of Latin, Sabine, and Etruscan origin, and exclusively patrician, i. 189; thirty instituted by Servius, on the principle of locality, probably exclusively plebeian, of which four (*urbanae*) were residents of Rome, and twenty-six (*rusticae*) of its adjacent territory, 241; this number reduced to twenty by the conquests of Porsenna, 301 *note*; increased to twenty-one, 301 *note*, 481 and *note*; further increased, 481 *note*; new tribes created for the Italians, but the number again reduced by Sylla, ii. 607 and *note*.
- Trimalchio**, a character of the *Satyricon*, vi. 274, 304-5, 351.
- Triquetra**, the Sicilian emblem, i. 110 *note*; 553 *note*.
- Triremes**, i. 560.
- Trium Liberorum, jus**, advantages given by the Papian-Poppaean Law to the parents of three or more children, iv. 111 *note*; 137, 138 and *note*; vestals and soldiers have the same advantages granted them, 133; also some of the gods, 167.
- Triumphs**, three times celebrated by Spurius Cassius, i. 288; nine, in which Dentatus had walked, 325; of Poetilius, 374; of Papirius, 439; of Fabius, 451; of Curius, 454; of Curius Dentatus, 472; obtained twenty-four times by consuls in the Samnite War, 473; of Aemilius, 598; of Marcellus, 601, 602; dancing figures, and masks at, 618, 619; of Paulus Aemilius, ii. 181-4; great display of treasures at, 279; one hundred and eighty-one in two hundred and eighty-three years, 280; condition for obtaining, 377 *note*; celebrated by Sylla, iii. 33; of Pompey, 197-8; of Caesar, four, at intervals of several days, 507-10; number celebrated at Rome, vii. 313 *note*.
- Triumvirates**: the first, a coalition between Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus for the purpose of ruling Rome, having no legal authority; its formation, iii. 201-4; reconstruction at Lucca, 372; the second, a division of power between Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, conferred upon them for five years, in 43 B.C., by a plebiscitum, iii. 585; renewed in 37 B.C. for five years, and broken up by hostilities between Lepidus and the two others, 637-8.
- Triumviri** (the Three Men) **agro dividundo**, officers appointed to carry out the Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus, ii. 455.
- Triumviri capitales**, magistrates elected by the people, whose duty it was to inquire into capital crimes, arrest criminals, preserve public order, enforce the payment of fines, and execute the sentence of the law upon offenders, i. 395; iii. 184, 507; iv. 106 *note*.
- Triumviri monetales**, superintendents of the mint, iv. 106 *note*; vi. 219; their office abolished in the third century, vii. 321 *note*.
- Triumviri reipublicae constituendae**, the title under which Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus assumed the supreme power, iii. 584. See also **Triumvirates**.
- Triumviri viarum curandarum**, having charge of the public roads, vi. 219.
- Triumvirs**, either ordinary magistrates or extraordinary commissioners appointed to execute any public service. See **Triumviri**.
- Trojogenae**, the, fifty Roman families claiming to be of Trojan race, i. 185.
- Tryphonius, Claudius**, eminent jurist, vi. 545 *note*; member of the imperial council, 551 *note*.
- Tuberos**, eminent family, ii. 424-5, 429 and *note*.
- Tubertus, A. Postumius**, dictator, i. 354.
- Tubicines**, Roman jesters, i. 619 *note*.
- Tubulus, L. Hostilius**, praetor, sells his vote, ii. 476 *note*.
- Tuccia**, the vestal, story of, i. 229.
- Tuder**, important Umbrian city, i. 57 *note*.
- Tuditanius, C. Sempronius** (1st), praetor, killed in Spain, ii. 131.
- Tuditanius, C. Sempronius** (2d), unable to carry out the Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus, ii. 466.
- Tullia**, daughter of Servius, wife of Aruns, and afterwards of Tarquin the Proud, i. 165-6.
- Tullianum**, i. 598; ii. 516 *note*; section of, iii. 185 and *note*.

Tumuli, i. 85; remarkable ones in Algeria, iii. 498.

Tumultus, declared by the Senate, i. 596; in 193 B. C., ii. 135; meaning of the word, iii. 574 *note*.

Tunis (Tunes), African town near Carthage, i. 524; held by Scipio in the Second Punic War, ii. 265; its population, iii. 726; ruins of a bridge of Trajan's time, v. 274.

Turbo, **Marcus Livianus**, crushes a Jewish insurrection at Cyrene, v. 331; prefect; his industry and ability, 402.

Turdetani and **Turduli**, two Spanish tribes nearly connected with each other: their early literature, iii. 679; their commerce with Rome, iv. 216; their copper mines, 222 *note*.

Turmae, i. 515.

Turnus, king of the Rutuli, i. 140.

Turpilianus, **C. Petronius**, honors paid him by Nero, v. 25.

Turrianus, Etruscan sculptor, i. 237.

Turullius, one of Caesar's assassins, iii. 541; given up to Octavius by Antony, 669.

Tusculum, city of Latium, Etruscan colony, i. 68; its legends of Greek origin, 107; its dictator, 120, 166; ally of Rome, 302, 372; its inhabitants obtain citizenship, and its dictator becomes a Roman consul, 431; on a branch of the *Via Latina*, 495 *note*; colossal statue found there, ii. 671 *note*; site of villas of Lucullus, iii. 138; site of Cicero's villa, 364; favorite place for villas, iv. 353.

Tutanus, protecting divinity, united with Faunus on a **Hermes**, ii. 36 *note*; iv. 176 *note*.

Tutela, legend of, i. 372, 373.

Tutor, **Julius**, a Trevir, seeks to found a Gallic empire, v. 101.

Twelve Tables, the, a monument of old Italian customs, i. 131; made little change in old rights, 331; their laws as to the family, 332; as to the *gens*, 332, 333; as to property, 333, 334; as to person, 334; concerning funerals, 334-6; favorable to the poor, 336-8; prohibit intermarriage between patricians and plebeians, 338; are the foundation of the civil law of Rome, 340; on debt, enforced (356 B. C.), 403; decreed death against author of libels, iv. 463.

Tyana, city of Cappadocia: gift of Pliny to it, vi. 93; taken by Aurelian, vii. 301; visit of Jovian, viii. 227.

Tyre, most important city of Phoenicia, i. 527; its importance destroyed by the Greeks, 533; free and populous, iii. 716; its purple dye, 717, iv. 225; a Roman colony with the *jus Italicum*, vi. 487; its council, vii. 553-5.

Tyrrhenians, originally Lydians, i. 49; legend of their establishment in Italy, 49; known to the Greeks, 50.

UBII, a German tribe oppressed by the Suevi, iii. 308; the Augustal cult established among them, iv. 171, 245, 410; a colony of veterans established among them by Claudius, 543.

Ulfilas, the first bishop of the Goths, vii. 538 *note*; reduces the Gothic language to writing, and translates the Scriptures into it, viii. 261 *note*; negotiates with Valens for the reception of the Goths into the Empire, 265.

Ulpian (Domitius Ulpianus), Roman jurist, perhaps an Epicurean iv. 344; of Syrian birth, vi. 344, 550; on jurisconsults, 374; member of the imperial council, 545, 551; his relations with Paulus, 551 *note*; concerning enfranchisements, 553 *note*; decurions, 562; praetorian prefect under Alexander Severus, vii. 121; importance of the office in his time, 122; murdered in the presence of the Emperor, 130.

Umbrenus, **P.**, accomplice of Catiline, iii. 179.

Umbria, possible derivation of the name, i. 112.

Umbrians, their arrival in Italy, i. 56; theories as to their origin, 56 *note*; extent and divisions of their territory, 56, 57; dwellers in open villages and also on hill-tops, 57; their chief towns, 57; their power reduced, 58; subject to Etruscan influence and rule, 58; their alliance with the Etrurians, 59; divided into numerous tribes, 59, 60.

Unelli, a Gallic people, iii. 303.

Urban cohorts, city guards established by Augustus, iv. 98; vii. 393.

Urbicaria, **regio**, the country adjacent to Rome to a distance of a hundred miles from the city walls, vii. 394.

Urbicus, **Lollius**, victorious general in Britain under Antoninus Pius, v. 445.

Urbs, fortified enclosure distinguished from *civitas*, body of citizens, ii. 249.

Ursicinus, Roman general, condemned to death, but respited, viii. 79; sent into Gaul, to take the place of Sylvanus, 81.

Ursinus, rival of Damasus, viii. 236, 238, 288 *note*.

Usipetes, German people, invade Gaul, iii. 307-8; are attacked and defeated by Caesar, 309; again cross the Rhine, iv. 244; their early invasion, vi. 280.

Usucapio, acquisition of property by use or possession, ii. 243 *note*, 577-8.

Usury, practised in early Rome, i. 264, 270, 280-1; largely in the hands of freedmen, 633; severe upon the provincials, ii. 652-3; iii. 179; 540 *note*; in the early Empire, iv. 187.

Utica, city on the northern coast of Africa, a Phœnician colony, i. 535; besieged by the mercenaries and relieved by Amilcar, 507; blockaded in the Second Punic War, ii. 64; surrenders to the Romans in the Third Punic War, 201-2; an allied city, 243 *note*; the poet Naevius in exile there, 399; Italian traders established there, 508; iii. 30, 498 and *note*; iv. 215; scene of Cato's death, iii. 501-3.

Uxellodunum, siege of, iii. 356-7.

VACCAEI, a people of Spain, defeated by Hannibal, i. 654; their insurrection against the Romans, ii. 131, 133; finally suppressed, 133; unjustly attacked by Lucullus, 211, 379.

Vadimon, Lake, battle of, i. 441.

Vadomar, Aleman king, agrees to betray Julian, viii. 128 *note*.

Valens, proconsul of Achaia, one of the "Thirty Tyrants," assumes the purple, vii. 261; his death, 262.

Valens, general of Licinius, appointed Caesar; put to death, vii. 464.

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Valentia, perhaps the secret name of Rome and of her tutelary divinity, i. 137 *note*, 142 *note*.

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- Valentinian II**, the Emperor, son of Valentinian I. and Justina, made Augustus by the generals on his father's death, viii. 251; accepted fraternally by Gratian, 252; resides for many years at Sirmium, 276 *note*; is brought to Milan; receives overtures from Maximus, who promises to leave him undisturbed in Italy, 292; remains for some time in peace, 302; is besought to favor the pagans, 303-4; is threatened by Saint Ambrose with excommunication, 305; resents the bishop's interference on the subject of the Arians, 306; is threatened by Maximus, and escapes to the court of Theodosius, 308; is restored to his domains, and receives in addition the Gallic provinces, 312; accompanies Theodosius to Rome; returns to Milan; is advised by Theodosius to go to Trèves, 322; his quarrel with Arbogastes, 323-4; and death, 324; question whether by murder or suicide, 324 *note*.
- Valentinians**, heretics of the third century, vii. 37.
- Valeria**, second wife of Sylla, iii. 46.
- Valeria**, Roman province in Pannonia, formed by Galerius, vii. 365 *note*; named for his wife, 385 *note*.
- Valeria Galeria**, daughter of Diocletian, married to Galerius, vii. 366; province named in her honor, 385 *note*; suspected of being a Christian, is obliged to sacrifice to the gods, 419; is put to death by Licinius, 463.
- Valerian**, the Emperor (P. Licinius Valerianus), defrays the expenses of Aurelian's games, vi. 217 *note*; rescript against the Christians, vii. 60 *note*; his letter concerning supplies to be furnished Claudius, 190 and *note*; perhaps the victim of a military sedition, 198; his order in relation to Aurelian, 205; is appointed censor by Decius, and sets on foot a persecution of the Christians, 225-6; represented by Zonaras as the colleague of Decius, 226 *note*; proclaimed by the legions of Gaul and Germany, 234; character and talents, 235; age and earlier honors, 235 *note*; divides the Empire with his son, 235-6; his council of war at Byzantium, 243; pays special honors to Aurelian, 243 and *note*; occupies Cappadocia, 244; enters Antioch; goes to negotiate with Sapor, and is made prisoner, 245; his captivity and death; legends on this subject, 245-6 and *notes*; is apotheosized by his son, 247; his extremely cruel persecution of the Christians, 247-52; vain endeavors of Odenathus in his behalf, 252-4.
- Valerian Law** *de provocatione* (509 B. C.), establishing the right of appeal to the people, *i. e.*, that a man shall be tried by his peers, i. 278; sanctioned by the Twelve Tables, 337; again in 302 B. C., 394; and again in 198 B. C., ii. 342.
- Valerian Law**, reducing all debts to one fourth, iii. 38.
- Valerian, Horatian-, Laws**, protecting popular liberty, i. 341-2.
- Valerianus**, son of the Emperor Valerian, his character and death, vii. 271 and *note*.
- Valerius**, Roman commissioner in Greece, ii. 153-4.
- Valerius Asiaticus, P.**, harangues the mob after Caligula's death, applauding the murder, iv. 515; aspires to the Empire, 518; falsely accused; his heroic death, 552; his gardens desired by Messalina, 553.
- Valerius Corvus, M.** See **Corvus**.
- Valerius Flaccus, L.** (1st), serves in the Roman army in Greece, ii. 117.
- Valerius Flaccus, L.** (2d), *interrex*, partisan of Sylla, iii. 32.
- Valerius Maximus, M. Volusus**, dictator, defeats the Aequi and Volsci, i. 283-4; sent as deputy by the Senate to the plebeians on the Sacred Mount, 285.
- Valerius Potilus, L.**, consul with Horatius, i. 341; author of the Horatian-Valerian Laws (449 B. C.), 341-2; his victories over the Sabines, 342.
- Vallum Hadriani**, Hadrian's wall in Britain, v. 334-40.
- Vandals**, a German race, neighbors of the Marcomanni, vi. 444; vii. 87; they migrate westward, 182; give their children as hostages, 196; expelled from Moesia by Probus, 335; established in Britain, 337; driven westward by the Lombards, they threaten Gaul, viii. 279-80.
- Varian Law**, the, ii. 568 and *note*.
- Varinius, Publius**, Roman general in the Servile War, iii. 94.
- Varius, M.**, officer of Sertorius, sent to negotiate with Mithridates, iii. 87; captured and put to death, 127.
- Varius Hybrida, Q.**, proposes a law; accuses Aemilius Scaurus, ii. 568-9.
- Varro Atacinus, P. Terentius**, Latin poet,

- native of Narbo, iii. 682; a sceptic, vi. 381 and *note*.
- Varro, C. Terentius**, consul, i. 683; kindly received at Rome after Cannae, ii. 4; his after life, 4 *note*.
- Varro, M. Terentius**, his sentiments on theology, ii. 292; his *institutionum vocale*, 358; employed by Caesar to collect a library, iii. 534; proscribed by the First Triumvirate, is saved by his friends, 588; author of *Precepts of Agriculture*, iv. 124; a partisan of Pompey; undue honor paid him, 322; character of his theology, 323-4; his *Divine Antiquities*, 324; his philosophy, 324-5; his works long text-books, 325; a believer in astrology, 332; on fish-ponds, vi. 271; on parks, 288.
- Varus, P. Atius**, Pompeian general, in Africa, iii. 437, 485; takes refuge with Sextus Pompeius in Spain, 497, 516; killed at Munda, 518.
- Varus, P. Quintilius** (1st), his reported exactions as governor of Syria, iv. 153 *note*; sent to organize Gaul as a province, 266; his rashness and severity, 267-9; is defeated in a battle with great loss, and falls upon his sword, 269-71; his head sent to Augustus, 271; scene of his disaster reached by Germanicus, 412; tomb erected to him destroyed; one of his eagles recovered, 415; a few of his soldiers delivered from captivity after forty years, 543.
- Varus, P. Quintilius** (2d), accused in the reign of Tiberius; the Senate refuses to act, iv. 473.
- Varus, Sextus Quintilius**, his death after the battle of Philippi, iii. 611.
- Vasarium**, money furnished by the Senate to governors of provinces for their expenses, ii. 231 *note*, 642 and *note*.
- Vatia, P. Servilius** (Isauricus), insolence of, ii. 376; sent against the pirates, iii. 113; destroys great numbers, 114; obtains a triumph and the surname Isauricus, 115.
- Vatia, P. Servilius** (Isauricus), the younger, consul (47 B. C.), iii. 443; suppressed the revolt of Caelius, 482; unfriendly to Caesar, 537.
- Vaticanus** (Vatican), a hill on the northwest of the Tiber: gardens of Tiberius, iv. 492; obelisk placed by Caligula in a circus, 512.
- Vatinian plebiscitum**, giving Caesar two provinces for five years, iii. 212, 410-11.
- Vatinius, P.**, consul, his plebiscitum bestowing on Caesar the Gallic provinces for five years, iii. 212-13; Caesar's lieutenant in Illyria, 485; surrenders to Brutus at Dyrrachium, 603.
- Vegetius, Flavius Renatus**, author of a treatise on the art of war; his statement as to winter navigation of the Mediterranean, iii. 470 *note*; on the numerical strength of the legions, iv. 98 *note*; on report made to the governor concerning his province, 158; on the bad quality of soldiers, 389 *note*; viii. 48 *note*; on cohorts, vii. 477 *note*.
- Vehiculatio**, service of the imperial post, vi. 571 *note*. See also **Post**.
- Veiento, Fabricius**, banished for libel under Nero, iv. 599.
- Veii**, an ancient Tuscan city of Etruria, twelve miles from Rome; at war with Rome, i. 146, 155, 156, 164, 277; situation and strength of the city, 305 and *note*; nine years' war; forty years' truce with, 315; revolt, followed by truce of twenty years, 353; ten years' siege of the city, 356-7; it is taken by draining the Alban Lake, 357-8; destroyed, and its territory divided among the Romans, 358-9; its walls finally used in rebuilding Rome, 369; on the *Via Cassia*, 495 *note*; colonized by Augustus, becomes an important city, iv. 143.
- Vejovis**, an Etruscan divinity, the baleful Sun, i. 127-8.
- Velaria**, awnings extended over the audience in theatres and amphi theatres, iii. 68; silken, in Caesar's time, 510; in Pompeii, vi. 296 *note*.
- Velia**, one of the summits of the Palatine hill, overlooking the Forum, i. 177; temple of the Penates built there by Augustus, iv. 298.
- Velites**, i. 513.
- Velitrae**, city of Latium, home of the Octavii, i. 133; a Roman colony, 288 *note*; its revolt, 371; in league with the Gauls, 475; severely dealt with by Rome, 422-3; again colonized, serves as an outpost for Rome, 491.
- Velleda**, a German priestess, devoted to the cause of Civilis, v. 102; gives offence to the Batavi, 105; brought captive to Rome, 491.
- Velleia**, or **Veleia**, a town in northern Italy, its inscription, v. 265-7; destroyed by a landslip, 266; its *latifundia*, vi. 289.
- Velleianum**, senatus-consultum in relation to women, iv. 526 and *note*.

- Venafrum**, a Campanian city, besieged and taken in the Social War, ii. 588; its fertile territory, iii. 170; its oil, iv. 33, 217 *note*; president of its curia, vi. 61 *note*.
- Venatio**, first given in Rome, ii. 282 *note*.
- Veneti**, a people, supposed to be of Gallic origin, occupying the eastern part of northern Italy, industrious, commercial, and wealthy, i. 55; by some authorities considered to be of Slavic origin, 55 *note*; unfriendly to the neighboring tribes, 594; silently accept the rule of Rome, ii. 136; Caesar's campaign against them, iii. 301-3; their destruction, 303.
- Veneti**, a people on the Gallic coast: their navy, iii. 276, 302; attacked and destroyed by Caesar, 301-3.
- Ventidius Bassus, P.**, brings reinforcements to Antony in Gaul, iii. 580; takes the place of Octavius as consul, 582; his prudent conduct, 620; his name on a sling-missile, 620 *note*; sent by Antony against the Parthians, 624; his great successes; his triumph at Rome, 642.
- Venus**, goddess of love and beauty, unknown at Rome in the time of the Kings, i. 126 *note*; Aeneas her son, according to tradition, 140; iii. 509; invoked by Lucretius, ii. 323.
- Venus Erycina**, worshipped on Mount Eryx in Sicily: identified by the Phoenicians with Astarte, i. 526 *note*; a temple erected to her at Rome; identified with the Celestial Virgin of Carthage, 641; received at Rome, ii. 295; her temple at Eryx frequented by pilgrims, 640; Claudius proposes to rebuild it, 536.
- Venus Genitrix**, honored by Caesar as his ancestress, iii. 509; he receives the Senate in her temple, 524-5; a temple in her honor built by him, 526; iv. 345.
- Venus Verticordia**, temple erected to her by the Senate, ii. 277.
- Venus of Cos**, statue, restored by order of Vespasian, v. 149.
- Venus of Milo**, statue, its probable date, iii. 700 *note*; probably buried in the reign of Theodosius, viii. 295 and *note*.
- Venusia**, a city of southern Italy, colonized by Rome, i. 454; first colony east of the Apennines, 457; numerous and important, 465, 490; its coins, 493; on a branch of the *Via Appia*, 495 *note*; faithful to Rome in the Second Punic War, 649 *note*; ii. 5 *note*, 41; occupied by a Roman army, 45; its territory promised by the triumvirs to their soldiers, iii. 584; birthplace of Horace, 622; its tribunes, vi. 26 *note*.
- Veranias, Q.**, unsuccessful in Britain, iv. 611.
- Vercellae**, a city of Cisalpine Gaul, gold mine in its neighborhood, ii. 41 *note*; scene of the victory of Marius over the Cimbri, 541-2, 608; iii. 177, 213.
- Vercingetorix**, Arvernian chief, instigates revolt against Caesar, iii. 327-9; in great authority, 329-30; encounters Caesar at Gergovia, 335-8; threatens the province; his plan of the campaign, 340; retreat to Alesia, 341; defends the city, 341-8; his defeat, 349; and surrender, 350; in Caesar's triumph; put to death in the Tullianum, 507.
- Vergasivellaunus**, chief of the Arverni, iii. 347 *note*.
- Vergil** (Publius Vergilius Maro), his praise of Lucretius, ii. 327; loses and recovers his estates near Mantua, iii. 622; guest of Maecenas, iv. 56; furthers the designs of Augustus, 57, 310; celebrates agriculture, 124; his testimony to the prosperity of Rome under Augustus, 230; prophesies future victories of Augustus, 236; his death, 244, 274; his personal character, 310-12, 317 *note*; popularity, 310 *note*, 321; patriotic poet, 312-13; review of his works, 313-15; prophetic outlook, 315-17; his death, 319 *note*; honors paid him by Augustus, 331; pantheistic tendency of, vi. 384; his ideas regarding future punishment, 415.
- Verginius Rufus**. See **Rufus**.
- Vergobret**, Gallic judge, appointed annually, iii. 270.
- Vermina**, son of Syphax, aids his father in defeating Masinissa, ii. 63; promises aid to Hannibal, 66; is defeated by Scipio, 66 *note*, 67.
- Verona**, city of northern Italy, birthplace of Catullus, i. 133; on the *Via Postumia*, 495 *note*; city of the Cenomani, ii. 136; its amphitheatre, vi. 139, 147 and *note*; scene of a victory over the Goths, vii. 223; its walls rebuilt by Gallienus, 271; the city called from his name, 271 *note*; besieged and taken by Constantine, 457.
- Verres, C. Licinius**, lieutenant with Dolabella, ii. 637 and *note*; his extortions in Greece and Asia, 638-9; in Sicily, 639-44; quaestor

- in Carbo's army, escapes with the treasure, iii. 13; victim of the proscriptions of the first triumvirate, 588.
- Vertumnus**, god of orchards, i. 204.
- Verulamium** (St. Albans), British city, iv. 612; taken, and its inhabitants massacred by the Romans, 613.
- Verus, Lucius Aurelius**, the Emperor (L. Ceionius Commodus), colleague of Marcus Aurelius: his dissolute character, v. 459; other opinions of him more favorable, 459-60 and *note*; sent to the East, 461; celebrates a triumph, 463; expedition into Germany, 475; his death, 477 and *note*; his suspicions in regard to Cassius, 479-80; husband of Annia Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius, 489 *note*; gladiatorial combats approved of by him, vi. 301.
- Verus, L. Ceionius Commodus**, adopted by Hadrian, v. 418; date of the adoption, 418 *note*; his death, 423 and *note*.
- Vesontio**, Gallic stronghold occupied by Caesar, iii. 287; battle of, v. 44.
- Vespasian**, the Emperor (T. Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus), narrow escape in the reign of Nero, iv. 618; sends Jewish prisoners to the Isthmus of Corinth, v. 39; takes the oath of fidelity to Galba, 60; his ancestry and early career, 82-3; his valor and popularity, 83-4; reconciliation with Mucianus, 84; his future greatness predicted by Josephus, 84-5, 123, 124; is proclaimed Emperor, 85, 126; had been intrusted by Nero with the command in the Jewish war, 122; his subjugation of Galilee, 123; carries on the war moderately, 126; severity towards the Jews after the conquest of Jerusalem; subjects them to a special tax, 132; is accepted as Emperor by all parties, 134; his interest in Apollonius of Tyana; is believed to work miracles, 135; his sojourn in Egypt, 135-6; returns to Italy by way of Asia Minor; is welcomed by the Senate at Brundisium, 136; great services done him by Mucianus, 137-8; Saint Augustine's praise of him; simple and estimable character, 139 and *notes*, 140; restorative character of his reign, 140; reinforces the Senate, 140-1, and *notes*; vi. 195, 265; submits all important matters to it, v. 142; testimony of Suetonius and others to his love of justice, 142 and *note*; restores discipline to the legions; seeks to improve public morals and rekindle expiring piety, 143-4; his measures for the city and the provinces, 144-6; begins the Colosseum, 145; unjustly accused of avarice by Suetonius; excellent character of his appointments, 146; anecdotes concerning his frugality, 147; expeditions during his reign, 148; measures for improving the finances, 148-9; liberality to artists and scholars, 150-1; vi. 108, 342; clamors of the philosophers against him, v. 152-3; conspiracies, 154; founds many colonies, deals wisely with the allies and subject-nations, 154-8; gives Spain the *jus Latii*; last scenes of his life, 158-9; estimate of "the first plebeian Emperor," 159; establishes a colony of Jews at Merida, vi. 131; his measures in respect to Greece, 141; number of his legions, 229; poverty of the government at the time of his accession, 266.
- Vesta**, the goddess of fire, the Agni of the Vedas, i. 53, 123 and *note*, 199; the immaculate virgin, 123, 209, 222; propitiated at Rome in the Second Punic War, ii. 2; her temple in the Forum, 611; greatly honored at Rome, iv. 130; her temple at Lanuvium, v. 274; patroness of millers and bakers, vi. 101; still worshipped at Rome in the fourth century A. D., viii. 297.
- Vestals**, virgin priestesses of Vesta: their office instituted at Rome by Numa, i. 147; guardians of the sacred fire and of the palladium, 148; have charge of the worship of Fascinus, 218; their number and method of their selection, 226; their duties, 226-7; honors, 228; penalty of violated vows, 228-9; moral idea of this priesthood, 229; instances of their punishment, 424; ii. 2, 417; v. 181-2; vii. 81; viii. 297; present at funerals, iii. 349; are guardians of treaties, 627; and wills, 658; possess the *jus trium liberorum*, iv. 138.
- Vestini**, a people of central Italy, of Sabine stock, their revolt against the Romans and defeat, i. 429; become allies of Rome, 444; take part in the Social War, ii. 582.
- Vestinus**, consul, his heroic death, v. 22.
- Vesuvius, Mount**, its early eruptions, i. 26; battle of, 419, 420; eruption in 79 A. D., v. 167-9.
- Vetera Castra** (Xanten), a military position between the Meuse and the Rhine, in the time of Augustus, iv. 255, 412; v. 100.
- Veteran standing**, established by Augustus, iv. 388 and *note*; under the Antonines, vi. 242 and *note*, 243; under Septimius Severus,

- 564 and *note*; under Probus, vii. 336; under Constantine, viii. 43 and *note*.
- Vetranio**, Roman general, instigated by Constantina to assume the diadem; makes an alliance with Magnentius, viii. 69; which is broken up by Constantius, and the usurper makes his submission and is pardoned, 70.
- Vettius**, a Roman knight, incites a revolt of slaves, ii. 545.
- Vettius, L.**, spy employed by Cicero, denounces Caesar, iii. 192; his death, 207 *note*.
- Vetus, L. Antistius**, general in Germany under Nero, his canal, iv. 542; put to death by Nero, v. 27.
- Vexillatio**, a corps of troops under one vexillum, or standard, v. 461.
- Via Aemilia**, the road between Ariminum and Placentia, built by M. Aemilius Lepidus, consul in 187 B. C., i. 495 *note*; 603 *note*; ii. 137.
- Via Appia**, most important and celebrated of all the Roman high-roads, leading from Rome to Brundisium, begun by the censor Appius Claudius Caecus, 312 B. C.; paved with blocks of lava, i. 40; paid for with money accruing to the state as fines, 402 *note*; "the queen of roads," 407; having several branches, 495 *note*; bordered with tombs in the neighborhood of Rome, 626-7; closely follows the coast for some distance, ii. 591 *note*; its repairs superintended by Caesar, iii. 157 *note*; its width, iv. 161 *note*; ruins of the Quintillian palace, vi. 455.
- Via Aurelia**, the road from Rome to Pisa, and thence along the coast to the Maritime Alps, built in part by Aemilius Scaurus in 109 B. C., i. 495 *note*; ii. 136.
- Via Cassia**, the road from Rome through Etruria to Arretium, and thence to Luca; the date of its construction and origin of its name are unknown, i. 495 *note*.
- Via Flaminia**, the great northern road leading from Rome to Ariminum, built by C. Flaminius, censor, in 220 B. C., i. 495 *note*, 603; bordered with tombs in the neighborhood of Rome, 626.
- Via Latina**, one of the principal and most ancient of the roads leading from Rome; probably long a common road before it was converted into a military highway: it led from Rome to Brundisium, i. 495 *note*.
- Via Salaria**, one of the most ancient and frequented of the Roman high-roads, crossing the Apennines into Picenum, and continuing to the Adriatic; its name is said to be derived from the use of this route in early times by the Sabines to carry into their own country the salt obtained at Ostia: the Gauls encamp on it (367 B. C.), i. 374; cities on the road, 495; held by Caesar, iii. 428.
- Via Tiburtina**, road from Rome to Tibur, a distance of twenty miles, i. 495 *note*.
- Via Valeria**, early road from Tibur into the land of the Marsi, and later continued to the coast of the Adriatic, i. 495 *note*; its width, iv. 161 *note*.
- Vibenna, Caeles**, early comrade of Servius Tullius, i. 239-40.
- Vibia, Aurelia Sabina**, daughter of Marcus Aurelius, vi. 497 *note*.
- Vibidia**, chief vestal, seeks to defend Messalina, iv. 557; unsuccessful in the attempt, 558.
- Vicennalia**, twentieth anniversary of Diocletian's reign, vii. 433.
- Vicesima manumissionum**. See **Taxes**.
- Vici**, subdivisions of the city, i. 496, 497.
- Vicomagistri**, superintendents of the *vici*, iv. 96.
- Victor**, a Sarmatian, master of the cavalry under Valens, viii. 270.
- Victor, Pope**, dispute concerning Easter, vii. 30; did not wish the recall of Calixtus, 42; question as to his martyrdom, 71 and *note*.
- Victor, Flavius**, son of Maximus, associated with his father in the Empire, viii. 292; put to death by Arbogastes, 312.
- Victorina**, mother of Victorinus, called "piissima," vi. 582 *note*; her great courage, vii. 265; "mother of the camps" and Augusta; induces the soldiers to acknowledge Tetricus, 266; her death, 311 and *note*.
- Victorinus, M. Piavvoni**, Gallic Caesar, adopted by Postumus, vii. 258 *note*; probable instigator of the murder of Laelianus, 264; remains Gallic Emperor; his assassination, 265.
- Victory**, personified by the Romans, the Greek Nikê: etymology of the word, i. 257; her statue at Rome, 419; a statue of her offered by Hiero, 679; her statue placed by the bier of Augustus, iv. 286; always placed by the Emperor's bed, v. 456; banished from the senate-house by decree of Gratian, viii. 303; restored by Eugenius, 326.

- Vienne** (Vienna), city of the Allobroges: hostile to Lugdunum, ii. 250; iv. 196-7; its commerce, 220; its wine, 222; place of Herod's exile, 238; visited by Julian, viii. 91.
- Vigilum, Cohortes**, a body of night-watch, organized by Augustus, having as their chief duty the preservation from fires, iv. 95, 125 and *note*; vi. 213.
- Vigintivirate**, a college of minor magistrates: holding one of these offices the first step in a public career, iv. 51; vi. 204, and *note* 220.
- Villian Law** (or **Lex Annalis**), ii. 341, 413 and *note*.
- Villius**, consul in command in Macedon, ii. 98.
- Viminal**, one of the Seven Hills, part of the Servian city, i. 162.
- Vincent, Saint**, Spanish martyr, his *Acts*, vii. 417.
- Vindelici**, predatory bands of the Rhaetian Alps, iii. 685; subjugated by Tiberius, iv. 246, 252; towns established among them, vi. 24; their chief city, 133.
- Vindex, C. Julius**, proprætor in Gaul, an Aquitanian, iv. 604; at the head of a national movement against Nero, v. 44-7; unsuccessful, he puts an end to his life, 47.
- Vindobona** (Vienna), death of Marcus Aurelius at, v. 487; station of the Roman fleet, vi. 134.
- Vindonissa** (Windisch), on the borders of Helvetia, Roman military post, iv. 254; v. 102; scene of a victory gained by Constantius Chlorus, vii. 319.
- Vinicianus, Annius**, conspires against Claudius, iv. 550-1; takes his own life, 551.
- Vinicius, M.**, husband of Julia Livilla, put to death by command of Messalina, iv. 553.
- Vinius, Titus**, said to have stolen a gold cup from the dinner-table of Claudius, iv. 525 *note*; proconsul in Gaul, praised by Tacitus, 549 *note*; Galba's lieutenant in Spain; his influence; protects Tigellinus, his father-in-law, v. 59; his death, 65.
- Vipsania**, daughter of Agrippa and Pomponia, wife of Tiberius, whom he was obliged to divorce, iv. 276; always regretted by Tiberius, 403; married to Asinius Gallus, 408.
- Virginia**, story of, i. 329, 331.
- Virginus, A.**, tribune, accuses Caeso, i. 420.
- Virginus, L.**, father of Virginia, i. 329-30; accuses the decemvirs, 312.
- Virgo caelestis**. See **Celestial Virgin**.
- Viriathus**, popular leader in Spain, ii. 211-12; assassinated, 212.
- Viridovix**, king of the Unelli, iii. 303-4.
- Viriplaca**, surname of Juno, v. 546.
- Viscellinus, Spurius Cassius**, a successful general, i. 288, 291; proposes an Agrarian Law, 290; is put to death, 291.
- Visigoths**. See **Goths**.
- Vitela**, ancient name of Italy, i. 45.
- Vitellia**, Sabine divinity, claimed as an ancestress by Vitellius, v. 67.
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